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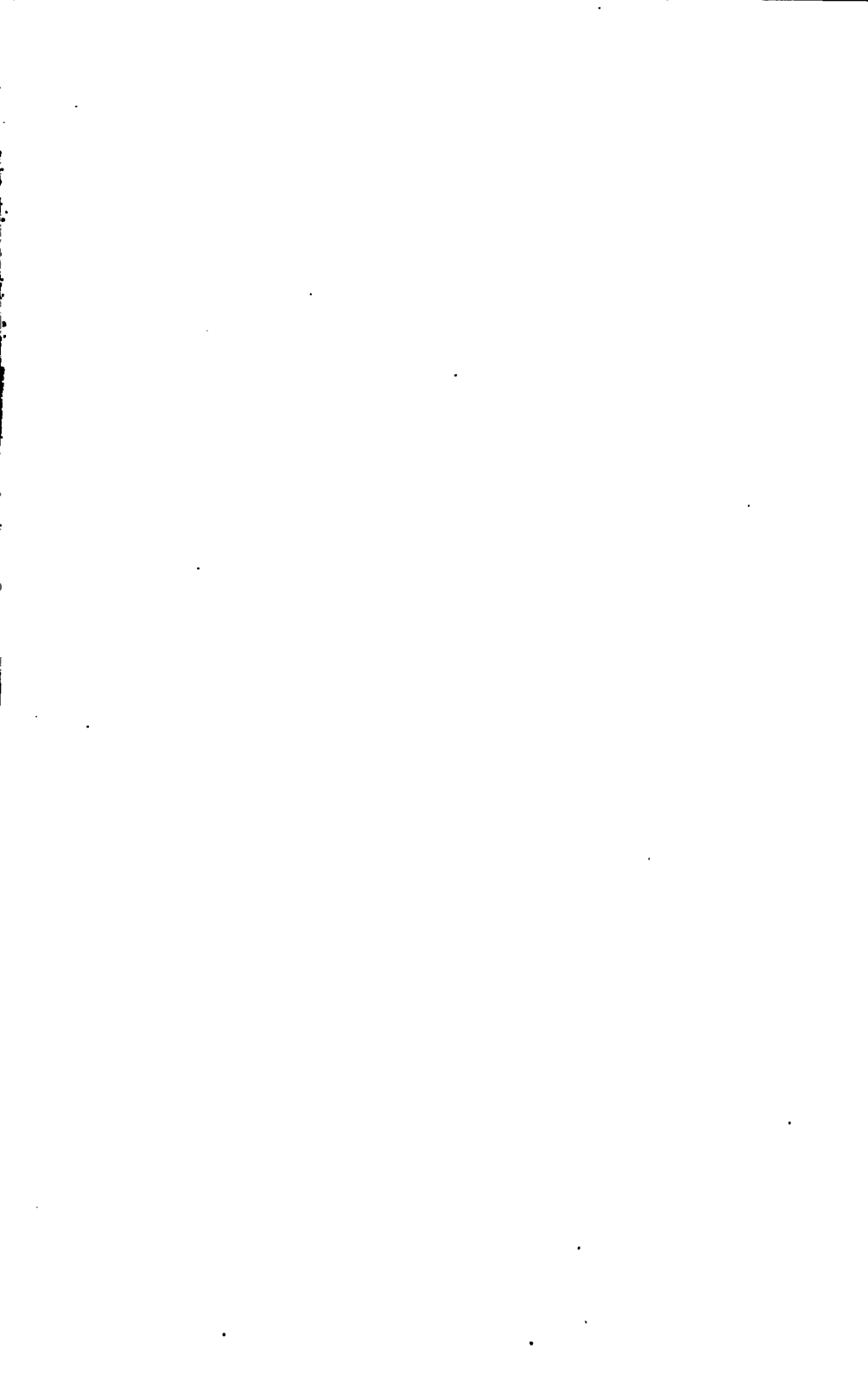
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Volume the Fourth.

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE, WRITINGS, AND DOCTRINES

OF

LUTHER.

By M. AUDIN.

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM B. TURNBULL, ESQ.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST FRENCH EDITION BY

^{Barclay David Donald}
WILLIAM B. TURNBULL, ESQ.
^A

"Non unius diei, fortuitique sermonis, sed plurimorum mensium, exactæque
historiæ."—BRANDOLINI, *Dialog.*

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ANABAPTISM is the child of the Protestant Reformation ; its cradle was at Wittemberg, and not in the mountains of Savoy, where the merchant of Lyons, Peter Valdo, sought a refuge. Protestantism, like Anabaptism, proceeded from this fundamental idea, that the Holy Scriptures are the sole rule of faith. Luther was satisfied with separating the Scriptures from the Church ; Munzer rejected the exertions of man to understand the Scriptures. A rigorous logician, he believed that the divine word could assume another than the sensible form, and he appealed to it to translate it faithfully by inward illumination, as Luther had positively taught. From that time, what need of the Bible ? It was from this desperate consequence of a principle established by the leader of the Saxon school, that Munzer himself, also a leader, but of a thundering legion, was impelled from fall to fall, and from one depth to another. *Bible* soon signified nothing but *Babel* for this Satan of the reformation.

Anabaptism, which, true to its adopted name, admitted but one article in its creed, faith in a second baptism, soon bor-

rowed from the ancient heresies a mass of errors which it was to seal with its blood. It announced a new world, in which the Son of God was to dwell in all his glory ; it promised to the nations a new heaven and a new earth, in which there should be an equality of temporal and spiritual goods, and in which, set free from the bonds of obligatory marriage, the individual, unrestrained, should beget issue free from stain. A Lutheran clergyman, who long had associated with the prophets of the new alliance, has given us, in a brief narrative, a clear view of some of the socialist dogmas of that sect.

"They have," says he, "neither father nor mother, brother nor sister, wife nor children in the flesh, but are mere spiritual brethren and sisters among one another. Each one says, 'I am not in mine, but in *our* house ; I lie not in mine, but in *our* bed ; I clothe myself not with mine, but with *our* coat. It is not I and Kate, *my* wife, but I and Kate, *our* sister, keep house together : in short, no one has anything more of his own, but everything belongs to us, the brethren and sisters.'"¹

The Anabaptist considered baptism useless to him who did not understand the nature of it ; he wished a second ablution for the profane individual, who was not born in the kingdom of the new alliance. He who desired to enter into the New Jerusalem must renounce seven evil spirits,—fear, wisdom, understanding, art, counsel, strength, and ungodliness.

To all who approached to receive baptism, Melchior Rink made use of the following formula :—

"Art thou a Christian ?—'Yes.' What dost thou believe, then ?—'I believe in God, my Lord Jesus Christ.' For what wilt thou give me thy works ?—'I will give them for a penny.' For what wilt thou give me thy goods ; for a penny also ?—'No.' For what wilt thou give, then, thy life ; for a penny also ?—'No.' Thou art not a Christian ; thou art not rightly baptized ; thou art only baptized with water in St. John's baptism. I ask thee, dost thou, then, renounce creatures ?—'Yes.' Dost thou renounce thyself ?—'Yes.' Then I baptize you."²

¹ Justus Menius, l. c. Mœhler's Symbolism, translated by Robertson, vol. ii. p. 177.

² Justus Menius, Der Wiedertäufer Lehre aus heiliger Schrift widerlegt, mit einer Vorrede Luther's ;—Justus Menius, The Doctrines of the Anabap-

We cannot forget that this is one of the triumphs of free inquiry, which had long before been announced at Worms by Eck and Vehus.

Private judgment, after having attacked works, denied human virtue, blotted out the papal supremacy, and upset the ecclesiastical hierarchy, brutally struck at the efficacy of pædo-baptism. One ruin succeeded another. The mild reproaches, threats, and even tears, of the Catholic Church it had all disdained in its cold insensibility. Nicholas Storch, Mark Stubner, and Thomas Munzer had opened the book which everybody believed he was entitled to search, and had met with this text in the Gospel:—"Whoever shall believe and be baptized, shall obtain the kingdom of heaven;" and, by virtue of Aristotle and Luther, that is to say, of the deceiver *I*, they had come to the conclusion that in order to be regenerated, and become children of God by baptism, it was necessary, in the first instance, to have faith. Melancthon was directed, by his highness the elector Frederick, to confer, if it were possible, with the new apostles. Melancthon accordingly interrogated them; and he wrote to the prince that he must beware of despising this new doctrine.¹

"Who commissioned you to preach?" Melancthon asked them. "The Lord," was their reply. What could be said to the new evangelists, who merely repeated what Luther had so often declared? Wherefore should God not have stirred up Storch to preach the words of salvation, as he had Luther? If every man is a priest, as Luther teaches in the "Captivity of the Church at Babylon," the tailor has his letters of vocation in his pocket. If whoever reads the Bible recollectedly is enlightened by the Holy Spirit, Mark Stubner the scholar has received the heavenly gift, for he has read the Scriptures. If Luther has declaimed against free-will by means of texts from the sacred books, Carlstadt the theologian has been enabled to reject infant baptism, supported by a passage of St. John. We therefore think that Melancthon did right to prohibit the students,

tists refuted by the Scriptures, with a preface by Luther: Witt. 1551, part ii. p. 292. Moshler, l. c. tom. ii. p. 163. Melancthon, Unterricht wider die Lehre der Wiedertäufer.

¹ "Ich habe sie selbst vernommen, ich habe in Wahrheit wichtige Ursachen, dass ich sie nicht verachten will."—Marheinecke, l. c. tom. i. 1816, pp. 206—307.

who had made a bonfire of the pope's decretals, from tormenting the "prophets;" for such was the name which, in derision, they had given to the Anabaptists.¹

Melancthon has not told us all. For a while he was so led away by the fanatics, that he felt inclined to throw aside his professor's gown, and become a baker, that he might no longer eat other bread than what his own hands baked.²

Luther beheld from Wartburg all these storms. His friends invoked his assistance; Melancthon, Jonas, and Amsdorf wrote to him: "Come, or we perish."³ The Council of Wittenberg was not less urgent.⁴

"Yes, I shall go," he replied; "time presses; God calls me; I hear his voice. My flock is at Wittenberg; my children in Jesus Christ are there; I shall be guilty of their blood, if I do not go to their rescue; for them I am ready to suffer everything, even death. Satan has taken advantage of my absence to create disturbances among my sheep; I will snatch them from him, for they are mine; I have answered for them to the Eternal Father. I shall go, therefore, for my pen is useless here; there is need for my lips and my ears . . .⁵ Pray for me, that I may crush the head of the serpent who rises up against the Gospel at Wittenberg. Under the sun of the Gospel, I shall fight with the angel of light or the angel of darkness. Let Carlstadt persist or not, Christ will know how to bring his wicked efforts to an

¹ Marheinecke, l. c. Melancthon said also: "We may judge by sure signs that there are spirits among them, of whom Luther only can give testimony;" —denn man siehet aus vielen Zeichen, dass in ihnen gewisse Geister seyn mögen, von denen aber Niemand als Martinus urtheilen kann.—Arnold, l. c. p. 727.

² "Sunt qui eò dementiæ progressum scribant, ut abdicatâ professione relictoque litterario vitæ genere, pistorum meditaretur; ne scilicet alium panem comederet quàm manuum labore comparatum."—Cochl. in Act. Luth. Surinus, in Vitâ Lutheri. Ulenberg, Vita et Res gestæ Philippi Melanchth.: Colonis, 1622, 12mo. p. 18.

³ "Melancthon crebris suis aliorumque litteris permovit Lutherum ut Wittenbergam rediret. Nisi hoc facere maturâset, res Wittenbergensis non comòderet graviter afflicta atque vexata, sed perditâ et funditis diruta fuisset."—Camerarius, in Vitâ Melanchth. p. 51.

⁴ We read in the register of the chamber of accounts at Wittenberg, 1525, XLII. gl. "Der Dictus Schulzin geben hat Dr. Martinus Luther vorzehrt, do er uff Erforderung des Raths und gemeynen Stadt wyderumb gegen Wittenberg kommen. So er aus der Insell Pathmos kommen ist yn dis Jahr allererst bezalt worden.

⁵ An den Kurfürsten, 12 Mai. De Wette, Luther's Briefe, tom. ii.

end. We are masters of life and death, from the moment that we have faith in the Lord of death and life.¹ I shall stop the mouth of the Holy Spirit, by whom the prophets say they are possessed."²

This is the most brilliant page of Luther's history, and for all the world we would not tear it out ; for the Reformer becomes great before us, when fearless he bursts from his exile, to restore the statues which Carlstadt had broken down ; to purify the church of All Saints, polluted by so many profanities, and shut the mouths of the prophets. Luther is splendid in his wrath. Let Protestants with pride point out to us their father at Worms, with his eye directed, like that of a judge, upon the emperor ; when we for an instant reflect, we can only see in Luther at the diet the hero of the stage, who has studied beforehand the part which he has to perform, and who cannot for a moment tremble, because he knows well that the only man who can make him bleed has neither the will nor the power ; that at twenty years of age a king has not completed his apprenticeship of perjury, and that a hair plucked from his head, even in a motion of foolish anger, would set Germany in a flame. John Huss at Prague in noways resembled Luther at Worms. Besides that time is a school in which kings, as well as subjects, have to learn, the ideas of the two sectaries were not the same. John Huss came to change at once the Catholic faith and the social politics of Germany ; he directed himself as much against the tiara as against the crowns. Luther had taken great care, from the moment of his appearance in the revolt of Wittemberg, to separate the political from the religious principle, which he was to confound at a later period. Erasmus reproached him with having flattered the great at the outset. It was necessary to intoxicate them, to turn their heads ; for without them he could not begin his war with Rome. If Rome fell under his attacks, royalty, spared by Luther, would consider itself protected from all danger, because it has not understood that the popedom is also a sovereignty ; that a pope, even more than a king, is stamped on the brow with the mark of God ; that pontiff and king are two authorities in

¹ Spalatino, 12 Mart. De Wette, tom. ii.

² "Jene, denen derselbe unter die Augen sagte, ihren Geist habe er über die Schnauze."—Menzel, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. pp. 129—131.

two different orders, or rather one and the same principle, in the eyes of God.

In leaving his exile, it was no longer the papacy that Luther attacked, but the sovereignty of Charles V. ; it was the emperor whom he disregarded, when he escaped from his prison to preach at Wittemberg, in spite of the orders of the diet, and agitate anew the world with his voice, although he had promised to be silent. Melancthon had good reason to be alarmed, when he saw him leave Wartburg ; for it was his life which he seemed to endanger, and with it the very fate of his doctrines, of which his disciples would dispute the inheritance, and which would perish for want of a mind capable of sustaining their weight. If that work which, according to him, came from God, was in Luther's lifetime subjected to such blows, that it often could not be recognised, mutilated and wounded as it was ; what would it become if Luther himself were in the grave !

Thus, as we have already observed, there are many serious thinkers who regret that Charles V. did not make use of the sword which, at his election, he promised to draw, if necessary, for the defence of social order ; and who would that kings should oftener remember that they resemble the Deity here below, and that the sword which hangs by their side was not given to them to remain useless. They believe that if the young emperor had drawn it, Germany would not at a subsequent period have been a prey to those cruel wars in which the blood of her children flowed. A few drops only, shed as an expiatory chastisement, might have spared Germany an ocean. They ask if the mariner, to escape from the storm, would not tear down one of his sails, and if the course of a river is interrupted, by taking a little mud out of its bed.¹ These inflexible logicians do not wish, for the good of human nature, that the principles of eternal order should be tampered with, and they justify their theories by history. Confining themselves in the limits wherein they discuss the great question of the power of life or death, given to the prince over any one who should desire to upset the common belief,—“ See,”

¹ This is the idea which Hochstraet had, it is said, asserted in his foresight of the future. Prior to Hochstraet, Luther had written this terrible sentence : “ *Melius est omnes episcopos occidi, omnia collegia monasteriaque eradicari, quam unam perire animam.* ”

say they, "what miseries the neglect of justice has brought upon unhappy Germany!—the blood of a hundred thousand peasants shed upon the battle-field; murder organised; robbery reduced to an axiom; promiscuous intercourse with women publicly preached; incest and adultery exalted into moral deeds; the arts degraded; civilization arrested; and so much tears, blood, misery, and shame, because an emperor has retreated before a monk."

That work, which might have suffered a violent death at Worms by the emperor's sword, would have now perished by a gradual decay, had Luther remained longer at Wartburg. It was not the edge of a sword which it had to fear, but the instrument by which it was produced,—speech. Luther knew the danger. His friends, who were not aware of it, seemed alarmed at the advice which they had at first given him to return; and to intimidate him, they threatened him with the anger of Charles V. But although their voice could have been heard in the solitude of Wartburg, Luther would not have obeyed it; for there was another which cried more powerfully,—“that which spoke to Moses on Sinai, and smote down Paul on the road to Damascus—the voice of God,”—which Luther said he heard at the depth of his heart. He appears to be filled with it when he replies to Frederick, who forbade him by John Osswald, the bailiff (*Amtmann*) of Eisenach,¹ to come to Wittemberg:—

“Your highness knows well that my gospel comes not from men, but from Heaven, by our Lord Jesus Christ. I might have, as I shall henceforth do, called myself his servant and evangelist I have done enough for your highness in imprisoning myself here for a year. It is not for fear, at least; that the devil knows well! He saw my heart at the moment when I entered Worms; although there had been as many devils there as there are tiles on the roofs of the city, I should have scaled the walls with joy. Now, Duke George² is not even as much worth as a devil. As the Father of infinite mercies has given me power by his Gospel over all

¹ Lingke, l. c. p. 117.

² Duke George had complained to the elector of the religious commotions at Wittemberg, and, as a member of the German Diet, had invoked the severity of the episcopal body against the disturbers. Seckendorf, book i. p. 217. Planck, l. c. tom. ii. p. 60. De Wette, Dr. M. Luther's Briefe, tom. ii. p. 139.

devils and over death, and has delivered to me the kingdom of the future, your highness must clearly see that it would be an insult to my master were I not to trust to him, or to forget that I am beyond the reach of the anger of Duke George. Were God to summon me to Leipsic, as to Wittemberg, I should go (your highness will pardon this nonsense), although it should rain Georges for nine days, and each were nine times more furious than this devil of a duke.¹ He takes my Christ for a reed; neither Christ nor I shall suffer him longer.

"I go to Wittemberg under the protection of a providence stronger than that of princes and electors. I have no need of your support; but you have of mine: it will be of more advantage to you. If I knew that you wished to offer me your protection, I should not go. This is a matter which requires neither advice nor the edge of the sword; God alone, and with no parade of visible force, is my master and protector. He who believes shall be my protector; and you are too weak in the faith to enable me to recognise in you a support and a saviour.

"You wish to know what you have to do on this occasion, persuaded as you are that you have not done enough? I tell you, respectfully, you have done far too much, and you have nothing more to do. God does not wish you to be a partaker of my sorrows and vexations; he reserves them for himself, and not for others.... But if I will not obey you, God will not impute to you either my fetters or my blood, if I fall. Leave the emperor to act; obey him as a prince of the empire; if he should take my life, that is his concern. You must not heed, prince, if I do not consent that you should participate in my hardships and dangers; Christ has not instructed me to show myself a Christian at the expense of my neighbour. Even should they push their folly so far as to insist upon your laying hands on me, I tell you what you have to do. I desire that you should obey without considering your servant, and that you should not suffer for me either in your mind, your substance, or your person.

"By God's grace, my prince, at another time, if necessary, we

¹ "Wenns gleich (E. K. F. G. verzeihe mir mein närrisch Reden) neun Tage, eitel Herzog Georgen regnete, und ein jeglicher wäre neunfach wüthender, denn dieser ist."—An den Kurfürsten Friedrich, 5 März, 1522.

shall discourse at greater length. I make haste, for fear your highness should be disturbed by the noise of my arrival ; my duty, as a good Christian, is to comfort every one and annoy nobody. I have to do with a different person than Duke George, who knows me well, and whom I also know well. If your highness believes, you will see the kingdom of God ; as you do not believe, you have seen nothing. Love in the Lord for ever. Amen. From Borna, by the side of my guide ; Ash-Wednesday, 1522."

It was not zeal for the word of God that tormented the elector, who always fancied that he saw between him and Luther the spectre of the emperor. A prey to his worldly fears, he despatched to the monk courier after courier ; but Luther continued his journey, laughing at those weak human considerations with which they sought to alarm him. At some distance from Wittemberg he met his friend Schurf, who had orders from the prince to try the effect of a friend's advice in preventing him from entering that city. All that he could obtain was a few words in exchange for those which the messenger conveyed.

"I shall go," said Luther ; "time presses, God calls me, he cries ; let my destiny be fulfilled, in the name of Jesus Christ the master of life and death. During my absence, Satan has entered into my sheepfold at Wittemberg, and made ravages in it which my presence alone can repair ; there is need of my eyes and my mouth to see and to speak. They are my sheep whom God has given to me to tend, they are my children in the Lord. For them I am ready to suffer martyrdom. I go to accomplish, by the grace of God, what Christ demands from those who confess him (John x. 12). If my words were sufficient to chase away the evil, would I be called to Wittemberg ? I shall die sooner than delay—die for the salvation of my neighbour."

And he dismissed the messenger.¹

Such words well became Luther, who had suffered his beard to grow, cast off his priestly attire, and thrown aside his pilgrim's staff, to mount a horse, and taken the iron cuirass, the great sword, helmet, spurs and boots of a soldier of the sixteenth

¹ Consult, as to the preliminaries of this journey, and his entry to Wittemberg, Luther's *Letters to Spalatinus*, 17 January ; the elector Frederick, 5 and 7 March ; and *Spalatinus*, 7 March, 1522.

century. It is in this warlike costume, in the midst of a cloud of attendants and dust, that the painter Lucas Cranach has represented him entering Wittenberg. He was no longer called Luther, but the chevalier George.¹

For our part, we like not this disguise. We regret the black robe and the monk's cowl which he wore when we met him on the road to Worms ; and since he was on the way to martyrdom, wherefore should he cast aside the dress of a confessor of Christ ?

Scarcely had he arrived at Wittenberg when he ascended the pulpit in that church of All Saints, in which five years before he had sent forth his first cry of rebellion against the papacy. It was strewn with the fragments of statues, and resembled the workshop of a sculptor much more than a house of prayer. Carlstadt stood concealed behind one of the pillars, to escape the eye of his disciple, who sought for him in the crowd. The arch-deacon had not ventured to visit the doctor.

The looks of Luther were directed for a considerable time in silence to these vestiges of anabaptistic fury ; the audience, crowded round the pulpit, waited in expectation for their master's words. Luther blessed the congregation according to the Catholic

¹ In the library of the Leipsic Academy is preserved a portrait of Luther setting out from Wartburg to Wittenberg. At the bottom of the frame are these four verses, which Luther had composed when ill at Schmalkalden, in 1537 :—

“ Quæsitus toties, toties tibi Roma petitus,
En ego per Christum vivo Lutherus adhuc.
Una mihi spes est quæ non confundar, Iesus,
Hanc mihi dum teneam, perfida Roma vale !”

—See Sal. Stepner, in *Inscript. Lipsiensibus*, p. 306.

He has been represented in an old woodcut, preceded by a winged serpent, with this inscription :—

“ Zu Wartburg Doctor Luther war
Verborgen fast ein ganzes Jahr ;
Ein grosser Bart ihm war gewachsen,
Wie damals trugen auch die Sachsen,
Und ganz verändert sein Gestalt ;
War neun und dreissig Jahr gleich alt.
Gen Wittenberg geritten kam,
Zu Niclas Amsdorff, da er nahm
Die Herberg, eh er seinen Bart
Hat abgelegt, als bald er ward
Von Lucas Kranach abgemalt,
Als wie er ist hie gestalt.”

—Fred. Scharff, *Dissert. de Luthero omnium theologorum . . . communi præceptore* : Wittemb. 1686.

custom, but on this occasion without invoking the Blessed Virgin. He made no exordium, but rushed at once into the subject of his discourse.

"It is from the heart," said he, pointing to the shattered statues, "that you ought to have removed them, and soon you would have seen them fall of themselves, or displaced by the hands of the magistrates. But you ought not to have given to an ill-regulated zeal the semblance of a rebellion which I cannot approve. During my absence Satan has been to visit you, he has sent his prophets among you. He knows with whom he has to do, you ought to know that it is I only to whom you ought to listen. By God's aid, Doctor Martin Luther was the first to walk in the new way, the others have only come after him; they ought to show themselves docile, like disciples; obedience is their portion. It is to me that God has revealed his word; it is from these lips that it proceeds free from all stain. I know Satan: I know that he does not sleep, that his eyes are open in the time of trouble and desolation. I have learned to wrestle with him, I fear him not; I have given him more than one wound which he will feel for a long time. What is the meaning of those novelties which have been introduced in my absence? Was I at such a distance that I could not be consulted? Am I no longer the principle of the pure word? I have preached it, I have printed it, and I have done more harm to the pope while sleeping, or in an alehouse at Wittemberg, drinking beer with Philip and Amsdorf, than all the princes and emperors together.¹ If I had been of a sanguinary disposition, if I loved commotions, how much blood I should have caused to be shed in Europe! Would the emperor himself have been in safety at Worms, if I had not spared his life? Answer, spirits of confusion and discord! What does the devil think when he sees you building up your fancies? the sly fox lies quiet in hell, relying on the tragedies which those extravagant teachers excite. I wish that the monks and nuns would leave their cells to come and hear me: I should say to them, It is neither permitted nor forbidden

¹ "Id verbum, dum ego dormivi, dum Wittembergensem cerevisiam bibi cum Philippo meo et Amsdorf, tantum papatui detrimentum intuli quantum ullus unquam princeps vel imperator."—*Oper. Luth. tom. vii. Chytr. Chron. Sax. p. 247.*

to have images. In truth, I should prefer that superstition had not introduced them among us; but since it has, it is not by violence that they should be overturned. Yes, if the devil had begged it of me, I should have turned a deaf ear to him."

Luther kept his audience captive for nearly two hours: the crowd was dumb, fascinated by the monk's preaching, so strong, so clear, so winning.¹

On the third day, Luther again held forth. On this occasion he attacked the prophets, and scourged them with his eloquence. Does it not seem that you listen to a Catholic voice? What other arguments would a priest of our Church make use of to castigate the foolish pride of the innovators?

"Do you wish to found a new Church? Let us see who sends you, from whom do you derive your ministry? As you give testimony of yourselves, we ought not all at once to believe you, according to the advice of St. John, but prove you. God has sent no one into the world who has not been called by man or announced by signs, not even his own Son. The prophets derived their title from the law and the prophetic order, as we do from men. I do not care for you, if you have only a bare revelation to advance. God would not permit Samuel to speak except by virtue of the authority of Heli. When the law is to be changed, miracles are necessary. Where are your miracles? What the Jews said to the Lord, so we say to you: 'Master, we wish for a sign.'² So much for your functions as evangelists.

"Let us now see what spirit breathes in you. I ask you if you have experienced those spiritual sufferings, those divine new

¹ "Conciones eo habente, omnia conquiescebant, et audientes, cū singularem facultatem explicandi susceptas res, tum dicendi vim, tum etiam virtutem atque fortitudinem admirabantur, et reverebantur auctoritatem."—Camerarius, Vita Melancthonis.

² Bullinger has adopted this argument, which he employs very ably against the Anabaptists. Luther insisted, on several occasions, in his works, among others book iii. ch. iv. *Adversus Anabaptistas*, on this obligation, imposed upon every one who advances a new doctrine, of proving his mission by miracles. At a later period he discovered that he had worked none (*von beiden Gestalten des Sacraments*), and that his greatest wonder had been to have smitten Satan on the face, and the papacy to the heart. The Lutheran Church has long since renounced the invocation of miracles in testimony of a human vocation: "Nos miracula non operamur, nec ea ad doctrinæ veritatem confirmandam necessaria judicamus."—Sutcliffus, in Ep. lib. D. Kelleinsonts, p. 8. "Ex miraculis non posse sufficiens testimonium, aut certum argumentum colligi veræ doctrinæ."—Whitaker, *De Eccl.* p. 349.

births, that death, that hell, of which the Scripture speaks. If you have only sweet and gentle words, we will not believe you even were you to say that you have been carried up to the third heaven: you want the sign of the Son of man, the Basanos or touchstone of the Christian. Do you wish to know the place, the time, the form of the divine colloquies, listen: 'He has bruised my bones like a lion, I have been cast far from the light of his eye, my soul has been filled with evils, my life has been brought nigh to hell.' . . . The divine Majesty does not immediately appear, so that man may see it: it says, 'Man shall not see me, and live.' Our nature could not support one spark of his word; he speaks, therefore, by the lips of men. Look at Mary, who was so troubled at the sight of the angel. What more shall I say? As if the splendour of God could converse familiarly with the old man and not kill or wither him up, to drive from him the filthy odours; for he is a consuming fire. The dreams and visions of the saints are terrible when properly understood. Look! Jesus himself was not glorious until after his crucifixion."

The prophets were not present at the sermon, but they were represented there by their disciples; one of them, on leaving the church, exclaimed in his enthusiasm that he had been listening to an angel.¹ Mark Stubner arrived at Wittemberg the next day, to console his brethren and enter into controversy with the preacher. He sent his challenge to Luther, who, after a long conference with Melancthon, consented to receive the prophet, and Cellarius the neophyte. Luther has given an account of the interview.

"I have received," says he to Spalatinus, "the abuse of the new prophets, Satan has befouled himself in his wisdom." These turbulent and proud spirits cannot bear gentle admonitions, and wish to be believed on their own authority and from the first word; they will endure neither discussion nor inquiry! When I saw them obstinate, tergiversating, and endeavouring to escape from me in their confusion of words, I soon discovered

¹ Camerarius, in *Vita Melancthonis*. Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luth.* lib. i. sect. 48, § cix. p. 108.

² "Et inventus est Satan sese permerdasse in sapientiâ suâ."—Spalatinus, 12 April, 1562. De Wette, tom. ii.

the old serpent. I ceased not to say to them, Prove to me, at least, your doctrine by miracles ; for it is not in the Scriptures. They shuffled, and refused me the signs. I then threatened to force them to believe me. Master Martin Cellarius chafed and raged like one possessed, speaking without being asked, and not allowing me to put in a word. I sent them to their god, since they refused miracles to mine. Thus the interview terminated. . . .”

Camerarius adds that Mark Stubner interrupted Cellarius, and said to the doctor: “ As a proof that I am inspired by God, I can tell you what you are now thinking of.” “ Bah !” said Luther, in a tone half-jesting, half-serious. “ Yes, you think that my doctrine cannot be true.” Luther smiled : just at that moment there rolled on his tongue, “ Go to the devil, wretch !”

Luther has not told us all. The Anabaptist historians pretend that the prophet Stubner and Cellarius asked the Reformer what marvels he himself had wrought to prove that he had been sent from God. This rash question so enraged the doctor, that he dismissed the assembly without desiring to hear more.

It is a very remarkable sight to behold Luther taking shelter in Catholicism to confound his opponent, and employing against the fanatics the arguments of St. Athanasius against Arius : that great proof written in heaven, which St. Thomas Aquinas, whom he so highly ridiculed, requires should, before all, be demanded from whoever rebels against unity ! Some few years after, another reformer, Zwinglius, contending with the *Blue gown* (*Soutane bleue*), George Blawrock, another fanatic begot by anabaptism, asked not for signs from heaven, but appealed to authority and tradition against him.

“ If we were to permit,” said he,¹ “ every enthusiast and sophist to diffuse among the public the foolish speculations of his brain,

¹ “ Si enim hoc permittamus ut capitosus quisque et malè feriatu8 homo, mox ut novum aliquid et insolens in suo animo concepit, illud in publicum spargens, discipulos colligat, et sectam instituat novam, brevi tot sectas et factiones videre licebit ut Christus qui vix multo negotio, et summis laboribus ad unitatem reductus est, in singulis ecclesiis, in partes quamplurimas denuò scindatur. Quapropter in ejusmodi rebus, communis totius Ecclesiæ auctoritas consulenda, et hujus consilio, non cujusvis temerariâ libidine, omnia hæc transigenda sunt. Judicium enim Scripturæ nec meum, nec tuum, sed totius Ecclesiæ est. Hujus enim claves, et clavium potestas.”—Zwingli, De Bapt. p. 72.

to make disciples, and institute a form of worship, we should see sects and factions pullulate in that Church of Christ which has only maintained unity after such great labour and struggles. It is therefore necessary on this occasion to consult the Church, and not to listen to passion or prejudice. The interpretation of the Scriptures belongs neither to you nor to me, but to the Church: to her belong the keys and the power of the keys."

Bullinger¹ reports that the *Blue gown* exclaimed: "Have not you Sacramentarians broken with the pope, without consulting the Church which you left, and that a Church not of yesterday's date? And shall we not be at liberty to abandon yours, which is but a few days old; can we not do what you have done?" Here Bullinger is silent. We should like to know what Zwinglius replied.

Cellarius was not an opponent by a victory over whom Luther could have derived glory; but it was otherwise with Munzer, whom he wished to attract by a secret sympathy for that rough character. Munzer, on his part, imagined that if he could have a conversation with Luther, he would gain him over to his cause. An interview was arranged between them.²

Munzer came to Wittemberg. The conferences were grave, and anxiously engaged men's minds. Luther made use of reason, passion, prayer, menaces; his rival employed the same weapons. After a useless exchange of arguments, both parted never to meet again on this side of eternity: Luther maintaining that Munzer was a devil incarnate; Munzer affirming that Luther was possessed by a legion of devils. Luther, who had promised to make use of no other measures against his opponents except argument, requested an edict of proscription against Munzer and his adherents, which his highness the elector quietly signed, and the confiscation of Carlstadt's books then at press, and which Frederick still more calmly ordered to be done.³

A few months had scarcely elapsed since Frederick left Worms, to avoid being present at the proscription of his favourite by Charles V.

¹ Bullinger, in *Apol. Anab.* p. 254.

² Sleidan, lib. v. Meshovius, Ottovius, &c.

³ "Eine Schrift Carlstadts, in seinem bisherigen Sinne abgefasst, von der schon einige Bogen abgedruckt waren, wurde von der Universität, die dem Kurfürsten darüber berichtete, unterdrückt."—Ranke, l. c. tom. ii. p. 34.

Munzer took leave of Luther like an ancient Parthian, discharging at him a pamphlet, in which the theologian of Wittemberg is transformed into Satan : a similar comparison to that made by the Saxon in regard of the emperor.

And Carlstadt, casting a last look on that university in which, some years previously, he had conferred honours on his beloved disciple, exclaimed :

“Condemned by my own pupil unheard !”¹

On the expulsion of Carlstadt and Munzer from Wittemberg, people sorrowfully asked for what crime they suffered such a punishment ? Carlstadt wished to give the communion under the two species : Luther did so. Munzer had violently attacked auricular confession : Luther, without abolishing it, wished it not to be obligatory. Carlstadt denied the Mass to be a sacrifice : Luther sought to efface from the canon all that could suggest to the laity the idea of a propitiatory oblation. Munzer inveighed against celibacy : Luther published his treatise against monastic vows. Carlstadt had torn down the images : Luther desired that they should be peaceably removed from the churches. What then had Carlstadt and Munzer done to be driven from Saxony ? They wished to appropriate to their advantage a revelation of which Luther desired to remain the master and the moderator.

“Doctor,” he was asked, “shall the Anabaptists be put to death ?” “That is according to circumstances,” replied Luther : “if the Anabaptists are seditious, the prince can order them for execution ; if merely fanatical, he should be content with banishing them.”²

He forgot what he said when afraid of the emperor : “Christ did not seek the conversion of men by fire and sword.”³

¹ Arnold, l. c. lib. xvi. p. 697.

² “Es sind zweierley Wiedertäufer. Etliche sind öffentliche Aufschürer, lehren wider die Obrigkeit : die mag ein Herr wol richten lassen und tödten. Etliche aber haben schwermerische Wahn und Meinung, dieselben werden gemeiniglich verweist.”—Tisch-Reden, p. 409.

³ “Christus non voluit vi et igni cogere homines ad fidem.” Melancthon approved of and advised the punishment of three Anabaptists : Justus Muller, of Schönaeu ; J. Peisker, of Eusterdorf ; and Henry Kraut, tailor at Eberfeld. Consult the Tisch-Reden, pp. 408—410. Luther there speaks at great length of the Anabaptists, whom he looks upon as so many devils. Arnold has defended their memory in the first part of his History of Heresies.

CHAPTER II.

SERMON ON MARRIAGE. 1522.

Although the prophets were expelled from Wittemberg, the rebellion was not quelled.—It was necessary to supply a new aliment for the activity of mind created by free inquiry.—Luther preaches upon marriage.—Sketch of his sermon.—Erasmus looks upon it only as a joke.—He did not perceive Luther's secret intention.—What did Luther intend by his carnal illustrations in the pulpit?—The princes are silent on this scandal.—A collection of Luther's sermons is published at Wittemberg, in which the monk is represented with the Holy Ghost over his head.—Staupitz, horrified by these things, returns to Catholicism, and deserts his old friend.

It was undoubtedly a fine triumph which Luther's preaching had obtained over fanaticism ! The prophets no longer daring to meet the monk's eye, left Wittemberg, and sought to diffuse their dreamy absurdities in the country and seduce the people to their fancies : they yielded in crowds. More daring than Luther, Munzer let loose upon the provinces burning words, which "borrowed angels' wings for their flight," as formerly, if we remember, did Luther's propositions against indulgences. The peasantry began to rebel against their lords. A struggle was at hand in which the people were to play the game of dupes and martyrs ; and this storm Luther foresaw, and predicted the day when Germany would flow with blood. These popular storms were announced to him by signs which he had been accustomed to interpret,¹ first, by fires which vanished at night ; then by the discovery of two monsters, a pope-ass and monk-calf, which had been found, the one in the Tiber, the other at Freyburg ; as if his own doctrines were not a sufficiently marked augury of the approaching calamities, and his language in the pulpit a clear manifesto against the social and religious order of Germany !

The rebellion was not quelled ; Luther was obliged to combat it in the pulpit, but on leaving the church he caressed and treated it, because to all people in rebellion there must be ruin or blood.

¹ "Quo et mihi non est dubium Germaniæ portendi, vel summam belli calamitatem, vel extremum diem : ego tantum versor in particulari interpretatione, quæ ad monachos pertinet."—Wencesl. Linck. 16 Januar.

Luther saved the images for an instant, but abolished the Mass to please the multitude. Prince Frederick, fond, like every one of taste, of the brilliant ceremonies of the Catholic worship, would have wished to preserve them; but his power could inspire the Reformer neither with pity nor terror; for Luther proclaimed as an axiom, that a prince is but a secular governor, who is at liberty to wield the sword, but cannot, without sinning, lay his hand on the censer. The chapter endeavoured to shelter itself behind the sword of his highness in braving the monk's wrath; but the monk, who possessed the real force, defied the chapter in a letter in which menaces are tempered by keen irony, and in which he ridicules the impotent cries of the clergy. "Indeed," says he, "is the patience with which I have suffered your follies unseasonable? Until now, as you know, I have merely invoked the assistance of the Lord; will you compel me to have recourse to other arms?" The chapter affected not to understand Luther. The monk soon explained himself: one night a mob smashed with stones the windows of the chapter-house. The terrified canons promised to obey, and they did so. On that night the people abjured the priesthood and royalty.¹

A material must not be compared with an intellectual revolution; the former may be mastered, but the latter, never. Nothing was so easy to Luther as the restoration of the statues pulled down by the fanatics; the artisan who had cast the cord over their necks wherewith to pull them down, replaced them triumphantly on their marble pedestals. But he could not deceive himself: the invisible artisan, the Satan who had caused these disturbances, had not left Wittemberg. For all those minds whom he had set in motion excitement was necessary: all had fallen into doubt, that disease of the mind, which rest would make mortal. Luther knew the spiritual wants of those whom he had driven into rebellion. So while the masons were engaged in repairing the havoc of the iconoclasts, he endeavoured to give food to that fever of innovation with which Wittemberg was tormented. Like his work, Luther could not exist but on the condition that the activity created by free inquiry should be incessantly maintained.

¹ Menzel, l. c. tom. i. pp. 138—164. Die ganze Kirchenangelegenheit war bereits Volksangelegenheit geworden.

Some days after his invectives against the prophets, he preached that sermon on marriage, which Bossuet has characterised as famous,—probably because he could not find in his episcopal vocabulary another word to describe it without offending the ear. We are not fettered by that chastity of language: the priest dared only to quote a few extracts, half-smothered under a timid phraseology. The historian may indulge in a boldness unbecoming a theologian. Nevertheless, the reader may be assured that we shall only lift a corner of the veil. Listen to the apostle of Saxony: ¹

“Dieu a créé l’homme² afin qu’il fût mâle et femelle, dit la Genèse, ce qui nous enseigne que Dieu a formé l’être double, voulant qu’il fût homme et femme, ou mâle et femelle: et cette œuvre lui plut tellement qu’il jugea que ce qu’il avait fait était bien. . . .

“L’homme et la femme créés, Dieu les bénit en disant: Croissez et multipliez; d’où nous déduisons la nécessité de l’union des deux sexes pour opérer la multiplication des êtres; d’où encore que de même qu’il ne dépend pas de moi que je ne sois homme, il n’est pas dans ma nature que je m’abstienne de femme: et comme tu ne pourrais faire que tu ne sois femme, tu ne pourrais pas non plus te passer d’homme. Ce n’est pas ici un conseil, une option, mais une nécessité que le mâle s’unisse à la femelle, et la femelle au mâle.

“Car ce mot de l’Éternel: Croissez et multipliez, n’est pas seulement un précepte divin, mais plus qu’un précepte, une œuvre du Créateur que nous ne pouvons fuir ou omettre: il est de nécessité souveraine que je sois mâle, destin plus impérieux que de boire, de manger, d’aller à la selle, de me moucher, de veiller et de sommeiller. La nature et les instincts ont leurs fonctions tout comme les membres du corps. Et de même que Dieu ne fait pas un commandement à l’homme qu’il soit mâle ou femelle, aussi ne lui enjoint-il pas de croître ou de multiplier; mais il lui donne une nature telle qu’il sort des mains de son

¹ [It has been considered expedient to leave these quotations in the original language.—*Translator.*]

² Martini Lutheri de Matrimonio, sermo habitus Wittembergæ. Anno 1522, tom. v. Oper. Luth. Wittembergæ, 1544, p. 19 et seq. 18 pp. fol. It is remarkable that this sermon is not to be found in almost any edition of Luther’s works published since that time.

Dieu mâle ou femelle, et que la génération est de son essence. C'est ici une loi de nature, et non un précepte de conscience. . . .

“ Il y a trois variétés d'hommes auxquels Dieu a ôté le bienfait de la génération, ainsi qu'on le voit en Saint Matthieu : les eunuques de naissance, les eunuques par castration, les castrats par amour du règne de l'Evangile : ôtez ces trois natures d'être, qui personne ne songe à vivre sans une compagne : crois et te multiplie, tu ne peux sans crime décliner cet ordre de Dieu.

“ Les eunuques du ventre de leur mère sont ces impuissants qui de leur nature ne sont idoines ni à procréer ni à multiplier ; qui sont froids, maladifs, ou atteints de quelque affection qui leur ôte la faculté prolifique. Ils ressemblent au sourd ou à l'aveugle privés de la vision ou de l'ouïe. . . .

“ Quid si mulieri ad rem aptæ contingat maritus impotens ?

“ Ecce, mi marite, debitam mihi benevolentiam præstare non potes, meque et inutile corpus decepisti. Fave, quæso, ut cum fratre tuo aut proximo tibi sanguine juncto occultum matrimonium paciscar, sic ut nomen habeas, ne res tuæ in alienos perveniant.

“ Perrexi porro maritum debere in ea re assentiri uxori, eique debitam benevolentiam spemque sobolis eo pacto reddere. Quod si renuat, ipsa clandestina fuga saluti suæ consulat, et in aliam profecta terram, alii etiam nubat.

“ Quant aux castrats volontaires, c'est une espèce de mulets qui, non idoines au mariage, ne sont pas délivrés de la concupiscence, et ont appétit de femmes. . . .

“ Illis accidit juxta proverbium illud : qui canere non potest, semper canere laborat. Hac via illi affliguntur, ut lubentius mulieribus conversentur, quum præstare tamen nihil queant.

“ Le dernier ordre d'eunuques est formé de ces esprits élevés et riches, beaux instincts que conduit le grâce, êtres qui sont propres à la création, mais que préfèrent vivre dans le célibat, et qui se disent : Je pourrais de ma nature contracter et accomplir le mariage : cela n'est pas dans mes goûts, j'aime mieux travailler à l'œuvre évangélique, ou enfanter des fils spirituels pour le royaume des cieux. Mais ceux-là sont rares : il n'y en a pas un sur mille. . . .

“ Outre ces catégories d'eunuques, Satan, qui se fait dans l'homme plus sage que Dieu, en trouve d'autres qu'il séduit, et

qui, à ses instigations, renoncent à créer et à multiplier ; qui s'emprisonnent dans des toiles d'araignée, c'est à dire des vœux et des traditions humaines ; qui s'enferment dans des chaînes pour forcer la nature, l'empêcher de porter semence et de multiplier, au mépris de la parole de Dieu : comme s'il dépendait de nous de conserver la virginité ainsi qu'un vêtement ou un soulier. S'il ne fallait que des liens de fer ou de diamant pour faire rebrousser la parole et l'œuvre de Dieu, j'aurais l'espoir de me munir de si bonnes armures que je changerais la femme en homme, et l'homme en pierre et en bois."

The preacher proceeds with the same bold illustration, and treats of the impediments to marriage, of which he reduces the number fixed by the canons of the Church ; then of the dissolutions of matrimony ; for he admits divorce, not merely on the ground of adultery or prolonged absence of one of the parties, but for the mere caprices of the woman ; and here his language is as strange as his sentiments ; not merely his words but his imagination becomes more and more unblushing.

The orator now puts a case. It must be remembered that the tapers on the altar are unextinguished ; that the church of Wittemberg is filled with light, and that the sexes are mingled there as in our Catholic churches.

"Reperiuntur enim interdum adeo pertinaces uxores quæ etiamsi decies in libidinem prolaberetur maritus, pro sua duritia non curarent."

"Le cas échéant, que dira le mari ?—Tu ne veux pas, une autre voudra ; si madame refuse, vienne la servante ; toutefois, après que le mari aura deux ou trois fois admonesté sa femme, proclamé l'entêtement de madame, et qu'en présence de l'Eglise on lui aura reproché publiquement son obstination, si elle refuse encore le devoir conjugal,—renvoie-la, et, à la place de Vasthi, mets Esther, pour imiter l'exemple d'Assuérus le roi.¹

"Donc tu te serviras ici des paroles de Saint Paul, 1 Corinth. vii. : Le mari n'a pas la propriété de son corps, mais bien la femme : et la femme n'est pas maîtresse de son corps, mais bien le mari. Point de fraude, si ce n'est d'un consentement mutuel, encore l'apôtre défend-il ce vol : car, en se mariant, tous deux ont

¹ Sermo de Matrimonio, ib. pp. 123, 133.

aliéné la jouissance de leur corps. Ainsi, quand l'un refuse à l'autre le devoir, il lui fait un vol, il le spolie, et ce vol est défendu par le code conjugal, ce vol brise les liens du mariage. Le magistrat doit donc employer la force contre la femme revêche; en cas de besoin, la glaive. Si le magistrat *use du glaive*, le mari imaginera que sa femme a été enlevée et tuée par des voleurs, et il en prendra une autre."¹

The preacher then treats of the matrimonial bond, and of the husband's duties towards the wife when confined.

"Le mariage n'est qu'un contrat politique qu'on peut passer avec tout individu infidèle, gentil, Turc ou Juif; et c'est devant le magistrat civil qu'on devrait porter toute cause matrimoniale.

"La femme est-elle délivrée? C'est à l'homme de changer les draps, de laver le linge, et de rendre à la mère et à l'enfant,² même quand le nouveau-né serait issu d'un mariage adultère,³ tous les petits services dont le monde se moque.—Mais on dira que vous faites l'office de femme, de singe: que vous importe? Dieu à son tour rira avec ses anges de ceux qui vous raillent. . . . Moines et moniales enchaînés dans la chasteté et l'obéissance, et qui font sonner bien haut leur dévouement, ne sont pas dignes de remuer les langes de l'enfant. . . ."

Such was the sermon on Marriage preached in the German language in the great church of Wittemberg, in presence of the image of Christ, still standing upon the altar, the mutilated statues of saints which encircled the choir, the tombs of the priests and faithful departed, of the dead and of the living; in presence of mothers, daughters, husbands and wives, and aged persons, who ran to listen to the pastor! Such are the terms in which the apostle sent from God, this man come from heaven, this ecclesiastic, this new Elias,⁴ addressed his audience. And the Church remained silent! How was it that no voice was raised to impose silence on the speaker? That mothers took not their daughters by the hand and dragged them from the sanctuary; that no magistrate armed himself with a whip to drive from the

¹ Sermo de Matrimonio, ib. p. 123.

² "Ubi prolem e conjuge sustulerit, cunas motare, lavare fascias, aliaque id genus vulgo contempta ministeria, tam matri quam infanti exhibere debet."

³ "Vel illicito concubitu natus."

⁴ Mathesius Pred. conc. i, p. 1; conc. xv. p. 86; conc. xvii. p. 205.

pulpit this vendor of licentious language, which changed the holy place into a brothel? Did ever, before the Reformation, a priest dare to make use of similar imagery? What Catholic bishop would not have interdicted the priest who should have had the effrontery to make use of such language? It is observable that this was no extemporary discourse, but one after the manner of the schools, composed in the closet, according to the rules of rhetoric, with its text, divisions, points or parts, and peroration; and after being preached, Luther translated it into Latin, in order that no word that issued from his lips should be lost to the ears of the learned. Its success must have been great, and the Vasthi, if such there were, must have submitted, for fear their husbands should have taken the preacher at his word and delivered them over to the wrath of the magistrates.

On reading Luther's sermon on Marriage, Erasmus exclaimed: "It is a farce." This was a man who found laughter in everything! As if Luther, with his incomprehensible licentiousness, had no other object in view than to make his audience laugh!—as if he had been then seated at table, beside Jonas, Melancthon, and Amsdorf, the jolly companions of his ale-house suppers! His sermon was not a jest. These erotic praises of matrimony had an object, that of preparing the way for the emancipation of the convents, the marriage of priests, and of the preacher himself. For if it is true that celibacy is an unnatural state, an offence against God, a rebellion of the flesh against the spirit, it is easy to see that he who asserts he has been sent from heaven to reform Christian society, will not long continue to wrestle with the Lord. These words, coming from the evangelical pulpit, must have disturbed the young woman consecrated to the Lord, the Levite who was preparing to ascend the altar, and the priest who had been living in chastity. If the union of the sexes—not to employ the monk's more free expression—is one of the necessities of our organisation, as much so as sleeping, eating, and drinking; if it is as impossible for man or woman to avoid this law of increase, as to avoid "blowing of the nose, spitting, or other evacuations," it may be guessed whether the praises of virginity by the Catholic priest will hereafter go to the ear or the heart of the people. When then, by one of these inexplicable inconsistencies into which he so frequently

falls, Luther says in the same discourse: "God forbid that I should depreciate virginity!" who will not immediately reply to him: "You deceive us; you knowingly deceive yourself:" for if marriage¹ be a law of nature, and prescribed by Providence, to avoid it is to be guilty towards God and yourself; it is a suicide, as a fast improperly prolonged would be. And we shall see Luther driven to this consequence by the iron hand of logic, against which he vainly struggles, teaching that a prostitute is more agreeable to God than she who lives purely in a convent; that a female pregnant by an adulterous connection may be proud, because it is her work, and she has accomplished the divine precept "increase and multiply;" and that it would be a wonder to narrate that five young persons, male or female, had preserved their virginity in a city to the age of twenty.²

There was only one prince in all Germany who was alarmed at Luther's audacity. This was the Catholic duke George; the others paid no attention to it.³

The following affects the mind more painfully than the sermon on marriage.

Scarcely had it been delivered, when the collection of his discourses was printed under the doctor's own eyes. At the end

¹ "Quod si quisquam prohibere molitur, egregiè ut est perdurat, suumque meum scortatione, adulterio, καὶ διὰ ἀφώνων τῶν παραπτωμάτων quæritat."

² "Bene si in aliqua una civitate vel quinque virgines et quinque mares annum vigesimum casti attigerint: idque plus esse quam tempore apostolorum et martyrum . . . demum non minus vires naturæ transgredi hominem cælebem, quam si nihil omnino comederet, vel biberet."—Luth. Sermon de Tribus Regibus, p. 198.

In 1843 there appeared, at Strasburg, a small pamphlet, entitled *The True and the False Luther*,—*Der wahre und der falsche Luther*. In this the sermon on marriage is thus estimated: "To judge without prejudice this work of Luther, we must put ourselves in the preacher's place. What he meant by employing these shocking details, was to combat that false opinion of the time, that celibacy, even with scandals apparent or concealed, was meritorious in the sight of God."—P. 20. Such is all the censure which the Protestant author inflicts upon Luther, and, as we see, slandering Catholicism, which has never pretended that impure celibacy was agreeable to God.

But there are many more eccentricities in this apology for Luther; the author maintains in it that Luther was always extremely moderate in his language, in regard to the pope, the emperor, the princes, and his opponents.

³ We understand how Flaccius Illyricus might have said, in speaking of the University of Wittenberg, a member of which could with impunity preach such a sermon:

"Rectis facturos parentes si in lupanar liberos suos mittant, quam in Aca-
demiam Wittenbergensem."—Ulenberg, *Vita*, etc. cap. ii. no. 4, p. 396.

of the book, Luther is represented in a monk's dress. There is no mistaking him there: it is the disputant of Dresden, the prisoner of Wartburg, the man still in the flower of his youth. We recognise him by his emaciated face, his sunken eye, his projecting bones, as Mosellanus represented him to us at Leipsic, and as Lucas Cranach at that time has depicted him. There, the preacher has changed his nature: he is a saint whose head is circled with a large glory. Above him in the heavens floats the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, whose golden wings overshadow the head of the apostle. Luther holds in his hand the book of the Gospels: his countenance, filled with a celestial calm, has left the earth to bury itself in the rays of the divine Majesty.¹

We remember the former vicar-general of the Augustines, Staupitz, whom Luther had loved so well. He could not read without blushes the sermon upon marriage, and see without feeling scandalized that celestial crown which the Saxon evangelist permitted his bookseller to confer upon him; and suddenly, as if inspired by Heaven, he deserted all at once the doctor and the saints. God, with a beam of his mercy, had enlightened this father whose soul was all charity. Staupitz returned to the old faith of his monastery. He bade his farewell to the world in a small treatise,—a sort of Happy New-year, which the monks were in the habit, at Easter, of addressing to the individuals towards whom they felt the most regard. His little book is dedicated to the duchess of Bavaria.² Listen: would you not think that these lines proceeded from the author of the "Imitation?" "To love, is to pray; he who loves, prays; he who loves not, prays not. He who loves God, serves him; he who loves him not, could not serve him, even if he had the power of removing mountains."

And Staupitz deplored his errors of doctrine, and rejected that dead faith which he had so long preached, to embrace the living and life-giving Catholic belief. A German of the old race, he

¹ Predigt Dr. Martin Luther's. The collection bears no date, but it is evidently of 1522, when Luther was not in that exuberant health which he exhibited three years later, at the time of his marriage. In 1532 he still wore the monk's habit, which he was soon to throw off.

² Ein säliges neues Jar von der Lieb Gottes. This little work, with notes in the autograph of Staupitz, is in the library of M. Alexander Martin.

said to Luther: "I leave you, my brother, because I at length perceive that you have the sympathies of all those who frequent brothels."¹

CHAPTER III.

THE BOOK AGAINST THE PRIESTHOOD. 1522.

Development of Luther's principles.—Myconius, Bugenhagen, Capito, Hadlo, and Ecolampadius embrace Protestantism.—The secularised monks leave the monastery.—Attempts at propagating Lutheranism in the religious houses.—Special writing composed for their use by Dr. Luther.—The book against the priesthood.—Analysis of it.

It seems as if fortune had been in collusion with Luther; everything went as he pleased. The person who alone could annoy him at Wittemberg was a wanderer beyond its walls, not daring to cross its gates; Carlstadt was concealed in obscurity; Gabriel retracted publicly;² Munzer vented his impotent rage in Thuringia; and the monastery of the Augustinians held a synod, over which, according to Luther, the Holy Spirit had presided, and in which they had decided on abrogating the Mass.³

Duke George had vainly endeavoured to prevent Luther's works being introduced into his dominions.

The monk triumphantly exclaimed: "Satan has been overcome; the pope, with his abominations, is vanquished; we have now to triumph by the wrath of the bulls: but is not the Lord the God of the living and the dead? What have we to fear? . . . He cannot lie who said: 'You have cast all under his feet.' All!—does not that also include the bull of the man of Dresden? Let them attempt, then, to throw down Christ from heaven! We shall fearlessly see how the Father will with his

¹ "Jactaris ab iis qui lupanaria colunt."—Seckendorf, l. c. tom. i. p. 48. Staupitz died abbot of St. Bridget, at Salzburg.

² "Gabriel in alium virum mutatus est."—Winceslao Linck, 19 Mart. 1522. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii.

³ "Neque enim Spiritus Sanctus unquam in synodis monachorum videtur fuisse, præter istam."—Ibid.

right arm protect his beloved Son against the face and the tail of these smoking brands."¹

At Magdeburg, at Osnaburg, at Leipsic, Antwerp, Ratisbon, Dillengen, Nuremberg, in Hesse, as in Wurtemberg,—wherever Luther's writings penetrated, the monks left their monasteries and apostatized. John Stiefel, at Eslingen, announced that Luther was the angel of the Apocalypse,² flying through heaven, Bible in hand, to deliver the nations that still walked in darkness; and he celebrated the seraph in German verses.³ Frederick Myconius (Mecum), suddenly remembering a dream which he had had the night after he had taken his monk's habit, embraced the new doctrines. He had seen, during his sleep, a bald-headed man, such as St. Paul is represented, who had led him to quench his thirst at a stream of water flowing from a crucifix. He had not the slightest doubt that the man resembling St. Paul was Luther, and that the mysterious stream of water was the word of life which the Saxon preached in his "Captivity of the Church," or in his sermon upon marriage.⁴

The conversion of Bugenhagen (Pomeranus) had likewise something of the miracle attending it. He was a Premonstratensian of Belbuck, in Pomerania. One day, at table, he opened the book of the "Captivity of the Church in Babylon," read some pages, and threw it aside indignantly, as the work of the most horrid heretic who had infested the Church since the death of Christ.⁵ At a later period, after Luther had written against celibacy, Bugenhagen felt inclined to reperuse the "Captivity," and on this occasion to tell the whole world it had been deceived, and that Luther alone discovered the truth.⁶ And some days thereafter, a party of the monks and priests of the monastery—

¹ "Ut Pater Filium in dextera sua possit servare à facie et cauda istorum titutionum fumigantium."—Wencesl. Link, 16 Mart. 1522.

² Strobel, Neue Beiträge, tom. i. p. 10.

³ Von der ehristförmigen, rechtgegründeten Lehre Doctoris Martini Lutheri.

⁴ Myconius had another prophetic dream, which he narrated at Ratzeberg. Seckendorf, l. c. tom. iii. p. 269. This historian pretends that Luther had predicted that he would die six years before Myconius.—Ib. p. 630.

⁵ "Multos à passo Christo salvatore hæreticos ecclesiam infestasse, ac duriter exercuisse, sed nullum, ejus libri auctore, pestilentiorum unquam exitiisse."—Scul. Ann. Evang. Renovati, 4to. p. 39, ed. de Van der Hart.

⁶ "Quid ego vobis multa dicam? Universus mundus cæcutit, et in Cimmeriis tenebris versatur. Hic vir unus et solus verum videt."—Id. ib.

John Kyrich, John Lorch, John Boldewin, and Christ. Kettelhut, —threw off an inconvenient gown, and married, in obedience to the command, "*Increase and multiply*;" whilst at their instigation the young people of the town pulled down the statues which ornamented the choir of the church of the Holy Ghost, and threw them into the nearest wells.¹

At Mainz, Gaspard Hedio and Capito, under the eye of the archbishop, presumed to diffuse the new doctrines with a temerity of expression and a violence which Œcolampadius himself censured.² In each of these discourses, preached in the cloister, the pulpit, at the gate of the cemeteries, and sometimes in the open fields, under the lindens, as did Hermann Tast at Husum, the preacher hailed Luther by the names of "evangelist,"—"apostle of the truth,"—"ecclesiastes according to God's own heart." According to them, God had revealed to none but Luther the mysteries of the eternal word. And some months, days perhaps, had scarcely elapsed, when Sebastian Hoffmeister, a Minorite at Scaphus, taught that Christ cannot be present in the eucharist after his ascension,³ a proposition which he surely did not find in the Paul of Wittenberg; and Œcolampadius wrote: "Beware of saying to Luther that he is deceived; that would be to reject the Gospel. No, no, my brother, you will not convince us though the Holy Ghost may have chosen his domicile at Wittenberg."⁴

If you follow the monks on their leaving the monasteries, you will find them, when they do not return to their residence, taking the road to Wittenberg, where Schneidewins employed them to republish Luther's pamphlets. They had long plenty of work, for nothing could equal the doctor's fecundity. Writing was for him even more than an intellectual recreation. In 1520, he published 133 small works; in 1522, 130; in 1523, 183.⁵ These are sermons, homilies, postils, dialogues, exegeses, books polemical or controversial; some of them, for example the

¹ Scult. Ann. ib. p. 39.

² "Sed tu videas an Evangelicæ sermonis libertati ad amussim hæc tua respondeat modestia."—Epist. Œcolampadii et Zwinglii, lib. i.

³ Scultetus, Ann. Evang. Renov. l. c. p. 49.

⁴ Antwort auf Luther's Vorrede zum Syngamma. Luther's Briefe: Halle.

⁵ Panzer. Ann. Ranke, l. c. tom. ii. p. 81.

"Captivity of the Church in Babylon," would form several in octavo. Almost all of them had a title engraved on wood, the design of which was furnished by the author. The printers compensated themselves for the austerities of the monastic life, by jovially spending their money in one of those pints which they found at the gates of the German towns. For want of pipes, as tobacco had not then been discovered, they had to regale themselves with large pots of beer, which they emptied while singing—

"Who loves not woman, wine, or song,
Is a fool, and will be all his life long."¹

One of those off-hand distichs of Luther's rare leisure moments, allowed him by the devil or the pope, and which has had the good fortune to outlive the doctor's creed. We have frequently heard it sung at evening on the terrace of the old castle of Heidelberg by the students of divinity.

The monks were the foremost to show an example of public violation of their vows of chastity. The nuns dared not leave their convents. Luther perhaps had reckoned too much on the effect of his sermon upon marriage; the religious women blushed while they perused it. He came to the rescue of their startled modesty by publishing, for the use of those who wished to be free, a small tract, entitled, "Reasons proving that Nuns may piously leave their Cells."²

A young woman might read the pleading in favour of marriage without too much fear for her virtue. It is in very decent terms that the priest recommends the precept given to our first parents.

The book is dedicated to Leonard Kœppe, citizen of Torgau, a youth aged twenty-four, with as fine a face as figure, and who, proud of this dedication, every night scaled the convents to remove from them the nuns disposed to escape. It was Kœppe, as we shall see, who carried off from the convent of Nimptsch, Catherine Bora, Luther's future wife. For fear lest the noble German in which the monk wrote so purely might not be under-

¹ "Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weiber und Gesang,
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang."

² Ursach und Antwort, dass Jungfrauen Clöster göttlich verlassen mögen.
Dr. Martin Luther an Leonhard Köppen, Bürger zu Torgau: Wittemb. 1523.

stood by all the nuns, Luther caused his treatise to be translated into the old Saxon language of the common people.¹

In this crusade against ecclesiastical celibacy, we recognise even females,—theologians in petticoats,—who lend Luther drops of ink, which the monk is glad to accept. Argula Stauf, since her visit to Wartburg, laboured incessantly to propagate Luther's doctrines by preaching and writing. In a "Christian Admonition to the People as well as to the Magistrates," she maintains that the Saxon doctrine proceeds from heaven, that vows of chastity are an invention of the devil, that women are entitled to discuss theological questions,² and that she will talk in spite of all the Ecks in the world. Luther has extolled the tender piety of Argula.

In room of the plebeians, men of learning offered themselves to take part in the religious disputes on the question of celibacy. With Bible in hand, they gravely ventured to decide whether the Catholic or Lutheran view rested upon the divine word. In some cities of the empire, the magistrates encouraged these theological controversies. On an appointed day, the two rivals ascended a theatre, formed by means of some empty casks borrowed from the town inn, and for an hour or two exchanged quotations in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew: then, says Schmidt, the magistrates, who knew nothing of any of those languages, pronounced their judgment.³ At Constance, the rules bore that it should be permissible to the two parties to quote Greek and Latin.⁴

Erasmus laughed at that swarm of ecclesiastics according to Luther, which lighted in Germany. Oftener than once, to supply the places of the priests who were deprived of their cures, masons, tailors, tanners, and shopkeepers were selected. In vain did a person of sense, like George Eberlein, think of

¹ Orsacke unde Antwort, dat Junckfrowen Klöster gödliken verlaten mögen. Dr. Martin Luther an Leonhart Köppen, Börger zu Torgau: 1523.

² Ein christliche Schrift einer ehrbaren Frauen von Adel, darin sie alle christliche Stände und Obrigkeiten ermahnet, bei der Wahrheit und dem Wort Gottes zu bleiben, und solches aus christlicher Pflicht zum ernstlichsten zu handhaben.—Argula Staufferin, an Herrn Wilhem, Pfalz-Grafen bey Rhein, Herzoge in Ober- und Nieder-Bayern: 1523.

³ Schmidt, *History of the Germans*, tom. vi. p. 320.

⁴ Ibid. note.

asking these new apostles in whose name they came ; in vain did he exclaim impatiently : " Why, then, permit every fool to preach who offers himself in the name of the Holy Ghost, whom he has never known ? " These extempore priests had always the same answer : " Does not the Holy Ghost love to visit the simple and ignorant ? " Luther, when subsequently conferring ordination on the journeymen printers, whom he sent, saying, " Go and preach my sermons," had no more regard to rank than to mind. It was only the Catholic priest whom he wished to repel.¹

He managed to complete in a few days and nights—for he worked without intermission—his treatise against the sacerdotal hierarchy ;² a pamphlet, says one of his biographers, which would seem to have been written not with ink, but with blood.³ He always makes ruins around him ; he will have no more popes, cardinals, bishops, priests ; the Church is an assembly in which all are popes, cardinals, bishops, or priests. Have you faith ?—there is the tiara, the cross, the mitre, the holy oil, the pastoral staff ; you are a priest according to the order of Melchisedeck. Sing, catechise, lay on hands,—these are the functions which baptism has conferred upon you. Let not the archbishop of Mayence, or the bishop of Brandenburg, offer to defend the priesthood and its immunities.

" Our priests are fine hobgoblins," cries the monk, " who strut with the gravity of bishops, because they know how to sprinkle and cense wood and stone,—stone sprinkling stone, wood censing wood ! Colleges, bishoprics, monasteries, universities, are so many jakes and sinks in which the gold of princes and the whole world is buried. Pope !—you are not pope, but Priapus ; for Papists, say Priapists.

" These spiritual fornicators believe that they serve God ; as if the God of heaven had become Priapus.

" But some one will say to me : ' Well ! you have rejected the pope ; you wish, then, now to upset the episcopacy and ecclesiastical rule.' Hold ; be my judge, and pass sentence.

¹ Theodulus' Gastmahl, von Baron Starck. Buchols Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I. : Vienna, 1831, vol. ii. p. 220 et seq.

² " *Adversus falsò nominatum statum ecclesiæ papæ et episcoporum.*"

³ " *Non atramento, sed humano sanguine scripsisse videtur.*"—Ulenberg, p. 161.

Tell me, do I upset them, when I glorify God's word? All our famous bishops, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Irenæus, were merely bishops of one community! But our proud knights, our gracious masters, what have they of a bishop about them?—the name and the vestments. I wish that a painter would draw a picture, and write under it, 'This is the bishop of . . .'

"Listen, bishops; listen, hobgoblins and devils, the doctor is about to read to you a bull which will not sound agreeable to your ears. This is the bull of Doctor Martin: 'Whoever shall assist with his person or means to lay waste the episcopacy and order of bishops, is the cherished child of God, and a good Christian. If that is impossible, at least let them condemn it, and shun that soldiery. Whoever defends a bishop, or renders him obedience, is the servant of Satan.¹ Amen.'"

Then the war-song ends; Pindar changes himself into Petronius, so that we dare not follow him.

* * * * *

What, then, has become of the emperor's edict?²

¹ "Attendite episcopi, imò larvæ diaboli, Doctor Lutheri bullam vobis et reformationem legere vult quæ vobis non benè sonabit. . . Doctoris Lutheri bulla et reformatio. Quicumque opem ferunt, corpus, bona et famam in hoc impendunt ut episcopatus devastetur et episcoporum regimen excindatur, hi sunt dilecti filii Dei, et veri Christiani, observantes præcepta Dei, et ordinationibus diaboli repugnantæ."

² The following works may be consulted, if the movement of mind in Germany, during 1522, be wished to be understood:—

Ulrichi de Hutten equitis Germani ad Carolum imp. adversus intentatam sibi à Romanistis vim et injuriam conquestio; Ejusdem ad Albertum Brandenburgensem et Fred. Saxonum ducem, principes electores; Omnibus omnis ordinis ac status in Germaniâ principibus, nobilitati et plebeiis; Sebastiano de Rotenhan Equiti aur. Jacta est alea: Wittenb.;

Ein schöner Dialogus von den vier grössten Beschwernissen eines jeglichen Pfarrherrs nach Sag eines sonderlichen Vers:

"Die vier Handel thun den Pfarr weh:
Aussätzig, Jud, Junker, Mönch."

"Felix plebanus, felix porochia sub quâ,
Leprosus, judeus, præfectus, monachus,"

—Nec Naanima, Abraham, Sem, neque vivit Helias.

"Ich kann nicht viel Neues erdenken.
Ich will den Katzen die Schellen anhenken."

—Exitus rerum prudentiâ metitur: Wittenb.;

Quòd expediat Epistolæ et Evangelii Lectionem in Missâ, vernaculo sermone plebi promulgari. Ecolampadii ad Hedionem concionatorem Moguntinum, epistola, nec non epistola Hedionis ad Ecolampadium, Ebernburgi;

De Interdicto esu Carnium . . . epistola apologetica Erasmi Rot.: Colonis;

Pasquillus sive Dialogus de Statu Romano;

Ein Sermon von dem dritten Gebott, wie man Christlich Feyren sol, mit

CHAPTER IV.

ADRIAN VI.—DIET OF NUREMBERG. 1522—1523.

Florent of Utrecht is elevated to the pontifical chair, and takes the name of Adrian VI.—Character of that pope.—Estimate of it by Protestant historians.—Reforms which he wishes to introduce in the Church.—He sends Cheregatus to the Diet assembled at Nuremberg.—Appearance of the assembly.—Attempts at reconciliation made by the popedom, and which are baffled by the inimical dispositions of the members of the Diet.—Writings published by Luther to foment defiance and hatred against Rome.—The Diet digests its memorial of grievances, known by the name of “Centum Gravamina.”—Luther’s commentary.—Adrian’s grief and mortification.—His death.—Luther’s pamphlet against him whom he calls the old devil of Meissen.—Melancthon endeavours to justify Luther’s rage.—Erasmus’s opinion of the monk.

WHILE Luther preached in the church of Wittemberg his sermon on marriage, a priest, on whom Providence had also his views, ascended the pontifical throne. His name was Doctor Florent. God had not bestowed on him the gifts which affect the multitude: his discourse was simple, devoid of worldly ornament, like his attire. He formerly occupied in the university of Louvain a small chamber, a mere cell, full of theological books. He rose early to study, and ate once only during the day. He loved the poor, and shared with them the thousand florins which his appointment as professor yielded him, and gave up to them one of the two robes which the city was in the habit of presenting to him yearly. One day God took by the hand this Florent, whom Maximilian I. had appointed preceptor to Charles of Austria, and placed him upon the pontifical throne in place of Leo X. Florent took the name of Adrian VI.¹

Adrian was altogether of a different disposition from his predecessor, who loved pageantry and magnificence. He raised no monuments; he spent not the treasures of the Vatican in enrich-

Anseig etlicher Missbräuch, gepredigt durch Dr. Urbanum Regium, Prediger zu Hall im Intall, cum præf. ad Lucam Gasner;

Kayser all und Pabst all. Ein kurzer Begriff aller Kayser und Pabst Historien. An Kayser Carolum, Doct. Jacob Mennel: Basil, 1522.

¹ Spond. ad ann. 1521. Ciaconius, l. c. tom. iii. p. 430.

ing Rome with masterpieces of art ; he did not carry on excavations for the discovery of ancient statues ; or perambulate the streets amidst clouds of dust, and poets, and historians. His tastes and mission were of another description. Educated far from Italy, he had acquired on the benches of the school a great simplicity of character and behaviour. He loved literature, however, because it polishes the mind, and confers elegance on the manners. Above all, he was a being stamped with goodness, and who, to bring peace to the Church, would have sacrificed his rest and his life.

His portrait has been drawn in a masterly manner by two Protestants. "He was an upright Fleming," says Schroeckh, "frank and sincere ; a grave and studious priest ; a pontiff of rare moderation, having under the tiara all the simplicity of a private individual :"¹ "a model of temperance and modesty," says Menzel,² "the enemy of pomp, worldly splendour, and the luxury of courts."

Adrian had a sincere affection for all his scholars ; his first thoughts at Rome turned to Erasmus, who had been his best pupil at Louvain ; they were both persons to whom the clash of religious disputation was irksome, because it deprived them of what they most esteemed,—peace of mind. So, on ascending the throne, Adrian lost no time in writing to his former pupil. In a letter, wherein the sovereign is carefully concealed, he entreats him to labour for the pacification of the Church, in the name of that God who will reward him richly in eternity, and also of their old and sacred friendship. He makes no secret of the faults of the papacy ; perhaps even he exaggerates them, with intent to excite the zeal of Erasmus, so desirous is he to make an end of disturbances : at least, such is the charge brought against him by Catholic historians.³ Adrian wished that the philosopher should undertake the defence of Catholicism, and enter into controversy with the Reformer.

"Arise," said the pope to Erasmus, "arise in defence of the Lord ; and, in order to his glory, make use, as you have hitherto

¹ Schroeckh, l. c. tom. i. p. 315.

² Menzel, l. c. tom. i. p. 105.

³ Pallavicini, Storia del Concilio di Trento, lib. ii. cap. vii.

done, of the marvellous talents which he has heaped upon you."¹

Erasmus hesitated ; he dared not enter upon the work suggested to him by the head of the Church ; he stammered out some feeble excuses about his age and infirmities, about his imagination that froze with his fingers, and on the difficulty of going to Rome, whither the pope pressed him to come. According to him, however, he was aware of the diseases of the Church, and the remedy necessary to be applied for them ; but this remedy he could not confide except to trusty messengers, and such he could not find. He is proud of having, from the outset, foreseen the drama about to be performed ; and when he could unfold it, he, the God descended, remissly draws back.²

"I have from the beginning," he says, "preached upon the housetops, that the monks promoted Luther's cause, and I was not regarded. Subsequently, I pointed out how they might get rid of the evil and cut it out by the root, and they rejected my advice."

Pope Adrian was a thorough German in his speech, dress, manners, and faith, which, to be excited, required not, like that of the Italians, symbols and imageries ; he was a thorough Christian of the primitive Church, but who, unfortunately, could not understand that external forms, to be lasting, must be renovated with the manners of a people. Attired more than simply, he was unrecognised as he walked through the streets of Rome, save by a retinue of lame, paralytic, and blind beggars of both sexes, who surrounded him, and to whom he distributed alms. No artists were in his train, for he loved them not, and reproached them with usurping the goods of the poor ; not that he was a stranger to the æsthetics, but that charity was his only muse. One day, when somebody spoke to him of the magnificent pension which Julius II. had bestowed upon the nobleman who had found the group of the Laocœon, he shook his head : "These are idols," said he ;³ "I know other gods whom I prefer ; the poor, who are my brethren in Jesus Christ." We see whether the

¹ *Erasmii Epist.* lib. xxiii. Seckendorf, *Comm.* lib. i. p. 309. Raynaldus, ann. 1522, No. 70.

² *Opinions of Erasmus Roterodamus*, 12mo.

³ *Lettere de' Principi* : Venezia, 1564, tom. i. p. 96.

conclave was right in making Adrian the successor of Leo X. If Florent had come sooner, when the arts required a golden bridge to enter Rome, perhaps he might have passed on, as he did when they showed him the Laocöon, and Rome might have been deprived of one of its finest glories. Both fulfilled their mission ;—the one, by joining the movement of mind, by patronising and rewarding all who possessed the soul of an artist, to let the world know that the papacy, far from being the enemy of knowledge, exalts it as a gift sent from God ; the other, when the arts were restored, and no longer feared the storm, by forgetting them for a while in endeavours to heal the sores of the Church ; a work very important, and which none better than Adrian could effect : for he was distinguished by all the qualities which Protestant Germany accused Leo X. of despising. He was partial to retirement, coarse clothing, a frugal board, simplicity in worship and ceremony, knowledge which hides itself, and piety which is afraid of being discovered. Long before Luther had touched indulgences with his fiery hand, he had studied the nature of those works of satisfaction, fixed their limits, and assigned to them their real character, skilfully separating the use from the abuse, and reconciling the necessity of the dogma with the light of wisdom. On his elevation to the pontificate, he issued a bull, in which are to be found the doctrines which he had from the first professed with such great ability, on the merits of the blood of Jesus Christ, the treasure of indulgences, as the Church teaches. In this he lifts his voice, with an energy of which some casuists have disapproved, “against the scandals which the popedom had given to the world ; the licentiousness of the prelates, and their uncurbed luxury ; and the shameful traffic in holy things, of which Rome had been the first to set the example.” To prove that these complaints were well founded, he immediately reduced the price of the dispensations, which persons were obliged to purchase at Rome, for liberty to contract marriages within the forbidden degrees. Complaints were made, especially in Germany, of the prerogatives of the coadjutors of the chancery. Adrian deprived them of some of these. From the mendicant friars he took the power of giving and selling pardons. This was only the beginning of the reforms which he meditated, if Germany had been

willing to follow him in these ways of amendment ; but the good intentions of the pope were to be dashed in pieces against the caprices of the German commonalty, — Luther and his adherents.¹

The edict of Worms, promulgated by the emperor, had the fate of all laws which from the first are intended not to be administered, and are only meant to scare : it was laughed at when Protestantism was seen boldly to advance and disseminate its doctrines. There was no hand in Germany sufficiently strong to enforce the emperor's orders. Charles V., then in Spain, seemed deaf to the sound of the religious quarrels which troubled Germany. Vast thoughts occupied his mind. He dreamed of a monarchy on which the sun should never set.

One man alone did his duty. When his faith and country were threatened, Duke George of Saxony was sure to be seen rushing to their defence at the peril of his blood. On the 6th of August, 1522, he sent to the diet some of the pamphlets in which the pope and the king of England were grossly insulted. "I have marked," said he, "the passages offensive to the emperor ; as for those in which the monk outrages Henry VIII. and Adrian VI., it would take too much time ; the book is filled with them."² The council of the regency replied very drily to the duke, that they were displeased with these insults. "I do not doubt it," replied his highness ; "but I demand that they be repressed." Being sharply attacked in a letter from Luther to Hartmuth von Kronberg,³ the duke again denounced the monk to the council of regency, who paid no attention to the elector's complaints. "This, then, is the great bladder," said Luther, "who is to sit in heaven with his huge belly, and who imagines that he eats Christ, as a wolf swallows a fly."⁴ George, indignant, resolved to ask Luther if he had written the letter

¹ It must not be forgotten, that the reforms in the head and its members, as they then expressed it, had been commenced by Julius II., and followed up by Leo X. See, in the second volume of our History of Leo X., the chapter entitled The Council of the Lateran.

² Schmidt, l. c. tom. vi. p. 315.

³ An Hurtmuth von Kronberg, Feb. 1522. Luther's Werke: Leipzig, tom. xviii. p. 226.

⁴ Hat auch im Sinn er wolle Christum fressen wie der Wolf eine Mücke. Luther's Werke: Leipzig, tom. xviii. p. 227.

which was circulated through Germany, and addressed to Hartmuth; and the monk replied, without emotion, that the letter of which his highness complained was his, and that everything which he wrote, whether for publication or private use, and which was signed with his name, was the property of the monk whom men called Luther.¹

He laboured unceasingly to bring the people over to his cause. They understood the language which he addressed to them, and welcomed with joy his declamations against oppression, full of hope that their turn would come, and that they might one day reckon with their masters, and, whether they would or not, play their game also. The manifesto published by Luther at this time, and which even Seckendorf has condemned, was calculated to excite disturbances, by increasing that fever of independence with which the multitude was infected. He entitled his book "The Secular Magistracy."² It commences in a strain of mockery and rage. "God," he exclaims, "inflames the brains of the princes. They believe that they must obey their caprices; they place themselves under the shadow of Cæsar, whose orders, according to them, they only obey like obedient subjects, as if they could conceal their iniquity from every eye! Blackguards, who would wish to pass for Christians!" And these are the hands to whom Cæsar has intrusted the keys of Germany; fools, who would exterminate the faith of our land, and make blasphemy increase in it, if they were not resisted at least by force of speaking. If I attacked to his face the pope, that great Roman idol, ought I to be afraid of his scales?"

Luther then enters into the matter, and brings forward some texts of Scripture which treat of the civil power, and of the subject's obedience, and which at first sight seem contradictory. He sets himself to reconcile them. He divides society into two camps, one belonging to the kingdom of God, the other to the kingdom of this world; the first, a company of the faithful, a Jerusalem of Christians, has no need of sword, or magistrates,

¹ An den Herzog Georg von Sachsen, 3 Jan. 1523. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 286.

² De Magistratu seculari, Opera Lutheri, tom. ii.: Jensæ, p. 189. "Negari non potest vehementi stylo scriptum esse libellum."—Comm. lib. i. p. 211.

³ "Olim nebulones, nunc verò Christiani principes appellari."

or political ministers to govern it ; no anarchy exists there ; there all its members are on an equality ; there there is no master but Christ ; there the bishops and the priests are only distinguished by the ministry which has devolved upon them ; there no laws can be established or rules made without the assent of the common will.

"It is not for this select society that laws have been made, magistracies established, and tribunals founded, but properly for the assembly of unbelievers, who cannot exist without all these human inventions. Let priests or bishops wear the sword and exercise political magistracy, but only in that civil society of men who are Christians merely in name. No Christian ought to shelter himself under the sword of the civil law, or invest himself with the office of judge for administering justice. Whoever disputes before the tribunals, who has recourse to them to sue or to defend his honour or temporal means, is unworthy to bear the noble name of a disciple of Christ ; he is a pagan, an infidel. All have received baptism, but among those who have been regenerated, how few true Christians can Christ acknowledge!"

After this, Luther hastens to throw aside the decency of metaphysical theories, which are not made for the people, and which fatigue if they are too long spun out ; such as those logical forms which are only addressed to exalted intellects, like Melancthon's or Jonas' ; and he returns to the strife impassioned with that language in which he is so powerful and unrivalled ; to that fiery eloquence which inflames, excites, and electrifies like a war-song, and which alarms even his disciples.

"See how God," says he, "delivers the Catholic princes to their reprobate senses ; he wishes to make an end of them and all the great ones of the Church ; their reign is over ; princes, bishops, priests, monks, rascals upon rascals, are about to descend to the grave covered with the hatred of the human race. Since the beginning of the world a wise and prudent prince has been a rare bird on the earth,¹ but rarer still a prince a good man. What are the most part of the great ? fools, good-for-nothing fellows, and the greatest rascals under the sun ;

¹ "Ab initio mundi rara avis in terrâ fuit princeps prudentiâ pollens ; multo rarior probus princeps. Ut plurimum, vel maximi sunt moriones, vel nebulones omnium qui sub sole vivunt, pessimi."—Luther, l. c. *ibid*.

lictors and hangmen, whom God employs in his wrath to punish the wicked and preserve the peace of nations ;—for our God is great, and it is necessary that he should have in his service noble, rich, and illustrious executioners ; and it pleases him that we should call these, his executioners and lictors, our very clement lords.¹ Princes, the hand of God is suspended over your heads ; contempt will be poured upon you ; you will die, were your power above that of the Turk himself. Already your reward is at hand ; you are accounted rascals and scoundrels ; they judge you according to the part which you have played ; the people know you, and that terrible chastisement, which God calls contempt, presses you on all sides ; you cannot avert it. The people, wearied of your tyranny and iniquity, can no longer bear it. God wills it not. The world is no longer what it was, when you could chase men as you could deer.”

Place Luther at Florence, like Savonarola, and this hymn would rouse the multitude to rush to arms and crush these instruments of iniquity called princes. In Germany, the Reformer's language could not produce the same effect upon a phlegmatic nation, receiving only the influence of a watery sun, and accustomed, moreover, to a passive obedience to the powers of this world, an obedience which Catholicism had made an imperative duty. Open rebellion could with difficulty have organised itself, for a common bond did not unite the populations. If the peasantry were to rise, it would not at first be in the name of religion, but of interests entirely material ; a war of slaves, undertaken by another Spartacus. Luther knew the chances of his words and the nature of the beings to whom they were addressed. These people, long accustomed to the yoke, had foreseen the destinies of Charles V. ; they knew that he was not so far off that he could not retrace his steps, and drown in blood an open rebellion. In place then of attacking the powers in front, the people contented themselves with embarrassing them on their march, multiplying obstacles in their way, creating suspicions, importuning them with their complaints, dinning them with their grievances, calumniating their intentions, attributing to them sanguinary desires, and accusing them of seeking

¹ “*Estque ipseus bene placitum ut hos carnifices clementissimos dominos appellemus.*”—*Ibid.*

in a hypocritical repose to rally their forces, to crush men's consciences with greater security; such was the theme indicated by Luther. The Catholic princes were especially threatened. Protestantism had found means to slip into their courts. It denounced them to Luther, who was able sometimes to appear as if he possessed the gift of second sight; for he prophesied events which subsequently came to pass: thus it was that he became acquainted with the secrets of the archbishop of Mayence, which were communicated to him by his secretary, Wolfgang Capito, who was not slow to embrace Protestantism;¹ and the plans of the elector Frederick were revealed to him by the prince's secretary, George Spalatinus. When the diet of Nuremberg was opened, in November, 1522, Luther was previously made aware of the views of the princes who composed it. The majority, without leaning to the new doctrines, dreaded the immense popularity which the monk enjoyed in Germany, and still more his language, which burned, as with fire, every robe to which it fastened, and above all the purple or the ermine. He was certain that no unfriendly voice would exclaim: "Down with evangelism!" and that if such were to proceed from the bench of the Catholic princes, it would instantly be stifled by the very numerous voices which fear would make eloquent. At this congress of Nuremberg, every religious opinion of the time was represented: there were lukewarm Catholics, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Sacramentarians, Zwinglians, Melancthonians, who were called hierarchists, Carlstadians, and indifferents. The political sentiments presented a like confusion. In the emperor's absence all these voices hustled, clamoured, and wished to save Germany. The diet only exhibited the melancholy appearance of an assembly in which the secular princes were occupied with theology, and the ecclesiastical princes with power. If Cheregatus, Adrian's nuncio, had possessed the eloquence of Aleandro, the ambassador from Leo X., he would unquestionably have led all these feeble wills: no one would have attempted resistance. There was not in the assembly a single strong mind. The moment was favourable: the Reformation might have been suppressed. But instead of that eloquence of Aleandro, lively, forcible, and sparkling with imagery, which seduced before convincing, there was only a

¹ Ulenberg, *Historia de Vitâ*, etc. p. 182.

heavy discourse, uncertain, weak, and timid. Cheregatus was rather like a prisoner at the bar than a judge on the bench. The diet seemed struck with astonishment, and waited for another tone of address. As it happened, the courage of all those heroes of the theatre returned, in presence of the nuncio who humbled the purple even unto prayer, for his speech was truly a confession. He admitted that "the chair of St. Peter had been the first sullied ;¹ that the Church required to be reformed ; that if God had so cruelly punished it, it was because of the sins of its prelates and priests ; that for several years, the abuse of holy things, the insolence of power and scandals came from Rome ; that the ardent wish of his holiness was to labour to repair the past, and to make reform proceed from the head to the members ; that the pontifical chair, the principal seat of the evil, ought to be treated first ; and that once healed, the wounds of the Church would very soon close themselves."² The nuncio added, that it was necessary however to beware of all enthusiasm, to repel the heroic remedies which would only increase the malady, to employ the liniments which would cure the sick ; and that, by God's aid, the pope, who was only intrusted with the government of souls to obey the will of Heaven, would succeed in restoring peace to the Church. Then, addressing himself to the members of the diet : " I am prepared," said he, " to listen to your complaints ; if you have grievances, be pleased to state them ; the pope is disposed to receive them in his paternal kindness. Remember that the Orders owe to him the concurrence of their will ; that there is an edict,—that of Worms,—which, in the emperor's absence, you are commissioned to enforce, and that it depends on you to adopt the most fitting measures, so that the heart of the common father of the faithful be not afflicted by the triumph of heresy ; that the Church has spoken, and that, as docile children, you ought to obey her, and be vigilant in executing her decrees."³ All who abjure their errors will be forgiven."⁴

¹ "Scimus in hac sanctâ sede, aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse."

² Edm. Kicheri, *Historiæ Conciliorum*, libri quatuor.

³ Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i.

⁴ "Detur venia iis qui errores suos abjurare voluerint."—*Instructio pro Cheregato*.

We see all that is weak, embarrassed, and imprudent in this language of the representative of a court accustomed to speak so high. It certainly was not calculated to give an exalted idea, either of the sovereign in whose name it was spoken, or of the orator who acted as his organ. The members of the diet could never have elevated themselves to the position in which the nuncio of his holiness placed them. Luther was not altogether sure of their disposition, he was afraid of the Catholic princes. To compromise them in the eyes of the German nation, he had taken care to represent them as instruments of vengeance in the hand of God. The nuncio's address made so many petty iron-handed despots of men who, left to their own instincts, would have been broken by an energetic breath. Beyond the Alps it caused misgivings and discouragement to the hearts of the Italian prelates, who felt that the language of Cheregatus was befitting a person of the age, but the very reverse in the mouth of a nuncio. Protestant Germany boasted of having put Rome to silence; and Luther at Wittemberg did not fail to institute a parallel between the address of Cheregatus at the diet of Nuremberg and that of Cajetan at Augsburg, and point out to the Reformers how much his cause had advanced, since a nuncio was obliged to confess to the world that all the disturbance hitherto had its origin in the disorders of the Roman court.¹

The Nuremberg assembly had no need to meditate long on its reply. The official harangue required a comment. It declared that if it had not enforced the emperor's edict against Luther's followers, the fault lay in Rome, of which Germany had so much to complain; that rigorous measures would have served only to spread, instead of repressing, the new doctrines; and that the people would have been excited to rebel against the authorities, under the pretence that they wished to extinguish gospel light. It complimented the pope, who had so frankly acknowledged the necessity of a reformation in the clergy, and expressed a hope that henceforth the produce of the first-fruits should not be diverted from their original destination—the war against the Turks and infidels.²

¹ He published a portion of Adrian's Mandatum with marginal notes.—Sleidan.

² Coch, in Act. Luth. Ulenberg, *Historia de Vita Lutheri*. Maimbourg,

In the opinion of the diet, the only means of restoring peace to Germany was by summoning a national council, in which every dissentient voice might be heard. In the mean while, the Orders promised to endeavour to effect a general reconciliation. They engaged to obtain from the elector that Luther should be silenced; that the preachers should only expound the word of God, rested upon the teaching and tradition of the Church; that the duty of punishing with canonical penalties the married priests or secularized monks should be left to the ordinaries, and that they might be deprived of their benefices or privileges without the magistrates interfering to prevent it.¹

The archduke Frederick and the elector of Brandenburg wished to have recourse to the rigorous measures for which Cheregatus had concluded by asking against those who should refuse to obey the edict of Worms. But they met with lively opposition in the diet; and sharp words were exchanged between these princes and some members of the assembly. "Do I not sit here as representative of the emperor?" exclaimed Ferdinand impatiently. "Doubtless," replied Planitz, "but after the diet and the Orders of the empire." The Protestant princes had brought with them two Lutheran preachers, who were not satisfied with fomenting religious antipathies, but who mounted the pulpit to insult the papacy. "Though the pope," said one of them in the church of St. Laurence, "to his three crowns should add a fourth, he would not make me abandon the word of God."²

The diet published its edict on the 6th March, 1523, in the name of the absent emperor. Luther waited with impatience for the result of this deliberation; the recess of that assembly was a triumph for him. He took care to extol his victory over the papacy, in a writing full of artifice,³ in which flattery of the

p. 76. Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i. p. 150. The acts of the Diet are to be found in Luther's works, vol. xv. pp. 2667, 2674, edit. Walch.

¹ "Nullos libros edendos; Evangelium purè juxta probatas et ab Ecclesiâ receptas interpretationes docendum.—Ab episcopis diligendos homines idoneos qui concionatores exorbitantes leniter castigent.—Sacerdotes, qui uxores duxerant, juxta leges pontificias mulcandos."

² Ranke, *l. c.* tom. ii. p. 55.

³ Luther, *Contrâ falsa Edicta Cæsaris*.

Orders is dexterously tempered with admonitions which do not proceed from himself, he says, but from God, whose command he obeys; he is only like a feeble reed in the hands of the Lord, similar to those who are raised in honours and dignities, and whom the Lord would overthrow with a breath, if ever his word were unheeded. He demands pardon for those priests and monks whom they would seek to punish because they have obeyed God's command to Adam and all his posterity. "Unhappy blindness," says he, "merciless severity of the pontiff! Prescription redolent of the devil! To transform into a divine command that continence, which our nature cannot preserve! To decree chastity is as much as to order man to abstain from the functions of our wretched organs, or retain his excrements! . . ."¹

This appeal to the violation of celibacy, so curtly expressed, had, in 1522, been mooted at length in a letter from Luther to the knights of the Teutonic Order.² "My friends," he said to them, "God's precept to multiply is much older than that of continence decreed by the councils; it dates as far back as the time of Adam. It is much better to live in concubinage than in chastity; the latter is an unpardonable sin, and the former, by God's aid, will not infer the loss of salvation."³

And Luther tells us wherefore: libertinism is an offence against God, but is not a contempt of his word, of all crimes the greatest. The libertine sins, but he does not obstinately resist the Gospel; the reverse is the case of the continent. And as it happened that Rome occasionally released certain military men from their vows of chastity, to them Luther says, in these very words: "Let there be no such marriages, though one, a hundred, or a thousand councils should permit you; with one, two, or three mistresses you may pass all your life, and yet obtain God's forgiveness, but there will be no mercy shown to one who marries a wife by permission of a council or papistical

¹ "Perinde facere qui continenter vivere instituant, ac si quis excrementa vel lotium contra naturæ impetum retinere velit."—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 91.

² Ad milites ordinis Teutonici, Oper. Luth.: Jenæ, tom. ii. p. 211. Dr. Martin Luther's *Ermahnung an die Herren deutschen Ordens*.

³ "In statu scortationis vel peccati, Dei præsidio implorato, de salute non desperandum."—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 187.

dispensation ; and why ? because the pope and council are instruments of the devil.”¹

The diet set forth its grievances : a hundred in number, *Centum gravamina*,² of which they sought redress. They were remonstrances rather than complaints, rude and acrimonious, and to which, in general, the pope could not have attended without affecting his authority, the discipline of the Church, and the most holy traditions. Cheregatus was alarmed on glancing over this volume of complaints, which the secretary of the Orders sent to him. He suffered the penalty of his timidity. The diet formally refused to review its work ; besides, the press had got hold of it, republished, and circulated it throughout Germany. Cheregatus was obliged to submit.

While he was on his way back to Rome, the printer of Wittenberg published the contents of the *Centum gravamina* in Latin and German, for the use of the learned and the people, with commentaries and remarks, half serious, half in jest, but all insulting to Catholicism, and besides replete with Luther. It was he who dictated those severe and biting lines, who stirred up all that gall, and made all that filth ; it was his breath and inspiration, for Ulrich von Hutten was sick and dying. Now, there is no mistaking him there. He himself has taken care to point

¹ “Quod is qui per omnem vitam unum vel duo, triave scorta domi fovet, potius sit in gratia Dei, quam alius quispiam qui juxta concilii definitionem matrimonii se nexu vinciri patiatur.”—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 187. See all these passages, and many others still more rash, in the German works of Luther : Leipsic, vol. xviii. p. 408 et seq.

² Pontificii oratoris Legati in Conventu Norimbergensi, 1522, inchoato, sequenti verò finito. Unà cum instructione ab eodem Legato consignatâ : nec non responsione Cæsareæ Majestatis ac reliquorum principum et procerum nomine redditâ.

Was auf dem Reichstag zu Nürnberg, von wegen päbstlicher Heiligkeit kaiserlicher Majestät Stadthalter und Stände, lutherischer Sachen halben, gelanget, und darauf geantwortet worden ist. Item : Der weltlichen Reichstände Beschwerden, so sie gegen den Stul zu Rom und andern geistlichen Ständen haben, und der päbstlichen Heiligkeit Oratorem, auf dem Reichstag zu Nürnberg, im Jahr 1522 angefangen, und darnach im 23. geendet, übergeben worden sind. Ein Verzeichniss von etlicher teutscher Bisthümer und Aebten Annata die sie gen Rom geben. Von dem Mangel vorgesetzter Annaten. Von Andern Gefällen aus teutschen Landen gen Rom : Nürnberg, 1523.

Teutscher Nation Beschwerden von den Geistlichen. Durch die weltlichen Reichstände, Fürsten und Herrn, Pabst Adriano schriftlich überschickt, nechst vergangenen Reichstage zu Nürnberg, im 22. Jahr angefangen, und im 23. geendet.

out the mode of divination, and it is very simple. "When upon a clean white page you see little black and viscous specks, you say, A fly has been upon this."¹ And we, when we perceive the fine face of an old man, such as Adrian or the cardinal archbishop of Mayence, flushed with a blow from the hand of a priest, we say, That hand is Luther's; and we are not mistaken.

Luther is perhaps more severe when he reasons, instead of employing raillery. Cheregatus, a Southern rhetorician, fond of imagery, had said, in the opening of his speech: "Pericles himself felt nervous whenever he was obliged to speak in public; you will not, then, be astonished that I am intimidated by the sight of so many princes assembled in this illustrious meeting."

The marginal note said: "This impious preface smells of the pagan."

Cheregatus remarked, that if Hungary fell into the hands of the Turks, all Germany would become the slaves of the barbarians.

The note said snappishly: "We should prefer being under the Turks than the Papists."²

The Teutonic party, who formed the majority of the diet of Nuremberg, believed they were making a bold act of opposition to Rome, in demanding the convocation of the council. They hoped that the appeal would be considered beyond the Alps as a derision or insult to the papacy. These old Germans were mistaken: Rome seemed inclined, in order to restore peace to the Church in Germany, to allow a general council to be held. Then Luther, who, since his conference with Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg, had constantly posted the walls of the cathedral with an appeal to a future council, when he saw Rome willing to grant it, changed his mind, and furiously rejected this mode of conciliation. Would you know the secret of this palinode? It was because a council could only be composed of the pope, bishops, priests, and monks: now, all these had cast off the Gospel. Such was one of his arguments against holding a council. This is not the gravest; every sheep, he formally asserts, has a right to determine whether the food which the shepherd gives it is

¹ Tisch-Reden.

² Schmidt, l. c. tom vi. p. 321.

sound or corrupt; then, to what purpose councils, priests, or learned men?¹

The unhappy Adrian,—this pope so pure, this Christian of the primitive Church, this good shepherd, who would have given his life for his sheep, this apostle, who “thought no evil,” and of whom the world was not worthy,² according to the fine description of a Protestant historian,—was broken-hearted when Cheregatus returned, and grief killed him. All the poor of Rome followed his funeral weeping, and exclaiming: “Our father is dead!” and as it passed by, the people knelt, and shed tears. Never had funeral pomp evoked a similar grief; Rome at last knew the extent of her loss. Several cardinals accompanied the body to the church of St. Peter: these were the Utrecht doctor’s friends in boyhood. By their attention, a small monument was raised to preserve these cherished remains; and on it was inscribed: “Here lies Adrian VI., who considered power the greatest of misfortunes.”³ Subsequently, a German cardinal, Eckenwoirt, erected, at his own expense, in the church of Dell’ Anima, a less simple cenotaph, bearing these words, which Adrian loved to repeat: “Nothing is of consequence to the most virtuous person like the time he has lived.”

Some days before his death, Adrian had canonized Benno, bishop of Misnia,⁴ a holy priest, whose memory is still held in veneration throughout Catholic Saxony: he was another Martin, who often, after selling his valuables, divided his cloak to give it to the poor. Luther, who recommended to the veneration of Christians those of his disciples who died in the course of their mission, strove to prevent respect being paid to this new saint.

¹ Dr. Martin Luther’s *Grund-Ursache aus der Schrift, dass eine christliche Versammlung oder Gemeine Recht und Macht habe, alle Lehre zu urtheilen, und Lehrer zu berufen, ein- und abzusetzen.*—Luther’s *Werke*: Leipzig, tom. xviii. p. 429 et seq.

² Ad. Menzel, tom. i. p. 111. Aus diesem Verdrusse wurde der fromme Mann, dessen die Welt nicht werth war, zur Freude der Römer, am 14. September 1525, durch den Tod befreit.

³ “Hadrianus sextus hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicitis in vita duxit quam quod imperaret.”

We have of this pope: “*Commentarii de rebus theologicis in IV. sententiarum questiones, una cum questionibus quas quodlibetas vocant.*”

⁴ Emser has written the life of this bishop.—Coch. in *Act.* pp. 108, 109.

He wrote his book, "Concerning the New Idol and the Old Devil," in which he found means to insult both the living and the dead.

"Satan," he says, "being unable to bear the splendour of the rising star of the Gospel, has resolved to be revenged, and, in ridicule of God, has devised a buffoonish farce, a capital fiction for the stage of a mountebank. He takes Benno's name, and desires to have it worshipped. For this comedy he makes use of Pope Adrian, whose chastity and innocence they vaunt; an impious hypocrite, the determined enemy of God's word, who has caused the death of two of our Augustinian friars at Brussels; who kills the living saints of the Lord, and canonizes the slave of Rome, or rather the devil himself. Like as at Constance, where the fathers of the council have shed the blood of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, two sons of God, two saints, two martyrs, and exalted Thomas Aquinas, the fountain and sink of heresies! Who was this Benno? The pimp of Gregory VII., that mitred scoundrel, who has dethroned the emperor, Henry IV. If Benno did not do penance for that crime, he is damned to all eternity, and fell into the hands of the devil when he died.¹ Misnians, you are called on to adore a cut-throat, an infamous homicide, a robber stained with blood, the author of all the calamities which press upon Germany, the enemy of the Gospel, the companion of Antichrist, a saint such as Annas and Caiaphas."

Melancthon sorrowfully wrote to Erasmus: "Luther is of more worth than his pamphlets."²

But Erasmus shook his head incredulously, and replied to his friend: "No, I cannot believe that men, whose manners are so opposite to the doctrines of Christ, are guided by his spirit. Formerly the Gospel made the fierce mild, the spoiler merciful, the turbulent peaceful, the slanderer charitable. Now our evangelists excite fury, possess themselves fraudulently of the property of others, create disturbances everywhere, and speak evil of those

¹ *Contrà novum Idolum et antiquum Diabolum qui Misense exaltabitur*: Jense, tom. ii. p. 446, b.

² "Quem quidem virum ego meliorem esse judico, quàm qualis videtur facienti de eo judicium ex illis violentis scriptionibus ipsius."—*Epist. ad Erasm. inter Epist. ad Camerar.* p. 90.

even whose conduct is exemplary. I see hypocrites and tyrants, but not one spark of the spirit of the Gospel."¹

Erasmus had not yet read Luther's letter to Henry VIII. !

CHAPTER V.

HENRY VIII. AND LUTHER. 1528.

The Captivity of the Church in Babylon excites a great sensation in England.

—It is attacked by Henry VIII.—Specimen of the royal work.—Luther's reply to the king's pamphlet.—Bagenhagen and Melancthon approve of Luther's part in the controversy.—Henry complains to Germany of Luther's insults.—Sir Thomas More defends the king's side.—His work.—Luther's daring explained.—New letter, wherein the monk humbly apologises to Henry.—And why?

THE "Captivity of the Church in Babylon," widely diffused in Germany, eagerly read and praised by the antagonists of the school of Cologne, excited some noise in England. The school divinity had warm defenders at London among the clergy and seminaries. Luther's rebellion had caused them astonishment mingled with alarm. It happened that the most irritable theologian of the age was the very monarch who reigned over Great Britain. Henry VIII. was among the first who read Luther's pamphlet, and immediately undertook to refute it. Erasmus was aware of the king's fancy, and commended it. His majesty for some weeks closeted himself with his chancellor, the archbishop of York, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and other prelates, who, if we are to believe Luther, supplied their master with their sophistry and rage. The reply appeared with the title of "Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Doctor Martin Luther."²

¹ "Qui possim mihi persuadere illos agi Spiritu Christi quorum mores tantum discrepant à doctrinâ Christi! Olim Evangelium ex ferocibus reddebat mites, ex rapacibus benignos, ex turbulentis pacificos, ex maledicis beneficos; hi redduntur furiosi, capiunt per fraudem aliena, concitant ubique tumultus, maledicunt etiam de bene merentibus. Novos hypocritas, novos tyrannos video, ac ne micam quidem Evangelii spiritus."—*Erasm. Epist. ep. 69, ad Melanchth. p. 726.*

² *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum.*

One night an apparition, much more real than that of Satan, came to torment the Reformer at Wartburg,—this was the spectre of Henry VIII. He entered the castle, not as historians represent him to us, with that “fine appearance,” which yielded only to that of Francis I., or, as Holbein has depicted him, with his rich ermine, his face embedded in a small-ruffled collar, and his yellow fox-eyes,—but in the garb of a monk, holding in his hand the defence of the Catholic faith, which he had dedicated to Leo X.¹

That apology for Catholicism by a crowned head was a great event in the religious world. Henry’s work soon crossed the sea, and was reprinted in every form in Holland, Belgium, Germany, and France.² In Italy, there was a shower of sonnets, odes, and poems in honour of the king. It was celebrated in Latin verse by Vida and Cicoli:³ Erasmus lauded the prose, Eck the reasoning, of the prince. For more than six months, the only theme was Henry VIII. and his literary renown. That renown is forgotten, and the volume lies buried in a vellum shroud in some German libraries, where we have met with it beside the works of Prierias, Latomus, and Cochläus, who also made so much noise on this earth. For an idea of the royal polemics we must look into it.

“There was a time,” says Henry, “when the faith had no need of defenders; it had no enemies. Now it has one who exceeds in malignity all his predecessors, who is instigated by the devil, who covers himself with the shield of charity, and, full of hatred and wrath, discharges his viperish venom against the Church and Catholicism. Wherefore every Christian soul, every servant of Christ, of whatever age, sex, or order, must rise in their turn against this common enemy. . . .

“What similar pestilence has ever attacked the Lord’s flock? What serpent can be compared with this monk who has written

¹ The royal manuscript is preserved and exhibited in the Vatican. It is prefaced by the following distich:

“Anglorum rex, Henricus, Leo decime, mittit
Hoc opus et fidei testem et amicitiae.”

The first edition of the book appeared at London, in *œdibus Pynsonianis*, 1521.

² In 1522, the *Assertio* was printed at Antwerp, in two forms, in *œdibus Michaëlis Hillenii*.

³ *Vidæ Op. tom. ii. p. 161.*

upon the Babylonish captivity of the Church? who sports with the language of Scripture to attack the sacraments?—to this scoffer of our old traditions, who puts no faith in our holy fathers, or the ancient interpreters of our holy books, except when they agree with him; who compares the Holy See to the impure Babylon, treats as a tyrant the sovereign pontiff, and makes that holy name synonymous with Antichrist? He is a man of pride, blasphemy, and schism!—a devouring wolf, who would rend the flesh of the Christian flock!—a child of the devil, who seeks to wile the sheep from Christ their pastor!—a filthy soul, who attempts to revive heresies that have been buried for ages, who mixes new errors with the old, and, like Cerberus, drags to the light from hell blasphemies which slept in shameful darkness; and glories in disturbing with his doctrine the Church and the Catholic communion.”¹

Henry enters at once into the subject, and combats and destroys the Saxon creed. The crowned theologian is close, concise, and cutting. He bears no likeness to those disputants whom we have seen at Worms, — to those gowned civilians who flattered Luther, lavished incense and honey on him, and strove by fair words to win back the wanderer to authority. Henry is the monarch as he appears in history and painting,—with flaming eye, brow swollen with rage, and lips quivering with fury. The theologian seems to wish to cast away the frock and seize the sword, wherewith to force his arguments down the throat of his adversary.

“Wretch!” he says to Luther, “do you not know how much obedience is better than sacrifice? You do not reflect that if the punishment of death is pronounced in Deuteronomy against every proud spirit who rebels against the priest, his master, you deserve every sort of punishment for having disobeyed the supreme priest, the great judge on this earth. . . .”²

There are sometimes eloquent passages in Henry’s work. When he speaks of the majesty of crowned heads, of the respect due by subjects to their sovereign, and of insults offered by

¹ *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Mart. Lutherum, Henrico VIII. Angliæ rege, auctore: Parisiis, 1652, 12mo.*

² *Assertio, etc. p. 10.*

Luther to the tiara, he becomes animated and glowing. His language expands, and he makes use of images full of grandeur.

"Let him deny, then, that the whole Christian community salutes Rome as her mother and spiritual guide! Christians at the extremities of the world, and separated by oceans and deserts, obey the Holy See! If, then, this immense power has been acquired by the pope neither by the orders of God nor the will of man, if it is a usurpation and a robbery, let Luther point out its origin! The source of so great a power cannot be enveloped in darkness, especially if its history is known. Let him assert that it goes no further back than two centuries at the most; the pages of history will show the contrary.

"But if this power is so old that its beginning is lost in the night of ages, then he must be aware that human laws establish that all possession is lawful, the origin of which memory cannot trace; and that by the consent of nations, it is forbidden to touch that which time has made immutable.

"He must have rare assurance to affirm, when the contrary has been established, that the pope has founded his right by means of despotism. For whom does Luther take us? Does he think that we are so stupid as to believe that a poor priest could have been able to establish such a power as his?—that without a mission, or any sort of right, he has made so many nations subject to his sceptre?—that so many cities, provinces, and kingdoms could be found so prodigal of their liberties as thus to acknowledge a stranger, to whom they owed neither faith, nor homage, nor obedience."¹

The most curious page in Henry's book is that wherein he defends the Mass against the arguments of the Augustinian monk, in the double point of view of good work and sacrifice, qualities which Luther denies to this sacrament. In reading this sound argument, well-woven, glowing with poetry at times, and which displays the rhetorician accomplished in the arts of the school, by his knowledge of the Scriptures, and the refinement of the Latin language, we have no difficulty in understanding why, on the one hand, Luther suspected that the king merely wrote to the dictation of one of his prelates; or, on the

¹ *Assertio*, etc. p. 10.

other, why the pope conferred on the royal theologian the title of "Defender of the Faith." Sadoletus, the pope's secretary, could not have done better; his Latin certainly could not have been more elegant, or his periods more Ciceronian.¹

Luther maintained that these words of Christ: "Whatsoever you shall unloose on earth, shall be unloosed in heaven," were addressed to the community of the faithful, to every Christian, male or female.

Here Henry lays aside the professor; he does not embarrass himself with the trammels of the school; he recalls to mind his knowledge of ancient history, and brings up one of the great Roman departed, Emilius Scaurus, to discomfit his enemy.

"Romans," exclaimed the old man, accused before his countrymen by a worthless fellow, "Varus affirms, and I deny. Whom do you believe?" And the people applauded, and the accuser was confounded. "I wish for no other argument in this question of the power of the kings. Luther says that the words of institution apply to the laity; Augustine denies it. Whom will you believe?—Luther says, Yes; Bede says, No. Whom will you believe?—Luther says, Yes; the whole Church says, No. Whom will you believe?"

His majesty has left none of Luther's assertions unanswered. Eck, at Leipsic, was certainly not more pressing or mordant. How he seems to be delighted,—how complacently he exposes the monk's errors,—how he quotes texts from the Scriptures, to show his biblical knowledge; and profane historians, to prove that he is not so covered with the dust of the schools, as to have forgotten the assiduous court which he formerly paid to the Greek and Latin muses! When he approaches the end of his long defence, he becomes as rhetorical as Socrates, and in a flow of artfully condensed periods, exhibits Luther such as he had found him to be.²

"Thus, then, there is no doctor so ancient in the world, no saint so exalted in bliss, no scholar so versed in the knowledge of the Bible, whom this petty doctor, this little saint, this shadow

¹ Luther acknowledged him to be "*inter omnes qui contra se scribunt latinissimum.*"—Roscoe, *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 47.

² *Assertio*, p. 55.

of erudition,¹ does not reject in the pride of his self-constituted authority. Since he despises everybody, since he only believes in himself, why should he be enraged when he receives contempt for contempt, and disdain for disdain? What advantage can be gained by a contest with Luther, who is of nobody's opinion, and does not understand himself; who denies what he has at first affirmed, and affirms what at the same time he denies? If you arm yourself with faith to oppose him, he confronts you with reason; if you buckle on the armour of reason, he entrenches himself in faith; if you quote the philosophers, he appeals from them to the Scriptures; if you invoke the Bible, he wraps himself up in sophistry. He is a shameless scribbler, who sets himself above the laws, who despises our old teachers, and in the plenitude of his pride ridicules the learning of the age; who insults the majesty of pontiffs, outrages traditions, dogmas, manners, laws, canons, faith, and the Church herself, which he sees nowhere, except amongst two or three innovators, of whom he has constituted himself the leader."²

There was in Luther a fibre irritable to the last degree,—that of pride: woe to him who dared to touch it! Henry knew his adversary well. He desired to make him suffer for the praises which had been showered upon him on all sides, and, with cruel delight, he provoked and bantered the monk's literary vanity. Think of Luther being styled *doctorculus*, *sanctulus*, *eruditulus*, diminutives not certainly to be found in the writers of the Augustan age, and which Henry employs only to make his contempt sink deeper.³ But Eck, Miltitz, even Latomus himself, had been more courteous, and did not deny his titles of doctor and scholar. Ah! if Luther had had the gauntlet of his adversary, how he would have rejoiced to bury it in the sovereign's body! But he had luckily a pen which had stood him stead in more than one contest, and which could besmear with mud a countenance so as to make it undistinguishable. We use the word "mud" from decency; for Sir Thomas More affirms that he went elsewhere for the filth with which he covered the face of his opponent.

¹ *Doctorculus*, *sanctulus*, *eruditulus*.

² *Assertio*, pp. 97, 98.

³ Luther afterwards borrowed them from Henry.

The reply to Henry of England speedily appeared. Luther only took a few hours to compose it, and soon all Germany was invited to an unheard-of spectacle.

It is now the monk's turn.

"It is two years since I published a small book, entitled 'The Captivity of the Church in Babylon.'¹ It has annoyed the Papists, who have spared neither falsehoods nor abuse against me. I willingly forgive them. Others would have swallowed it cheerfully, but the hook was too hard and sharp for their throats. The Lord Henry, not by the grace of God, king of England, has recently written in Latin against that treatise. There are some who believe that this pamphlet has not been written by Henry: but whether it proceeds from the pen of Henry, or the devil, or from hell, is a matter of indifference. Whoever lies is a liar: I have no fear of such a one. What I think is, that King Henry has given one or two ells of coarse cloth, and that snivelling sophist,² that swine of the Thomist herd (Lee), who has written against Erasmus, has taken needle and scissors, and made a cape of it."³

Luther then follows Henry's example; he passes in review his rival's assertions, and refutes them.

"If a king of England spits his impudent lies in my face, I am entitled on my part to thrust them down his throat. If he blasphemes my sacred doctrines, and casts his dirt on the crown of my king and my Christ,⁴ why should he be astonished if I, in like manner, bespatter his royal diadem, and proclaim that the king of England is a liar and a rascal.⁵

"Perhaps he thought, 'Luther is pursued; he cannot reply to me; his books are burned; my calumnies will go down. I am a king, they will believe that I speak the truth! I can then venture to throw in the face of the poor monk whatever comes

¹ Die Babylonischen Gefängnisse.

² "Leus ille . . . frigida pituita sophista qualem in grege suâ alerent crassi illi porci Thomistæ."

³ This was a calumny; Henry at first was intended to have been in Orders. He had long studied theology. "Sub optimis præceptoribus ætatem trivisse et in sacris scripturis plurimum versatum fuisse," says John Clarke, ambassador from Henry VIII., in his *Oratio ad Leonem habita*.

⁴ Und schmieret seinen Dreck an die Krone meines Königs.

⁵ Ein Lügner ist und ein Unbiedermann.

into my head, publish what I please, and run down his reputation in a clear field.' Ah, my lad! say whatever you like; I shall compel you to hear some disagreeable truths; I hope they will make you smart for your tricks. He accuses me of having written against the pope through hatred and malice; of being quarrelsome, slanderous, and so proud as to think myself the only wise man in the world! . . . But I ask you, my lad, what matters it if I am vain, cross-grained, and wicked? Is the papacy innocent, because I am worthless? Therefore, because I consider him a fool, the king of England is a sage! What will you say? But the dear king, who has such a horror for lies and calumnies, has more of them in his envenomed book than I have in all my writings. Perhaps in this quarrel there must be a distinction of persons? a king may at his will injure a poor monk, but play the courtier with the pope."¹

We have seen that the king of England maintained with some eloquence that antiquity in human, as in sacred institutions, has a right to our respect, and that, consequently, the papacy ought not to be treated as a thing of yesterday. The monk avoids discussing the proposition, and to combat it has recourse to his ordinary weapon, railery.

"I wish to be done with the Papists once for all, and to reply to them in addressing the king of England. Your just man, though a century old, cannot be just for one hour. If age constituted right, the devil would be the justest on earth, for he is upwards of 5,000 years old."

He follows his adversary through his theological work, not troubling himself much with dogmatic questions, neither disturbing himself with the voice of tradition, upon which the king lays so much stress, nor with the evidence of the great Catholic writers whom Henry calls to his aid, nor those terrible consequences for the peace of society which he had drawn from his rival's propositions. He reserved for the conclusion of his pleading his best arguments;—the devil and the law of blood.

"What astonishes me, is not the ignorance of Henry, king of England—not that he understands less of faith and works than a block does about God; it is that the devil thus plays the

¹ Luther's Leben, von Gust. Pfizer, p. 367.

clown by means of his Henry, although he knows well that I laugh at him. King Henry is aware of the proverb: 'There are no greater fools than kings and princes.' Who does not perceive the finger of God in the blindness and folly of this man! I will leave him a moment of rest, for I have the Bible to translate, without reckoning other occupations, which will not admit of my dabbling long in his Majesty's filth. But I will, if God permit, take my time again to reply at my leisure to this royal mouth, which foams with falsehood and poison. I think that he has written his book as a penance, for his conscience loudly tells him that he has stolen the crown of England, by putting to a violent death the last offspring of the royal line, and drying up the source of the blood of the kings of Great Britain. He trembles in his skin lest this blood should fall upon him, and therefore he clings to the pope in order that he may not lose the throne, and sometimes courts the emperor, and sometimes the king of France, as does one tormented by a guilty conscience. Henry and the pope are equally legitimate: the pope has stolen his tiara, as the king of England his crown; which accounts for their rubbing each other like two mules. Whoever would not pardon me for my insults to his royal majesty, ought to know that I have only done so because he has not spared himself. See then, he lies in the face of heaven, and unblushingly spits out venom like an angry prostitute; which is a clear proof that he has not a drop of noble blood in his veins."¹

Then, leaving this insignificant monarch as if he were undeserving even of a look, he invokes the most glorious representatives of the school, the Thomists, and hurls at them this proud defiance.

"Courage, you swine; burn me then, if you dare! Here I am: I attend you. I shall persecute you with my ashes after

¹ So schilt er so bitter, giftig und ohne Unterlass, als keine öffentliche zornige Hure schelten mag.

Luther's reply to the king of England appeared in two languages; in German and in Latin, with the title, *Contra regem Angliæ Martinus Lutherus*. The two texts, according to his biographer, Pfizer, present material variations. The Latin version is more bitter and cynical; it is dedicated to Sebastian Schlinck, a Bohemian noble, and is dated 15 July, 1522. See vol. ii.: Jenæ, lat. fol. 546 et seq. The German answer will be found in vol. ii. of the edition of Altenburg, fol. 187 et seq.

I am dead, although you should have scattered them to the winds and the waves. Alive, I shall be the enemy of the papacy; dead, I shall be twice as much so. Swinish Thomists, do your utmost! Luther will be the bear on your road, the lion in your path; he will follow you everywhere, be constantly before you, and will never give you peace or truce, until he shall have broken your iron skulls and brazen faces, for your salvation or perdition."

These are strange words, doubtless, but which, notwithstanding, a disciple of Luther has not been afraid to attribute to the Holy Ghost. "At one time I thought," said Bugenhagen, "that our father Luther was too violent against Henry of England, but I now perceive that I was mistaken, and that he has been too gentle; it is the Spirit of heaven who has dictated his every word; the Spirit of holiness, truth, constancy, and invincible power."¹ Melancthon himself dared not condemn his master's violence. To Capito, who censured it, he wrote: "Take care, my friend; to reject Luther, is to reject the Gospel. You are alarmed at his fury; what if it is the zeal of God which consumes him? You do not understand the state of the times,—what salt is required to be used to these fat masters and lords. St. Paul commands us not to quench the Spirit."² Instead of divine inspiration, Erasmus could only see in Luther's reply signs of madness and vulgarity.³

Luther was of Bugenhagen's opinion; and in the preface of his book, commended himself for his moderation and mildness.⁴

¹ "Opinabar patrem nostrum Lutherum nimis vehementem esse in Henricum regem Angliæ, sed jam video nimis lenem fuisse. . . . Ita ut fateri cogar Spiritum Sanctum dictasse omnia verba Lutherò, cujus spiritus non est alius nisi sanotus, verax, constans et invictus."—Selnecker, p. 144. Seckendorf, lib. i. sect. xlvii. § 114.

² "Negare non potestis quin Evangelium doceat; id rejicitis, si Lutherus rejiciatur. Nec ignoro te acerbitate offendi. Sed quid, si divinitus accendatur? Obsecro, vide qui rerum ac temporum status sit, quo sale opus sit tam pinguibus dominis. Paulus cavere precipit ne spiritus extinguatur."—Seckendorf, l. c. tom. i. p. 188.

³ *Sentiments d'Erasmus de Rotterdam, conformes à ceux de l'Eglise Catholique*: Cologne, 1688, 12mo. p. 219.

⁴ "Deinde à virulentis et mendaciis abstinni." He wrote, however, to Spalatinus, on the 4th of September: "Sciebam multos offensurum quidquid in regem Angliæ scriberem, insulsum et virulentum Thomistam; sed ita placuit mihi atque adeo multis causis necessarium fuit; quod facio nescitur modò, scietur postea." In August preceding, he said to one of his friends; "Aliqui

In the whole range of political and religious pamphlets, there will nowhere be found such revolting indecency, except perhaps in the "Vieux Cordelier" of Duchesne; but the journalist minded his business, and did not believe in a God; while the monk interrupted his translation of the Bible to reply to Henry.

But what causes more painful astonishment is the silence of the Protestant princes; not one, even the elector of Saxony, wished to give this insolent monk a lesson, and teach him that such insults were not to be given to royalty unpunished. The libel was openly published, with the author's name and printer's device; it was publicly sold at the fair at Frankfort; it crossed the sea, it was circulated among the people; and yet this scandal did not excite in these potentates either emotion or indignation!

Henry, however, complained of the monk's insults to the elector Frederick, in a letter¹ wherein he was even witty. "Your Luther is a singular fellow," said the prince, among other things; "he begins by crying, then he becomes irritated, then enraged, then furious, then he storms, then he roars."²

In his reply the elector protests his love for the Gospel, declares that it was contrary to his orders that Luther left Wartburg for Wittenberg, and relies much upon the next council, where God and his Christ will necessarily be present, according to the promise in St. Matthew, chap. xviii., vers. 19, 20: "For where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them:" but not a syllable with reference to Luther's insults to his majesty.

Some Protestant writers, while censuring the expressions used by Luther in his letter to Henry, have inclined to admire the boldness of the monk, who, in the face of all Germany, dared to

amici mei sæpè monuerunt ut molliùs scriberem, sed sæpè respondi et respondeo me id non esse facturum."—Altenb. tom. ii. p. 207. Söckendorf, lib. i. p. 187.

¹ *Serenissimi ac potentissimi regis Angliæ, Henrici Christianæ fidei defensoris, ad illustrissimos ac clarissimos Saxonie principes Fridericum electorem et Johannem et Georgium duces de coerendo abigendoque Lutherismo et Luthero ipso, epistola, Grenwici, 1523.*

² *Churfürst Freidrichs und Herzog Johannes Antwort auf vorhergehendes Schreiben König Heinrichs VIII. m. Ap. A. 1523. Luther's Werke: Leipzig, tom. xviii. p. 213.*

insult the most powerful ally of Charles V. It is a sorry triumph to Luther that they contend for. At the very time when his pamphlet appeared, La Tremouille expelled from the French territories the English forces commanded by the Duke of Suffolk ; and the emperor's attempts upon Burgundy and Guienne had been forcibly repelled.¹ Luther, accordingly, could with safety brave the emperor and offend Henry : he was not afraid of Charles returning to Germany to punish him ; if the emperor had crossed the Rhine, Italy would have fallen into the hands of Francis I.

There was in these insults to royalty a secret motive of which Luther, as he said, reserved to himself the explanation at some future time. It is not difficult to divine the mystery. Luther directed them much more to the theologian than to the sovereign. He obeyed, without suspecting it, and at the risk of repudiating his principles of free inquiry, that Catholic constitution which does not recognise the right of princes to mix themselves up with questions of doctrine. We have surprised him in a moment of temper exclaiming that a prince ought never to touch the censer, forgetting that immediately before he had proclaimed that we are all priests. But if he had permitted Henry to defend the Catholic faith, Frederick, the elector of Saxony, might, like the king, become a theologian : there would then have been two apostles at Wittemberg ! And Luther wished to be the sole master of faith : he permitted people to read the Bible, but on the express condition that they found nothing in it but what he had discovered there.

There were in England two men who resolved to defend outraged royalty : Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in a learned work published under the pseudonyme of William Ross,² and Sir Thomas More,³ who, instead of summoning to his aid the high intellect with which he was gifted, preferred to make use of jest,

¹ Robertson's *History of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 460 et seq.

² *Eruditissimi viri, Gulielmi Rossei opus elegans, doctum, festivum, pium, pulcherrimè reteggit ac refellit insanas Lutheri calumnias, quibus invictissimum Angliæ Galliasque regem Henricum ejus nominis octavum, fidei defensorem, haud litteris minus quam regno clarum, scurra turpissimus insectatur.*

³ *Th. Mori Angli, omnia quæ hucusque ad manus nostras pervenerunt, Latina Opera : Lovanii, 1566.* M. Nisard, *Thomas Morus, Revue des Deux Mondes*, tom. v. p. 590 et seq.

after the fashion of Luther. Unfortunately his is not natural, and smells of the lamp. His sarcasm really does not originate from his own head, but travels, before touching his rival, over the satirists of antiquity, especially Lucian, whom he particularly studied. His indignation is like that of a statesman. The chancellor imagines that he employs the language of the tavern, but he stammers and fails for want of practice. We know Luther's ability, when he wishes to imitate the style of a drunkard. Facetiæ, sallies, points, and conceits flow from his lips like the beer from his glass. The fable only imagined by More is witty.

Luther is at table with his boon companions,—his bacchanalian senate,—considering, after many bumpers of Eimbeck beer, of his reply to the king of England. One of his companions helps him out of his difficulty: "Insults, falling as thick as snow-flakes, are the only weapons," he says, "to use against the king."

Luther approves of the plan; but he refers to his dictionary, and finds that copious as it is, it could not furnish him with a sufficient stock of buffooneries, and he sends about this crowd of evil spirits to collect them wherever they can. Some go one way, some another, and all, like wasps, soon return to the common rendezvous with a plentiful booty, and go out again for more.

They betake themselves to the crossways, the carriages, boats, baths, gaming-houses, barbers' shops, taverns, mills, privies and stews, observing with eye and ear what passes, and carefully collecting the coarse jokes of coachmen, impertinences of valets, chattering of porters, petulancies of prostitutes, buffooneries of parasites, indecencies of bathers, and the obscenities of other individuals.

And after hunting some months for insults, sarcasms, obscene, indecent, and infamous expressions, through the haunts of the lowest and most profligate, they cast all these into the sewer of Luther's breast, from which, after being stirred together and mashed, all this accumulated filth is ejected—and the monk's book is complete.¹

¹ "Illi igitur abeunt, alius, alio, quo quemque tulit animus, et se per omnia plaustra, vehicula, cymbas, thermas, ganeas, tonstrinas, tabernas, lustra, pistrina, latrinas, lupanaria, diffundunt: illic observant sedulè, atque in

It must be admitted that the honour of the crown might have been otherwise defended. We cannot admit the excuse of Erasmus, that the chancellor, when replying to Luther's pamphlet, was inspired by the writings of the Saxon monk.

In this controversy Catholicism in Germany had but one worthy representative, Duke George, who, in the name of God, morality, and Germany, denounced Luther's insolence to the assembly at Nuremberg, and demanded that he should be punished.¹ The Orders of the empire did not understand their dignity.

The duke also wrote a prophetic letter to the States, and even pointed out a time near at hand when the outrages of Luther against popes and monarchs would produce their fruits. The duke did not require to consult the stars as to the future; the blindness of the States was a sufficient indication of the wrath of God upon Germany.²

Two years elapsed when the king of England received another letter from Luther:

"Most serene and illustrious prince," wrote the monk, "I should indeed fear to address your majesty, when I remember how I insulted you in the pamphlet which I, a proud and vain man, yielding to evil advisers and not to my own inclination, published against you; but what emboldens me to do so is your royal goodness, which is daily set before me in my conversation and correspondence. Being mortal, you will not maintain an immortal wrath. Besides, I know, on sure testimony, that the document published in your majesty's name, was not by the king

tabellas referunt quicquid aut auriga sordidè, aut servus vaniliter, aut meretrix petulanter, aut portitor improbè, aut parasitus scurriliter, aut leno turpiter, aut balnearior spurcè, aut cacator obscenè loquutus sit. Atque hæc quàm aliquot fecissent menses, tùm demùm quicquid undecunque collegissent convivorum et scurrilium scommatum, petulantis, spurcitias, sordium, luti, ceni, stercoreum, omnem hanc colluviem in foetissimam cloacam Lutheri pectus infarciunt; quam ille totam in libellum istum suum per os illud impurum velut comessam merdam, removet."—*Opera Mori*, p. 61.

¹ Seckendorf, *Comm. de Lutheranismo*, lib. i. § cvi. p. 187. The duke also wrote a noble letter to Henry VIII.: *Illustrissimi Principis Ducis Georgii ad Henricum regem: Quedlinburg, 7 idus Maii, anno 1523.*

² The *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* was reprinted by the care of Gabriel de Saconay, precentor or cantor of St. John's, at Lyons, who added a preface to the royal book. Calvin attacked Saconay on the subject of this reprint. He is as violent as Luther, but much less literary. We have sketched this controversy in the second volume of our *History of Calvin*.

of England, as some shameless sophists would make it be believed, who are not aware with what ignominy they thereby cover your majesty, and among others that enemy of God and man (Lee).¹ I blush for myself, and scarcely dare to lift my eyes to you,—I, a worm of dust and rottenness, deserving merely contempt and disdain, who, thanks to these workers of iniquity, have not feared to insult so great a prince.

“Prostrate at your feet in all humility, I pray and beseech your majesty, by the cross and glory of Christ, to pardon my offences according to his command. Should your majesty deem it necessary for me to deny my words and extol your name in another letter, only deign to order me: I am ready and right willing to do so. However, the glory of my God will gain by it, if I am permitted to write to the king of England in behalf of the cause of the Gospel.”²

What then has happened in this brief period of time? Has Henry restored the throne which he stole? Has he studied the writers of the great age whom Luther accused him of neglecting when he wrote to his majesty in the style of a porter: “*Veniatis, ego docebo vos?*”³ No! it is still the same Henry with mistresses besides, whom he royally entertains, and a concubine whom he wishes to place upon the throne, resolved to break with Rome, if the pope will not dissolve the marriage contracted with Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic. Now Luther knew Henry well. He knew that to Francis Brian, who said to the prince—that to keep the mother and daughter was like eating the hen and the chicken, his majesty had replied: “Very well; by God, I make

¹ Burnet, in his History of the Reformation of the Church of England, praises the theological learning of the prince, and takes not the least notice of Luther's assertion as to Lee's literary guilt or complicity, which he would not have omitted if he had had any suspicion of the origin of the work. “*Minimè taciturnus,*” says Seckendorf, “*si quid eo pertinens eruiisset.*”—Comm. de Luth. p. 189.

² Op. Luth. tom. iv. : Witt. p. 234. Coch. p. 156. Ulenberg, p. 302 et seq. Henrico VIII. regi Angliæ et Hiberniæ, 2 Sept. 1525. De Wette, l. c. tom. iii. p. 24. Emser translated the letter under the title of, Ein Sendbrief M. Luthers an den König in England, Heinrichen, des Namens den Achten, darinnen er Verzicht und Gnade bittet um dass, damit er gemeldten König nährisch und zu jähe verletzt habe: 1527, 4to.

³ “*Quid invitabat Lutherum ut diceret in libello adversus regem Angliæ: Veniatis domine, Henrico, ego docebo vos. Certè regis libellus latine loquebatur, nec ineruditè!*”—Schult. Ann. Ep. l. c. p. 46.

you my vicar in hell.”¹ Luther was certain that to carry out with a safe conscience that royal fancy, Henry would, if necessary, exterminate Catholicism in his kingdom.

This is the most simple explanation of the advances made by the monk to his majesty.

In the mean time, the printer, Hans Luft, successor of Schneidewins, continued to circulate the letter to Henry. In order that it might address itself still more powerfully to the eye, Luther had caused the king's likeness to be engraved on the title-page, in the character of a corpulent Thomist, with a stupid countenance, fixed on the “Summa” of the Angel of the Schools.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PICTURES. 1524.

How Luther makes use of pictures to destroy Catholicism in Germany.—The pope-ass and monk-calf.—Legend which he appends to these two caricatures.—New pictures against the papacy.—Their success.—Melancthon joins Luther in insulting the representative of Catholicity.

LUTHER was aware of the power of pictorial representations, and he made use of them to popularize his doctrines, and excite the masses against Catholicism. Such ought to address themselves both to the understanding and the feelings; and he made of them coarse and biting caricatures. He generally supplied the designs, which Lucas Cranach or some other painter of the Nuremberg school, engraved on wood; and the picture explained or illustrated the page on which it was printed. When the work was done, copies were taken off separately, sold in the public places, exhibited in the windows of book-shops, and publicly vended in the fairs of Germany.

The *pope-ass* and the *monk-calf* are two designs calculated much more to excite the merriment than the anger of the people. The legend in which these two grotesque figures are introduced was addressed to those who believed in the marvellous. In these

¹ Sanderus, *Hist. du Schisme d'Angleterre*, traduit par Maucroix : Paris, 1676, 12mo. p. 23.

Melancthon and Luther make the Deity play an extraordinary part, who appears with his usual signs when he requires to punish the obstinacy of sinners. On this occasion, the signs did not appear in heaven, but at the bottom of the Tiber, whence the "pope-ass" was fished up; and at Freyberg, in Misnia, where the "monk-calf" was brought forth.

It is needless to observe that these two prodigies were hatched in the brains of the doctors. If we are called upon to wonder at that Lutheran comment which, in its graphic interpretation, seeks seriously to deceive the reader; which lies so persuasively; which sports with conviction, faith, the fear of God and his judgments; which mimics fear, and laughs at the expense of what has been an object of veneration; we will readily admit that it is a strange abuse of the name of God, to make it subservient to the propagation and illustration of such a falsehood.

"At all times, God has marked, as with his finger, his anger or his mercy, and by miraculous signs announced to men the overthrow, ruin, or splendour of empires, as we see in Daniel, chap. viii.¹

"During the pestilential reign of the papacy, he has multiplied these signs of wrath, and recently, by this horrible figure of a pope-ass, lately found in the Tiber, has given so exact a representation of the papacy, that no human hand could have traced one more resembling it.

"And, 1st, *the head of an ass*, which so well designates the pope. The Church is a spiritual body, which has neither head nor members, but Christ only for ruler, lord, and master. . . .

The Holy Scriptures understand by an ass an eccentric and carnal life.—Exodus, xiii. And so much as the brain of an ass differs from the wisdom of man, so much are the papal doctrines opposed to the teaching of Christ.

"Thus, the head of an ass, according to Scripture; the head of an ass, according to the signification of the natural law and

¹ Interpretatio duorum horribilium monstrorum Papaselli, Romæ in Tiberi, anno 1496, inventi, et monachoviti Fribergæ in Misnia, anno 1523 editi, per Philippum Melancthonem et Martinum Lutherum. Op. Luth. tom. ii. p. 392 et seq. The same pamphlet appeared in German, under the title of Deutung der zwo greulichen Figuren, Bapetesels, zu Rom, und Münchkalbs zu Freyberg in Meissen funden: Wittemb. ix. 184; Jen. ii. 285; Waich, xix. 2408.

the light of reason ; as evidenced by the imperial jurists, who say, 'a mere canonist,—a mere ass.'

"2nd. *The right hand like the foot of an elephant* ; which signifies the spiritual power of the pope, wherewith he strikes and bruises trembling consciences, as the elephant with his trunk seizes, presses, breaks, and tears to pieces. For what is popery but a bloody sacrifice of consciences by means of confession, vows, celibacy, masses, false penitence, swindling indulgences, superstitious worship of saints ? according to the words of Daniel, viii. : 'He will slay the people of the saints.'

"3rd. *The right hand of a man* is the civil power of the pope, which Christ has denied to him (Luke, xxii.), and which he has usurped, by aid of the devil, to constitute himself the master of kings and princes.

"4th. *The right foot of a bull's hoof* indicates the spiritual ministers of the papacy, the porters (*bajuli*), who aid and support popery by the oppression of souls ; that is to say, the Catholic doctors, the Dominicans, the confessors, and that swarm of monks and nuns, and especially the scholastic theologians, a race of serpents, who inculcate and infiltrate among the people the decrees and ordinances of the papacy, and under the elephant's foot tie down captive consciences ; the basis and foundation of popery, which but for them could not have existed so long.

"For what does scholastic theology contain but mad, foolish, useless, execrable, devilish dreams ? the reveries of monks, of which they make use to trouble, fascinate, deceive, and ruin souls ? Matth. xxiv.

"5th. *The left foot of a griffin* ; that is, the canonists, the ministers of the temporal power. When the griffin seizes its prey in its talons, it never lets it go ; in like manner do these satellites of popery, who by means of canonical hooks have fished the wealth of Europe, which they keep and retain.

"6th. *The belly and breast of a woman* : the papal body ; to wit, the cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, saints, and martyrs of the Roman calendar, and that race, that farrow of the swine of Epicurus, who care for nothing but eating and drinking, and wallowing in all sorts of luxury with both sexes. As the pope-ass exhibits its female belly to all who will, so they carry their

heads high, and make a parade of their filthiness, to the great injury of the people and of youth.

"7th. *The fish-scales on the arms, feet, neck, and bare belly,* are the princes and temporal lords of this kingdom. The scales (Job, xli.) signify union or compactness ; so the princes and the powers of the earth are united, and adhere to the papacy.

"And although these great ones of the earth cannot conceal, approve, or palliate the luxury, libertinism, and infamous instincts of the papacy,—for the belly is bare to show its shamelessness,—yet they dissemble, are silent, suffer them, and cling to its neck, arms, and feet ; that is to say, they embrace, they hug it, and thus defend its tyrannical power.

"8th. *The old man's head adhering to the thigh,* signifies the old age, decline, and fall of the papal kingdom. In Scripture, the face denotes rising and progress ; the back or posteriors, lying down and death. This representation, accordingly, shows us that the papal tyranny approaches its end, and that it grows old, and dies of sickness or consumption, exhausted by all its external violences.

"So, for the glory of the world, the farce is over, and the curtain falls.

"9th. *The dragon that proceeds from the papal breech.* The flame at the mouth expresses the menaces, the virulent bulls, and blasphemies which the pope and his satellites vomit on the world at the time when they perceive that their destiny is fulfilled, and that they must bid adieu to this world.

"I beseech all you my readers not to despise this great prodigy of the divine Majesty, and to pluck yourselves from the contagion of Antichrist and his members. God's finger is in that picture, so faithful and elaborate ; it is a proof that God has pity on you, and wishes to draw you out of this sink of iniquity.

"Let all of us Christians rejoice, and hail this sign as the morning-star which announces to us the day of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ."

We cannot imagine the success which this portraiture of the papacy had in Germany,—a success which still lasts. There are some simple people, of firm faith in Luther and his works, who call this device an inspiration of his good genius, a Gospel

thought ; who believe in the sign announced by these twins of the Reformation, Melancthon and Luther, and in the discovery of the pope-ass in the Tiber. They look for the fall of the Antichrist predicted by the fire-vomiting dragon. Neither the daily-increasing splendours of Catholicism, nor the wonders worked in our own times in favour of St. Peter's chair, nor the transformation, decrease, and ruin of Protestant principles, have been able to unseal their eyes. We have seen in Wittemberg the picture of the pope-ass hung at the bed-head of the poor peasants, in place of the old Catholic holy-water-pot of the Blessed Virgin, the consoler of the afflicted, or of the patron saint of the parish ; we have found it in the booksellers' windows, as in the time of Luther, and among the stock of the printsellers of Eisenach and Frankfort.

This was not Luther's only graphic work. When at table with his friends, he frequently suggested the subject of a caricature, the drawing of which an artist, his messmate, brought next day to be corrected by the priest after his own fashion. Two of these efforts, originating entirely with the doctor, obtained prodigious success in Germany.

In the first of these, the pope is represented in full pontificals, seated on a throne with clasped hands, and two huge ass's ears erect, like those of the animal when enraged. Around the pontiff a multitude of demons of various forms are hovering in the air : some are engaged in solemnly placing on his sacred head the tiara surmounted by an article which Luther has brought from the most unclean part of the monastery ; others are dragging him with ropes to hell ; others bring wood and fire to burn him ; while others lift up his feet, in order that he may descend gently into Pandemonium.

The second, which is known in Germany by the name of the *Pope's Sow*, represents the pontiff seated upon a sow with large flanks and swollen paps, which the rider pricks, like the horse in Job, with heavy spurs ; with one hand he blesses his worshippers, with the other he holds out the same stercoral emblem, but in an odorous cloud. The delighted sow lifts its snout, and inhales with satisfaction the fecal nectar. The pope is made to say—

“ Dirty beast, will you get on ; you have given me enough of

annoyance with your council. . . . Go, then, this is the council which you so ardently desired."¹

Other anti-papal caricatures are also due to the monk of Erfurt; in all of them, the sow, the pope, and the German *dreck* or Latin *stercus*, form part of the design of the picture.

The pictures were looked upon as prophecies, and unhappily no one laughed at them: they believed them.

But this silly faith in Luther seems to us less wonderful than that Melancthon should have been an accomplice in some of these low designs; that this man of elegant manners, the lover of the Muses, the polished writer, the Greek professor, drinking daily of the pure waters of antiquity, should degrade himself by participating in the pictures of the pope-ass and monk-calf!—that this Schwartzerde, who changed his inharmonious name to that of Melancthon, should wallow in such a mire of ideas and words, and soil his pen and paper by tracing such disgusting pictures;—that this sparkling guest of the electoral courts—this diner with dukes—this friend of Erasmus and Sadoletus, should throw filth in the face of that spiritual royalty which has civilized the world, the object of the veneration of nations, and of the worship of his Catholic mother!—that this glorious mind should believe, or pretend to believe, in the fall of the papacy predicted by a fiery dragon!—that that soul of love should deceive the people, fanaticise and impel them to blasphemy by appealing to Heaven! Is it not atrocious? What a fall!—what a transmutation!

Both spoke the truth when they said that Germany would soon be visited by God.² The prediction was about to be accomplished. They had, in the beautiful words of Scripture, "touched the mountains, and they smoked."³ When a nation suffers thus to be outraged all that is holy, it is certain that sooner or later

¹ "Sau, du musst dich lassen reiten, und meine Sporen erleiden, ob du gleich nicht gern thust. Du hast mir bisher des Concilii halben viel Virdriesse gethan, damit du mich übel ausrichten und frei sicher schelten mögest. Siehe, da hast du das Concilium welches du also oft begehrt hast."

We refuse to translate, even into Latin, the following sentence by Luther: "Ich hab den Pabst mit der bösen Belderen sehr erzürnt: o wie wird die Sau den Börzel in die Höhe recken; aber ob sie mich gleich töstet, so fressen sie erst Dreck, so der Pabst, welcher auf der Saue reit, in der Hand hat."—Tisch-Reden. Eisleben, f. 26: Frankf. 19 Dred. 613.

² Wenc. Linck. 1523.

³ "Tange montes et fumigabunt."—Proph.

it will have to bear the punishment of its negligence, and be chastised in blood and tears. This must happen.

But an enemy more formidable for the peace of Luther than Henry VIII. or Clement VII. appeared at this moment, and strove to destroy the Saxon's sway in Germany. Erasmus waged war with the doctor.

CHAPTER VII.

ERASMUS AND FREE-WILL. 1524.

Literary glory of Erasmus.—His war with the monks.—Luther's theses.—Erasmus is jealous of the sensation caused by Luther.—Letter from Luther to him.—The philosopher's reply.—His cowardice.—His rival's indifference.—Erasmus conceives the idea of writing against Luther.—Adrian VI. applies to Erasmus.—He refuses, but continues to attack the monk secretly.—Luther breaks out.—Erasmus's versatility.—Free-will: Luther's psychological opinions.—Estimate of his system of philosophy.—Appeal to the Bible.—Erasmus discusses the principle of free-will.—His book on the subject.—Luther's reply to it.—Erasmus refutes the "*Servum Arbitrium*."—His *Hyperaspites*.—His death.

THERE was in the sixteenth century a man who filled the whole world with his name and his works; who reckoned popes and emperors among his courtiers; the correspondent of Henry VIII., Charles V., Francis I., and Maximilian of Austria; whom the cities of Germany received under triumphal arches;¹ who had for his admirers, Sir Thomas More, Bembo, Sadoletus, Melancthon, Ulrich von Hutten, Julius II., Leo X., and Adrian VI.; who was addressed as "the prince of literature," "the star of Germany," "the sun of studies," "the high-priest of scholars," "the vindicator of theology," without any risk of the letters

¹ M. Nisard, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, has examined, under several new aspects, and with admirable sagacity, the influence of Erasmus upon his times. He is liable to the objection of too much enthusiasm for the Dutch philosopher.

Sentiments d'Erasmus de Rotterdam: Cologne, 12mo. 1688, p. 212.

Under the title of *Ansichten über Erasmus Charakter*, M. Th. Effner has endeavoured to give an idea of the character of the writer; the portrait which he has drawn of it is not unfaithful. See *Dr. Luther und seine Zeitgenossen*, tom. ii. p. 111 et seq.

being miscarried, for it was only Erasmus who deserved those glorious appellations. He was indeed the prince of literature, which he had roused from its slumbers ; the star of Germany, which for thirty years he had illuminated with the fire of his genius ; the sun of studies, who warmed them with his writings ; the high-priest of scholars, whose father and protector he was ; the vindicator of theology, who had rescued it from the limbo of the schools. Never of learning was so much made, and if glory were hurtful, Erasmus must have sunk under the weight of the wreaths which were woven for him, amid the incessant pæans of the Muses, the strains of poets in Greek and Latin, the encomiums of philosophers, the caresses of princes, the plaudits of the multitude. From 1500 to 1518 his life was the most delightful which a literary man could hope for ; it was a succession of triumphs, which attracted no hatred ; a slumber with only golden dreams ; an intellectual bliss which was made up of festivals, concerts, and hymns, composed in every European language ; the life of an artist, without care, indolent occasionally, always lively, independent, and spent without being impaired amidst books, at the tables of the learned, in the palaces of monarchs, or the studios of painters or sculptors. All contended for Erasmus, because it was Erasmus who conferred immortality, and, in the language of Sir Thomas More, "deified all that he touched." Happy man ! happy genius ! whose good fortune lasted until Luther appeared in 1518. Then that felicity vanished, the noise which he had made in the world gradually ceased. His crown became tarnished : a monk dethroned him.

This was to be expected : Erasmus was the man of his time. When he appeared men's minds were in a state of slumber, out of which none sought to awake. The philosopher wished to rouse them, but gently.

The monks then ruled in the schools, under the shadow of Aristotle : a revolution was required to overthrow their dynasty. Erasmus was one of the first to try it. He began by ridicule, and his contagious merriment passed from one to another until it became universal. Then was brought to bear upon the Capuchins, Franciscans, and Dominicans, an entirely novel kind of polemics, in which epigram, insult, calumny, banter, and

even reason was employed.¹ They were an unfortunate race of men, to whom were attributed all the follies that were said or done in Europe. A monk was at one and the same time the representative of ignorance and licentiousness, pride and pedantry, hatred of knowledge and prejudice, corpulence and hypocrisy, gluttony and superstition. If all the deadly sins were lost, they would be found under a cowl. It was Erasmus who for half a century supplied the learned world with epigrams against the monastic orders, which every literary understrapper caught hold of as he passed, remodelled them after his own fashion, and sent them forth again as original. Thus was reduced into an apophthegm that scene in which Erasmus introduces a monk who boasts of never having read the works of the Dutch philosopher, because their Latin is too polished, and in such Latinity lurks heresy. In Reuchlin, Melancthon, and even Luther, will be found this singular definition of heresy: to understand Greek is to be a heretic; the saying became proverbial.² The monks made a poor defence; they were not used to the weapon directed against them; ridicule being prohibited to them as a sin, they employed the dry phraseology of their masters, Scotus, Durandus, Peter Lombard, and the syllogisms of Aristotle, the least witty individual that ever existed. Lucian and Aristophanes, whom Erasmus had studied, were to them unknown. They were accordingly defeated. Afterwards, they perceived the necessity for changing their style of controversy. They then appeared with some pleasantries hastily borrowed from the wits of the school; but Erasmus had given way before a more potent rival. They found themselves opposed by an adversary who had himself been educated in the schools, a monk also, who required no inspiration of wit from the ancients, but whose ridicule was as impassioned and fiery, as that of the Dutchman was

¹ "Monachus monachos insectatus est."—Canisius.

² "Expolitè loqui hæresis est; Græcè scire hæresis est. Quidquid ipsi non faciunt hæresis est."—Ep. Erasmi Alberto Cardinali Moguntino. Thus he makes Thomely de Diez, in 1526, say at Lintz, "Would to God that Greek and Hebrew had never been introduced into this country! we should have been at peace now:" a conversation which never took place. A Protestant author, M. Ad. Muller, who has lately written the life of Erasmus, has observed, that while the philosopher was in Italy, he praised the morals and learning of the monks; but he had scarcely recrossed the Alps, when he calumniated their collegiate and cloistral lives.

calm, and who was the first to introduce into theological controversy warmth, eloquence, intemperate and coarse language, while Erasmus had only made use of cool reasoning and learned expressions. Erasmus argued in a polished style, and would have been ashamed to use any ornament that did not proceed direct from Rome or Athens.

In the main, the monks might have taken up the cutting sarcasm of the rhetorician and used it, if needful, without much disadvantage; but Luther's axe was too weighty for them to wield, and much less could they have wrested it from the hands of their antagonist.

The star of Germany, then, was in all its brilliancy, when one day a messenger brought to him, amongst heaps of prose and verse, and sweet incense, Luther's theses on indulgences: a youth as obscure as his order, and concealed in a small spot which had not been visited by knowledge. Imagine his surprise! Here was an Augustinian who, with one dash of his pen, struck out from the Catholic creed those spiritual remedies, upon which Erasmus had, in the boldness of philosophy, dropped a few spots of ink! A friar who grappled with the pope hand to hand, whilst Erasmus thought he had acted boldly in publishing weekly two or three jokes against the monastic orders! A religious who sought to destroy the monasteries, when Erasmus after ten years had only discovered these two propositions: "Every monk is ignorant: every monk is a glutton!" A youth still in the rudiments of his studies, and who made a greater sensation with his theological trifling—*nugæ theologice*, as Luther says himself—than Erasmus with his "Commentaries on the New Testament," his contest with the Ciceronians, his controversy with Scaliger, his "Enchiridion of the Spiritual Life," and his jokes against Stunica! For all he says, you can perceive in his correspondence a secret vexation at the eagle who soars alone from his nest, and whose flight is so high as to make all Germany wonder. He is jealous of the incipient fame of the young friar; he is afraid that the philosopher will be forgotten, amidst the storms which Luther's attempt must raise.

At this time it is likely that Luther was unacquainted with any of the works of this multifarious author. He only knew with what generous efforts the Dutchman had long since seconded the intellectual movement which was now everywhere visible,

and how successfully he had aided the emancipation of the mind. It was necessary to attach to his cause an ornament so powerful ; and as he knew the proverbial vanity of the writer, he judged it advisable, to secure him, to spread lavishly the perfume of flattery on the philosopher's beard. Erasmus was caught. Luther's letter to the scholar denotes already a profound acquaintance with the human heart. We shall see how small he makes himself, what an adept he is in the language of adulation and the artifices of epistolary style ! Would he not be taken for one who had grown old in the courts of Italy ?

" For a very long time¹ we have held the same opinions without being acquainted, my dear Erasmus, my glory and my hope : is not this monstrous ? What corner of the earth is ignorant of the name of Erasmus ? Who is there who has not received his instructions, or does not acknowledge him as their master ? I speak of those who love literature. It is to me an inexpressible joy, that among the magnificent gifts which God has bestowed upon you, you possess that of displeasing many people, a mark whereby I am enabled to distinguish the gift of clemency from the gift of the divine wrath. But see my folly in addressing you with such freedom ; I, who am a poor, obscure, solitary being, condemned to live among sophists, and who have not even learned to hail such a glory as yours ? Had it not been for this, I should by this time have wearied you with my letters, and not been satisfied with only hearing your voice in my chamber. But now, since I have learned from Capito that my name is known to you by my trifling work on indulgences,² and perceive from the preface to your " *Enchiridion* " that you are acquainted with my writings, which you have read and approved, I am obliged in my unpolished style to acknowledge the splendour of your genius. My dear Erasmus, countenance, I beseech you, a poor, humble friar, who loves you so tenderly, yet who is so ignorant as to deserve only to be buried in some remote corner of the earth unvisited by the sun and the sky ; this sweet retirement I have always wished, and know not why I cannot have it. Am I not compelled to parade my unhappy ignorance before the most learned individual in the world ? I weary you with my

¹ Erasmo, 28 Mart. De Wette, Dr. M. Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, tom. i. p. 217.

² " *Per nugas illas indulgentiarum nomen meum tibi cognitum.*"

verbosity : you must not forget that you ought sometimes to be weak with the weak."

Erasmus immediately replied, in a polished, ornate style, but artificial and constrained. In every sentence we perceive that the writer has racked his brain in search of compliments that will flatter the vanity of his correspondent, without absolutely turning his head. We may fancy the disappointment of the poor monk, who firmly believed, because so informed by his friend Capito, that Erasmus had perused his amusing gossip about indulgences, but whose vain illusion was dispelled by the declaration of the latter that he had not read a single line of his lucubrations. He deceived Luther, for that he *had* read the theses on indulgences is proved by his correspondence with his friends at that time. This was one of the lies peculiar to Erasmus, and which invariably told against himself. What seemed to be in his mind was this :—

Had he admitted his acquaintance with the theses, he must have given some expression of opinion. If he approved of the doctrines set forth in them, he must have separated himself from the Catholics. If he rejected them, he must have compromised a growing reputation of high promise. It must be allowed that Erasmus was incapable of either line of conduct. In the history of the sixteenth century there is not to be found a more weak or effeminate soul than his, more anxious for quiet, which took refuge sooner in silence, on the least alarm ; or was more terrified by danger, at the very shadow of which he would grow pale ! In his long correspondence, he will be seen to tremble at the least word which may commit him, ever enveloped in obscurity, fond of *mezzotinto*, timorous, startled, obsequious to servility, greedy of praise, which he abuses ; flattering a crowd of obscure individuals, whose very names are forgotten. Of religious conviction, or avowed creed, there is none. To Reuchlin, Erasmus addresses some involved sentences against confession ; to Hutten, two or three jokes against fasting ; to Melancthon, some weak sarcasms on clerical celibacy ; to Jonas, some worthless banter on the ambition of certain pontiffs whom he dreads to name. If he occasionally uses a somewhat bold expression, it is when speaking of monks in general ; for if he writes to one or two of them, such as Hochstraet, whom Luther and Hutten flagellate

unmercifully, he commends the monastic life in a suppressed tone. It happened that, desirous of peace at any price, he stood upon the breach all his life ; that flattering and seeking to please every one, he pleased nobody. By the Catholics he was regarded as an infidel ; by the Lutherans, as a Papist ; he was railed at by the monks as having laid the egg which Luther hatched ;¹ and lashed like a helot by the Protestants, who accused him of having one foot in hell and the other in heaven, in order at the same time to keep fair with God and the devil. The Franciscans considered him to be the dragon of the Psalmist, whose head was to be crushed ; and Luther² deemed him a pagan, who sought to restore the worship of the false gods.³

After 1518, by these miserable shiftings of a timorous vanity, Erasmus obtained a life of trouble, the hatred of all parties, the wrath and contempt of the two communions, and a reputation for pusillanimity for which all the services he had rendered to philosophy and literature have scarcely atoned.

So, in his reply to Luther, he accompanied flattering compliments with some commonplace remarks upon moderation, restraint in controversy, on the respect observable towards old institutions, and—will it be believed?—on the demon of pride, who lays snares for us in the very midst of thoughts of abnegation and humility ; and, as if he was alarmed at such an unusual fit of boldness on his part, he suddenly adds, “but wherefore these advices ? you have no need of them ; proceed as you have commenced.”⁴

This letter offended both Luther and the Catholics.

Cardinal Campeggio, the friend of Erasmus, was scandalized at it. The philosopher was obliged to write a long letter to his eminence, in which he made a lame and confused apology, ending with this query, “Would you then consider it a crime in me to reply to the Sultan, if he chose to write to me ?”⁵

In 1518, Erasmus had intrusted his friend Hutten to convey

¹ “Erasmus hat das Ey gelegt, und Luther es ausgebrütet.”

² *Erasmi*, 13, lib. xxx. *Vie d'Erasme*, par De Burigni, tom. ii.

³ *Annales Sculteti*, p. 197.

⁴ *Ep. Erasmi*, ep. 4, lib. vi. 30 Maii, 1519. De Burigni, tom. ii. pp. 35—38.

⁵ *Vie d'Erasme*, par De Burigni, tom. ii. p. 49. *Epist. Erasmi*, ep. 42, lib. xiii.

a letter to Cardinal Albert, archbishop of Mayence: Hutten opened the letter, copied it, translated it into German, printed it in both languages, and dispersed it over Saxony. "He is a man who has lighted the spark of evangelical piety," said Erasmus, speaking of Luther; "if he follows the way of truth, he may render important service to Christianity." It may be supposed that, according to his wont, Erasmus had qualified these commendations by some severe censure, like a female coquette desirous of captivating everybody. But Hutten had the audacity to expunge from the translation all that might annoy Luther, whom Erasmus never styled "our Luther, *unser Luther*." This letter caused great scandal; and, in order to justify himself, Erasmus was obliged to disown the fraudulency of Hutten. The quarrel became envenomed by libels which each published against the other.¹

Luther, who felt his power and his future influence, and who clearly perceived that the friendship or hatred of Erasmus could not impede it, did nothing to secure the one or avert the other. His indifference was sufficient; he did not even care for his silence. Thus, in the immense correspondence which he then maintained with the learned of Germany, the name of Erasmus scarcely occurs more than twice or thrice. When it does so in the course of an epistolary communication, Luther notices his literary merits by expressions of politeness rather than of eulogy. None of the gifts which God had bestowed upon Erasmus elevated him in the eyes of his rival, who considered that understanding of the Scriptures was the greatest boon which man could receive from his Creator; a treasure which he did not believe had been

¹ Herrn Ulrichen von Hutten mit Erasmo von Rotterdam, Priester und Theologo, Handlung, allermeist die Lutherische Sache betreffend.

Spongia Erasmi adversus Aspergines Hutteni, seu purgatio Erasmi Rotterdami ad expostulationem Ulrici Hutteni. Erasmus wrote on the subject of this quarrel:

"Subitò ac præter omnem spem exortus fuisset Ulricus Huttenus, ex amico repente versus in hostem. Hoc nemo scripsit in Erasmus hostilius, nam omninò res ipsa loquitur, Huttenum non alio consilio scripsisse sic in me, quàm ut calamo jugularet, quem gladio non poterat, et, ut sibi videbatur vir fortis, sic cogitabat; seniculus est, valetudinarius est, meticulosus et imbecillis est, mox efflabit animum, ubi legerit hæc tam atrocia. Hoc illum cogitasse, voces etiam, quas jactabat, arguebant. Ego Hutteni manibus, ubi mihi mors hominis est nuntiata, animo Christiano precatus sum Dei misericordiam: et audio hominem sub mortem deplorasse, quòd deceptus quorundam versutia, laeassisset amicum."

given by Heaven to the philosopher. Had not hatred or admiration collected so many materials for it, we should have read Luther's biography in the letters of Erasmus; in none of which does his name not appear. But you will search in vain to discover the real opinion of the writer on the particular work of the Reformer, his philosophical worth, his doctrines or instructions, or the action or influence of his apostleship; Erasmus varies his expressions as he changes his correspondent, and his language is tinged, according as it is to be read in the Vatican by Cardinal Campeggio or in the study of Melancthon: a useless precaution, for he might have read to Campeggio what he wrote to Melancthon, so much did he stand in awe of an enemy or an exalted partisan! He only cared for hatreds or friendships as effeminate as his own character. This has been termed the wisdom of Erasmus; it was not that of Luther. Their destinies could no more be similar than their minds.

That star, which at first appeared but as a luminous speck in the horizon of Saxony, increased in splendour with constant rapidity, whilst the sun of Germany daily lost its strength and lustre, so that it died in sinking behind Basle without the world heeding it. The time was, however, when Erasmus might have eclipsed that star, by depriving it of its fire, and perhaps have extinguished it; and that was when in the culminating point of his glory and talents,—when his influence upon men's minds was as active as it was incontestable,—and when his "Colloquies" had superseded in the hands of scholars the rude instruction of the monks. There was then no one who more truly exercised a sovereignty over learning than Erasmus. We are astonished, in perusing his correspondence, to see the court which popes and monarchs paid him, to induce him to undertake the defence of Catholicism, and measure his strength with Luther. To reward his courage, popes speak of plenary indulgences and the purple; monarchs, of brilliant titles; Bembo, of worldly immortality; the clergy, his friends, of heaven and eternal life; and Tunstal, bishop of London, of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.¹ Erasmus was sometimes tempted to listen to the syren's song, and to grapple with

¹ "Te obsecro, atque obtestor, Erasme, imo verò te orat atque obtestatur Ecclesia, ut cum hæc hydræ tandem congrediare. Aude tantùm, et orbis tibi spondet victoriam."

his young rival, neither for the love of the Catholic creed, the soundness of which he had not at heart, nor for the allurements of honours set before him, for which he showed his contempt, but because of his vanity, which suffered from Luther's success, and still more, perhaps, from his affected contempt. The monk learnt from his friends the vexation of Erasmus, and laughed at them in his sleeve: "He is, poor creature," he said, "tortured by a word the mysterious meaning of which he has never comprehended!" It is likely that Luther was prejudiced in his judgment of Erasmus, who had spent nine years of his life in a monastery of canons regular, and must have understood theological matters. Besides, he did not want friends who might have assisted him in his dogmatic labours. Bembo, Sadoleto, Prierias, would have come to his aid; especially Aleandro, who had made a study of those religious questions which Luther had been the first to unsettle, to transfer them from the schools to the people.

It was, accordingly, at one time rumoured in Europe that Erasmus was about to write against the new doctrines. Erasmus being unacquainted with Luther's creed, had written to the nuncio Aleandro for permission to read the Reformer's works. Aleandro had referred him to Bombasius, who procured a brief from the pope to that effect.¹ This report excited much joy among the Catholics: they congratulated Erasmus on his future triumphs; they celebrated his fame and courage both in prose and verse. "It is your fault," said Duke George of Saxony to him, "that Luther has made such conquests in Germany; you could have stopped the eagle in his flight; you have wanted courage; but God comes to your aid, and there is nothing to be feared."²

Sadoleto, bishop of Carpentras, depicted the sufferings of the Church, which he said only one man, Erasmus, could heal. "Courage, then," said he to him, "and let us march to the rescue of the Catholic religion, which is perishing, assailed on all sides by implacable enemies."³

The work which Erasmus had designed was a dialogue, consisting of three interlocutors — Thrasimachus, Eubulus,

¹ Ep. Erasmi, ep. 14, lib. xvii. p. 590.

² Ibid. ep. 78, lib. xxx.

³ Sad. Op. Veronæ, 1737, tom. i. p. 78.

and Philalethes. Thrasimachus was a puritanical Protestant, a Lutheran steeped in prejudice; Eubulus, an humble Capuchin friar, a detester of heresy; Philalethes, the friend of truth, or Erasmus himself, a wise counsellor and man of peace, who, according to his wont, was to address the monk and the heretic in language which neither would have understood,—that of a courtier, honied, but indirect and tedious. With his timid suggestions, his lax expedients, and lukewarm blandishments, the writer would have irritated both parties. Such, however, was the plan of which the very idea threw Erasmus into a cold sweat, and which he did not wish to print “until he had left Germany, for fear he should meet with a violent death before he could appear on the arena.”¹

Erasmus did not die; he did not even need to quit Germany; and of his work, so pompously announced, and so anxiously expected, not even the title appeared. The secret of this Erasmus kept to himself, while he tormented himself as if the book had been published; and it was to cause these feeble symptoms of opposition to be forgotten, that for several successive months he repeated, in his correspondence with Luther’s adherents, his accustomed farce, in which a monk is always made the butt, and receives the blows intended for the Reformers. Still the monk is nameless; he is neither Latomus nor Hochstræt, but simply a monk, whose very order is not mentioned, because, had he been specially designated, the monk might have cried out, perhaps avenged himself, and have disturbed that tranquillity which the Dutchman would not have sacrificed for any price.

The following was one of those little dramas in which the philosopher filled the principal part, that of duplicity.

Charles V. had rested at Cologne on his way to the diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was to receive the imperial crown. Erasmus was to be present at the coronation in his capacity as counsellor of the emperor, a title which had been conferred on him to engage him in the Catholic cause. The Elector Frederick of Saxony, Luther’s protector, wished to converse with the philosopher on the subject of the troubles which afflicted the German

¹ Ep. Regi Angliæ, lib. xx. p. 85.

Church. The interview was had at the hotel of the Three Kings, and the conversation in Latin, Spalatinus acting as interpreter. The Catholics were represented by Erasmus, the indifferents by Frederick, and the Protestants by an Augustinian friar. Erasmus stammered, simpered, and approached the duke with all the manner of a courtier who is afraid to give vent to the secret which weighs upon him. But the duke, looking at him steadily, took him by the arm, and said, "Come, now, doctor, will you speak? Tell me, what crime has my monk committed, that they are so enraged against him?"—"Two very great ones," replied Erasmus; "he has put his hand on the popes' tiaras and the monks' bellies."¹

This sally spread through Germany, annoyed the Catholics, and enraged Luther, who said to one of his friends: "This weak man has only one idea in his head, that of peace; he is ignorant of the cross of Christ."² Some days after, Luther's writings were publicly burnt. Erasmus wrote: "To burn is not to answer them;" and to Rosemondus, the rector of Louvain: "Why, then, do you find fault with me? Did I seem more sad when they burnt Luther's writings? Have I not always said that they contained doctrines of which I could not approve?"³ When Leo X. published his bull, "Exsurge," Erasmus everywhere said that it was the work of a monk; and when Luther replied to the bull, and issued his anti-bull, Erasmus wrote to the pope that he had to use menaces to prevent Froben from publishing it at Basle.⁴

When Adrian VI. ascended the chair, which had been so gloriously filled by Leo X., his first thought was to send for Erasmus, his scholar at Louvain, with whom he had so often discoursed on the wounds of the Church, and the means of healing them. Adrian believed that in times of difficulty God always raised up, in his mercy, some being of an elevated character to oppose the storm; whom, when his great mission was accomplished, God removed from the earth: now, in his opinion, this

¹ "Lutherus peccavit in duobus, nempè quod tetigit coronam pontificis et ventrem monachorum."—Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luth.* lib. i. sect. xxxiv. § 81, pp. 125, 126.

² Seckendorf, *lib. i.* § 87, p. 140.

³ *Ep. Erasmi*, ep. 18, lib. xii.

⁴ *Ibid.* ep. 40, lib. xiv.

Messiah was Erasmus. He therefore wrote to him the following fine letter :—

“ ‘ I have seen,’ says the prophet, ‘ the wicked man exalted above the cedars of Lebanon ; I passed, and he was no more ; I looked, and could not discover the place where he abode.’ Will you still, Erasmus, delay to attack this carnal man, whom God has cast from his presence ; who disturbs the peace of the Church, and precipitates in the paths of damnation so many unhappy souls ? Arise, arise to the rescue of God’s cause ! forget not his marvellous gifts ! believe that to you it has been given to save those whom Luther leads astray, to strengthen those whom he makes waver, to raise up those whom he has cast down ! What glory that will bring to your name !—what joy to the Catholics ! Recollect that sentence of the apostle St. James : ‘ He who causeth a sinner to be converted from the error of his ways, shall save his soul from death, and shall cover a multitude of sins.’ I cannot express to you with what joy my heart would overflow if, by means of your pen, those whom the poison of heresy has tainted, should repent, without waiting for the application of canons and imperial decrees. You, with whom I spent such a charming retirement at Louvain, know whether severe measures are agreeable to me. But if you think you can accomplish this work of salvation more safely at Rome, come when the winter is over, and the air is freed from the pestilential miasmata which have for some time infected it ; come with a light heart and healthy body ; all the treasures of our libraries are open to you ; I offer you my own society, and that of all the learned men in Rome.”¹

But Erasmus was old ; years and sickness had exhausted his ardour, withered his sarcasm, dimmed his eyes, and blanched his hair. His language, formerly exuberant with life and colour, was now as faded as his cheeks, and his laugh was the grin of an old man ; so that, when Adrian’s letter reached him, Erasmus felt that it was too late, and that a contest with Luther was impossible.

“ Most holy father,” he replied,² “ I would most willingly obey you ; but there is a tyrant more cruel than Phalaris, to whom I

Ep. Erasmi, ep. 639. *Sentiments d’Erasme de Rotterdam*, pp. 26—37.

¹Ibid. ep. 640.

must submit—the gravel, if you wish to know his name. The winter is past, the pestilence has left Rome, but the way is very long, and I cannot cross the snowy Alps, or encounter the stoves, the very smell of which makes me faint, the filthy and incommensurable inns, and the strong wines, which give me a headache. And then my style is like my body,—withered. I have masters now ; my learning is middling, and drawn from old writers, and adapted more for speaking than for controversy. I am a poor creature, who have lost all my glory. What weight would the authority of Erasmus have in the eyes of those who defy that of the universities, the sovereigns, and the supreme pontiff himself ? If renown has been mine, it has much abated ; it has grown cold, and changed to hate. Once they addressed me as the great hero, the prince of literature, the star of Germany ; now they scarcely think of me, except to defame me. Come to Rome ! You might as well say to a crab, ‘ Fly.’ ‘ Give me wings,’ the crab would answer. And the crab would be right.”

But Erasmus, perhaps, did not say all the truth to his former teacher of theology ; the crab, if it could have flown, would not have alighted in Rome ; it would have been afraid of the Wittemberg eagle, whose wings were now expanded, its fiery eye, and, above all, its talons, which had drawn blood, and left their marks on the faces of so many monks. There was nothing now to be gained by breaking the happy peace in which he had kept himself since Luther’s appearance. Imagine this Athenian, of polished style, obliged to come in collision with a barbarian who voided insults and solecisms ; this scholar, who gravely charged Cicero with two errors of syntax, disputing with a writer who extemporized his language, and treated it like a veritable Papist ; this poet, fed on ambrosia, and experienced in the elegant phraseology of courts, battling with a monk who, in his visit to Rome, had not even remembered the name of one of its artists ; this courtier of the Medicis, obliged to make use of an invective style, which Luther possessed in all its force. Adieu, then, to that sweet repose which he had made, and which he so ardently loved. Once engaged with Luther, it would not have been as with the monks, who knew not to keep rancour, and whom the monastic rule commanded to forget injuries. Luther would not have feared to risk his soul’s salvation to torment his enemy ; he

would have given him neither peace nor truce ; he would have dragged him, without pity for his grey hairs and that glory which encircled his brow, upon the battle-field, and there, in order to fight him, he would have availed himself of every sort of weapon, even of calumny, had the victory been doubtful. Poor Erasmus ! what would have become of that fascination which still clung to your name, and which still exercised itself upon some gifted beings, and that reputation acquired by thirty years of literary labour ! You were indeed wise, when you asked Adrian to give wings to a crab !

But absolute silence would have been too much for Erasmus. He was obliged to indulge his taste for epigram, and for want of the sword, which he could not wield, employ the pen, which he had always handled so well. He therefore continued his petty warfare with Luther, showering upon his adversary's head, instead of rocks, epigrams and jests, and even prophecies, which often had the merit of being fulfilled, but which everybody else, who studied the monk of Wittemberg, might have done as well as the philologist, ridiculing with severity that passion for marriage which had seized upon the religious of both sexes, who at Luther's voice burst their vows of celibacy and the conventual gates. All these witticisms of Erasmus, these *asides* sufficiently loud to be heard by the audience, reached Luther's ears, who at first took no notice of them, so much was he taken up with his great conflict with the papacy. But now that the latter was, in his eyes, levelled to the earth to rise no more, these rumours buzzed about his ears like flies. He bore it patiently for some time, much longer than might have been expected from him, endeavouring, in his turn, in his private correspondence, to wear the mask of Erasmus ; but although he thought that he counterfeited the voice and pantomimic manner of the rhetorician, his friends had the charity to inform him that he would never perform the part like his rival, and he himself soon perceived it. He had not two thoughts or two tongues ; he must say at once what he had in his mind, and like a lion or eagle tear his adversary with his claws or talons : such was his nature. This was seen in his war with the pope, in which his voice, when he attempted to flatter, belled like a deer, or screamed like a bird of prey.

Luther resolved, then, to have done with Erasmus, and he wrote to him the following letter. In perusing it, we must recollect that Luther could not bestow on the scholar of Rotterdam, as he did on his enemies, the epithets of "papist,"—"sycophant,"—"ignorant," or "friend of darkness;" and that, whether inclined to it or not, he was forced to submit to the dictatorship which the philosopher had exercised for half a century in Europe to the benefit of literature:—

"I, who am naturally irritable, have been irritated by others, and have felt inclined to write bitterly; but I have only done so to obstinate and rebellious people. My own conscience and the public voice sufficiently testify my clemency and tenderness towards sinners and offenders. Thus it is that I have restrained my pen, in spite of your pin-pricking, and that I shall restrain it, as I have promised to my friends, until you have thrown off the mask. . . . What is to be done in this party excitement? As a mediator of peace, I shall wish that your enemies would cease to attack you so violently, and leave your old age to sleep quietly in the Lord. They ought to do so, in my opinion, in consideration of your weakness, and the greatness of that work which towers so above your petty height, especially when things are now in such a state, that our Gospel has nothing to fear from Erasmus with all his strength, to say nothing of his nails and his teeth."¹

The supreme contempt that pervades Luther's letter must have deeply wounded the pride of Erasmus. How then is his silence to be explained? How is it that no reply to this insolent defiance is to be found in his correspondence? Was he then preparing his manifesto against Luther, and wished to lull him to sleep, that he might suddenly start from his slumber at the noise of that work on which he was silently engaged, and which the Catholic world expected for so many years? On this we can merely form conjectures. It is certain that all epistolary communication between them was broken off; they appeared to have forgotten each other; especially Luther, who pursued his scheme of Reformation without troubling himself further about the rhetorician, of whom he stood so much in awe on his entry upon the

¹ Erasmo Rotterodamo. See Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, tom. ii. p. 498.

theological arena. But it is remarkable that, after this time, Erasmus showed much less respect to the Reformers, whom he ridiculed to their faces, spoke of contemptuously in his correspondence, and laughed at their self-assumption of learning, faith, morals, and even chastity; and that so loudly that Luther might have heard him in his Saxon Rome.¹ How then is to be explained this fit of courage in Erasmus, who no longer conceals his convictions or belief, and boldly says to all who wish to hear him, "I am a Catholic;" not merely to the cardinals and bishops, but to the new evangelists, and even Melancthon. His spirit glows, his style sparkles; he has recovered his young blood of twenty: faith in place of indignation possesses him. The old athlete of Germany is like the linden-tree of Morat, which at three hundred years old shoots forth its leaves. Erasmus might still contend with Luther. Without having studied thoroughly the history of the sixteenth century, we cannot imagine the influence which he exercised on others, feeble as he was, as if the human mind believed in him, with such faith did they receive his words! If he was not permitted to overcome Luther, at least he might have detached from the Reformation those who were not misled by Hutten's annunciation of Luther to Germany as an apostle of freedom. Erasmus ought not to have meddled with theology, which Luther understood much better than he, and should have written the history of the Reformation, considered in its influence upon the morals, intelligence, and society of Germany. What a fertile theme for critical raillery! What food and sport his sarcasm might have found in the Saxon's life, since his positions wherein he feigned submission to the pope down to his marriage with Catherine Bora! What a picture he might have drawn of all the sects which were born and perished in the same day! What funereal images from those fields of Thuringia, Suabia, Westphalia, and Alsatia, fattened with the blood of peasantry whose only crime was their faith in Luther! What scenes from the destruction of pictures, statues, stained glass, and other material victims to the hammer of the Reformation! What characters like those of Bernard, Carlstadt, Didymus, and Storch! What capital subjects for a painter those

¹ See, in Erasmus's *Epistles*, the letters from 1522 to 1524, addressed to Melancthon, Campeggio, the Christians of Holland, &c.

monks and nuns who rushed into matrimony from a gastric impulse, as Luther decently expressed it! What materials for new letters like those *Virorum obscurorum*, in the spontaneous creation of that myriad of embryo apostles and prophets, whose books resemble a cloud of locusts;¹ evangelists of both sexes, who exorcise, anathematize, and damn each other, and close even against Luther the gates of heaven, which he had opened for them! A whole volume might have been made by Erasmus from this fragment of Luther's letter to the Christians of Antwerp: "—

"The devil is among us: he daily sends visitors to knock at my door. One will not have baptism, another rejects the sacrament of the eucharist, a third announces that God will create a new world before the last judgment, another that Christ is not God, another this, another that. There are nearly as many creeds as heads. There is not a booby who, if he dreams, does not believe that he is inspired by God, or, at least, that he is a prophet.

"I am often visited by these men of visions, who all know more of them than I, and wish to explain them to me. I wish they were what they profess to be. One came to me yesterday. . . . 'Master, I am sent from God, who created heaven and earth;' and then the fellow began to preach like a veritable blockhead, that it was God's command that I should read the books of Moses to him. 'Ah! and where did you find that commandment of God?' 'In the Gospel of St. John.' After he had had his say: 'Then, my friend, come back to-morrow; for I cannot, at one sitting, read to you the books of Moses.' 'Adieu, master, our heavenly Father, who has shed his blood for us, points out to us, by his Son Jesus, the right way. Adieu.' Such are these chosen beings who know neither God nor Christ. When the papacy lasted, there were none of these divisions or differences; the strong man peacefully reigned over hearts: but now, a stronger one has come, who has conquered and driven him forth, and the former one storms and wishes not to depart. A

¹ "Rari sunt apud adversarios qui non aliquid scribant, quorum libri non sicut at cancer serpunt, sed velut agmina locustarum volitant."—Bellarminus, tom. i. Op. de Controv. Christianæ Fidei, in Præfati.

² Ein Brief Dr. Mart. Luther's an die Christen zu Antwerpen; Wittenberg, 1525, 4to. Dr. Mart. Luther's Briefe, tom. iii. p. 60.

spirit of disturbance is also among you, who tempts and seeks to turn you from the right path. The signs whereby you may know him are these: when he tells you that every man has the Holy Spirit; that the Holy Spirit is none other than the reason which God has given us; that there is neither hell nor damnation; that the flesh alone will be condemned, but the soul shall have life eternal; that the law is not destroyed by concupiscence, so long as I do not delight in it; that he who has not the Spirit does not sin, because he has not reason. . . . Begone, legion of Satan, stamped with the mark of error; for God is a God of peace, and not of dissension."¹

This finely-drawn sketch of Luther would, in the hands of Erasmus, have been transformed into a striking drama, wherein we should have seen the prophets, Anabaptists, Zwinglians, Sacramentarians, and all the swarm of dissenters produced by the doctrine of free inquiry, disputing together, and each appealing to the text of the Bible for proof of the truth of his doctrines. Erasmus might have expended all his wit and satire in dramatizing the Reformation. It was by ridicule that Hutten acquired his success, and ruined the monasteries; it was by ridicule that the Reformers should have been attacked; and, in the Church of Wittenberg, there was more than one vulnerable monk. Is it not true that the devil employed by Luther; the great white man of Zwinglius; the unknown one who wrung the neck of Oecolampadius, the familiar spirit of the prophets, were as good subjects as the devils who tempted St. Anthony in the desert, and which have been so often laughed at by the Reformers? The latter, at least, did not talk blasphemously of the Mass, and were ignorant of Greek.

Erasmus mistook himself. Luther has already told us that the philosopher had forgotten the little he had learned of theology in the study of antiquity, which he knew so marvellously well. In wishing to dispute with Luther, he ought carefully to have avoided doctrinal matters, in which his fine and lively intellect could not disport itself at ease as in a literary comedy. But what did he select from the immense variety supplied by Luther?

¹ "Ista sectarum pugnancia signum et Satanas esse quod docent, et quodd spiritus Dei non sit dissensionis Deus, sed pacis."—Michaëli Stüefel, 24 December, 1524.

Free Will: of all questions discussed in the schools the most mysterious; a prodigy, which will for ever confound reason, and must be believed in the same manner as we believe in eternity, the immortality of the soul, and the creation. It is the inward sentiment which proclaims moral liberty. If a man obeys the impulse of grace, and performs good works, his conscience is happy. If he is seduced and led away by concupiscence, he suffers the gnawings of remorse; but there is neither joy nor sorrow experienced in the performance of necessary acts. If man is not a free agent, of what use are commands, punishments, and rewards? If he is the slave of sin, why condemn him? he is nothing more than mere matter. Such is what Erasmus, with unquestionable talent, proves in his book entitled, "A Dissertation upon Free Will."¹

Luther believed in the fall of Adam and a great expiation of Nature, which is to endure until the creation of a new heaven and new earth. Scarcely had man rebelled against his God, when the light of the sun became dimmed; the stars were veiled; the flowers lost a portion of their perfume; the animals and plants degenerated; the air lost its purity, and the light its original splendour. So that what the human eye admires in the works of creation is but a shadow of its primitive state. But of all the beings most severely punished, because he had brought sin into the world, was the one whom God had created in his own image, and who had lost the attribute which approximated him nearest to his Maker,—free will! Conceived in tears and corruption, the child,—a mere *fœtus* in the womb of his mother, is already a sinner;² a piece of unclean clay, which before it is formed into a human vessel, commits iniquity, and gains damnation.³ In proportion as he grows, the innate element of corruption increases, becomes developed, and bears its fruit. He says to sin: "Thou art my

¹ De Libero Arbitrio Diatriba sive Collatio.

² "Lutum illud, ex quo vasculum hoc fingi cœpit, damnabile est. Fœtus in utero, antequam nascimur et homines esse incipimus, peccatum est."—Luther, in Psal. 4.

³ This doctrine of the corruption of human nature, which was afterwards slightly modified by Luther, and especially by his followers, is one of the articles of Calvin's creed: "Ex corruptâ hominis naturâ, nihil nisi damnabile."—Inst. lib. ii. c. 3, p. 93. See Mœhler, who, in his Symbolism, has admirably developed the different teachings of the Church and Protestantism on the great question of original sin.

father," and every act that he does is a crime ; to the worms : "Ye are my brethren," and he crawls like them in dirt and corruption. If he endeavours to raise his head, this motion, of which moreover he is not master, is a crime, like all that he thinks or does ; he is an evil tree that cannot produce good fruits ; a rock rent by lightning, that can no longer supply living waters ; a dunghill—for Luther makes use of all these similes—that can only exhale infectious odours. And what is most desolating in this psychological system is, that this monarch of creation is not permitted to raise himself from the abyss into which the fall of the first man has plunged him ; to efface from his brow the mark which the avenging hand of the Creator has stamped on it ; to recover the titles of his heavenly origin. More unhappy than that violet of which Luther not long since spoke, man knows himself ; he knows all the happiness which he has lost, all the misery and ignorance which he retains, and the inheritance of glory which has escaped him. A few drops of water will revive the flower that droops on its stem ; but man is doomed to debasement ; nothing henceforth can vivify or restore him,—neither will, nor thought, nor deed ; for these mental operations are corrupted like their source ; and man sins even in doing good. Such was Luther's doctrine ; a doctrine of despair, which might be understood in hell, where the soul, surprised in sin, cannot merit ; but which, upon an earth cleansed by the blood of the Lamb, is only an outrage on the Deity. Necessity impels the monk, and hurries him from blasphemy to blasphemy : he now proclaims that God damns some creatures who have not deserved such a fate ;¹ others even before they are born ;² that he induces us to sin, and produces evil in us.³ And his disciples, in their turn, declare that God robs in the person of the robber, murders in the assassin, is a trunk in a trunk, a tree in a tree.⁴

¹ Dass Gott etliche Menschen verdammet, die es nicht verdient haben.

² Dass Gott etliche Menschen zur Verdammtis verordnet habe, eh sie gebohren worden : 8 Jen. Lat. fol. 207 a. t. 6 ; Witt. Ger. fol. 343 b, 535 a. t ; Alt. fol. 249 b, 250.

³ Dass Gott die Menschen zur Sünde antreibe, und alle Laster in ihnen würcke : 3 Lat. fol. 199 a. t. 6 ; Witt. fol. 522 b, 523 a.

⁴ "Deum furari in fure, trucidare in latrone, esse truncum in trunco, arborem in arbore."—Althammer, fol. 67.

Thus disinherited, Luther's man is no longer his own master ; he sins in all that he does ; all will is extinct in him, and he is the slave of destiny. If he commits moral good or evil, it is not by his own will, for he has none, but because God or the devil holds the bridle. "Do not speak to me," says the Reformer, "of free will ; it is a divine expression, which can only be applied to the divine Essence, which can do whatever it wills in heaven and on earth. To invest man with it, is to invest him with divinity, which is a blasphemy, and the greatest that can be imagined. Let theologians then banish that expression from their vocabulary, and reserve it for God. Let us cease to use it, and leave this holy and venerable name to the Lord."¹

Nobody better than Luther knew the power of imagery to reach the understanding. Whenever he wished to introduce an idea into the world, he invested it with a sensible form, and gave it a body and clothing ; and this idea, so personified, spread through society, gaining proselytes, as he who gave it life and language might have done. This gift of creation, beyond the domain of reality, has not been possessed by every leader of heresy. Melancthon, with his dogmatical disposition, could not comprehend, and never made use of it. At the beginning of the Reformation, he attacked the papacy with the ordinary weapons of innovators, old arguments fetched from the dust of the schools, and rise on their blunted points against the rock of St. Peter. Luther adopted a very different course. He devised a magic lantern in which the devil was shown with the cloven foot of an ass, ignorance with the puffed-out belly of a monk, and the spirit of innovation in the guise of an Anabaptist. So in his reply to the philosopher, he breathed upon the human will which Erasmus decked out as a queen, and drew from it two figures, first one of a horse, then one of salt. The horse is in the open field : "Does God leap into the saddle ? The horse is obedient, accommodates itself to every movement of the rider, and goes whither he wills it. Does God throw down the reins ? Then Satan leaps upon the back of the animal, which bends, goes, and submits to the spurs and caprices of its new rider."² The will cannot choose its rider, and

¹ Luth. *De Servo Arbitrio*, ad *Erasm.* Rotterd. lib. i. fol. 117, 6.

² "Sic humana voluntas in medio posita est, seu jumentum ; si insederit Deus, vult et vadit quod vult Deus, ut Psalmista dicit : Factus sum sicut

cannot kick against the spur that pricks it. It must get on, and its very docility is a disobedience or a sin. The only struggle possible is between the two riders, God and the devil, who dispute the momentary possession of the steed. And then is fulfilled that saying of the Psalmist: 'I am become like a beast of burden.'"

It is easy to see that the philosophical system of Luther in regard to the liberty of man and the origin of evil, has nothing new in it but its plastic form, and that the original idea belongs to Manes; it is the Persian dualism; light and darkness, or the good and evil principles contending for the possession of man. But if the operation of God upon the creature is a mystery from which reason could never entirely lift the veil, the struggle which Luther institutes between God and the devil is a prodigy otherwise incomprehensible. The poetical idea of Satan contending with the Deity has been very differently handled by Milton in his "Paradise Lost," from that in the treatise of "Man's Will Enslaved." Can the mind believe in such an antagonism? From the instant Luther gives us the names of the combatants, his drama is unravelled. What is Satan against God? the finite against the infinite, the creature against the Creator! With the poet, it is an allegory; with Luther, it a doctrine, and consequently is devoid of all real poetry. The doctor's idea is a dogma. Melancthon, in order not to vex his master by an insoluble objection, adopts Luther's doctrine of the servitude of the will, and makes God the author of the good and evil which happen here below; of David's adultery, of St. Paul's apostleship, of the treachery of Judas; and this, not as the schoolmen say, permissively (*permissivè*), but effectively (*potenter*).¹ Melancthon maintains his argument from the Bible; so that, if we are to

jumentum et ego semper tecum; si insederit Satan, vult et vadit sicut Satan, nec est in ejus arbitrio ad utrum sessorem currere, aut eum quærere, sed ipsi sessores certant ob ipsum obtinendum et possidendum."—Op. Luth. tom. iii. p. 177, 6.

¹ "Hæc sit certa sententia, à Deo fieri omnia, tam bona, quàm mala. Nos dicimus non solum permittere Deum creaturis ut operentur, sed ipsum omnia propriè agere, ut sicut fatentur, proprium Dei opus fuisse Pauli vocationem, ita fateantur opera Dei propria esse sive quæ media vocantur, ut comedere, sive quæ mala sunt, ut Davidis adulterium. Constat enim Deum omnia facere non permissivè, sed potenter, id est ut sit ejus proprium opus, Judæ proditio sicut Pauli vocatio."—Mart. Chemnitz loc. theol. edit. Leyser, 1615, pp. 1, 173.

believe him, it is God, or the Bible, who teaches us that man is the slave of destiny. But then to what inspiration did he listen, when in 1530 he affirmed, in the Confession of Augsburg, that the cause of sin is the will of the evil one, that is to say, of the devil and the sinner, and that this will, unless assisted supernaturally, withdraws itself from God ?¹

At Leipsic, Luther compared man to a saw in the hands of a workman. In order to refute the comparison, Eck said it screamed ; and this play of words produced more effect on the audience than a regular argument. In his quarrel with Erasmus he changed the simile : Man is no longer a saw ; he is sometimes, like the patriarch's wife, transformed into a pillar of salt, at others the trunk of a tree, or a shapeless block of stone, which can neither see nor hear, has neither heart nor sense.² What a hideous mockery is such a being, cast by God in the midst of creation, and which the Scripture tells us was formed after His own likeness ! How, after this life, could the Supreme Judge demand an account of his desires, thoughts, looks, and actions, from this human carcase which has never lived, has never felt ; in which neither arteries nor blood are to be found ? And how should human justice or society condemn this being, inno-
minate in any language, and which is only clay or corruption ? If Luther be asked for the solution of this psychological problem, he replies only by comparisons taken from the tomb. Need we be astonished then at the cry of horror which this wretched doctrine wrung from the Catholics, when his own disciples blushed for their master ? Honour at least to Pfeffinger, Victorinus, and especially to Strigel, who had the courage to appeal from it to the conscience, to refute the annihilating dogmas of the Reformer, and who restored to man that perception with which God when he created had endowed him !

Luther, riveted to the principle which he had laid down, struggled fruitlessly to escape from his chain ; he necessarily fell into Rationalism, for want of inclination to make use of faith

¹ Art. XIX. Symbolik von Möhler, p. 47.

² "In spiritualibus et divinis rebus quæ ad animæ salutem spectant, homo est instar statuæ salis in quam uxor patriarchæ Loth est conversa ; inò est similis trunco et lapidi statuæ, vitæ carenti, quæ neque oculorum, oris aut ullorum sensuum cordisque usum habet."—Luth. in Gen. cxxix.

to reconcile the divine presence with moral liberty. He had appealed from it to the Scriptures, and a text interpreted by his own reason had obscured in him the most ordinary light. The Church taught how the text of Moses, wherein God says that he hardens Pharaoh's heart, should be interpreted ; but he preferred his own judgment to the general one, and it led him astray. Let us follow for an instant all the deductions which he draws from an erroneous interpretation. Let the Christian know, then, that God foresees nothing in a contingent manner ; but that he foresees, proposes, and acts from his eternal and immutable will : this is the thunderbolt which destroys and overturns free-will ! Let those, then, who come forward as the champions of that doctrine deny first this thunderbolt. Thus it follows, irrefragably, that every human action, although it seems to be done in a contingent manner, and subject to the doctrine of chances, is necessary and immutable in the order of Providence. Therefore it is not free-will, but necessity, which is the acting principle in us.¹ Indeed, I wish that I could employ another term than that of necessity, which only imperfectly expresses my views, when we speak of human will. Coercion is a harsh and unsuitable expression, for neither the one nor the other of the two wills is necessarily constrained or subjected, but both obey their nature in producing good or evil ; it is an immutable and infallible will which governs another mutable and fallible, as in the words of the poet :—

... "*Stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri.*"
[Immoveable, thou makest all things move.]

But who will draw man out of that abyss of darkness into which Luther has plunged him ? Who will cry for him who has no voice, or pray for that fallen angel whose every wish and thought is pollution ? Who will mediate for that soul crucified by sin ? Who will open the bosom of mercy to that child of Satan, that other Abbadona, but more unhappy than the pure spirit of Klopstock, for he could weep without sin ? Luther has nothing but grace ; he rushes headlong, and embraces it. But since man is not free, who will explain to us how Providence smites and crowns, punishes and pardons, condemns and rewards

¹ Luther, *De Servo Arbitrio* adv. Erasmi. Rotterd. Oper. Lat. Jenæ, tom. iii. fol. 170, 171, 177.

in eternity? Whence is it that one is damned and another glorified, since neither had eyes wherewith to see, ears to hear, and instinct to choose?—that both, in doing good or evil, were impelled by an irresistible impulse, which is equally the work of God as the acts which they did? What a god, then, has the Reformation given us? Certainly not the God of the Bible. Let them say as they will, they cannot find him in the Scriptures; he is the god of their invention, a blind deity, like that imagined by the Gnostic Marcion.

Luther thus completes his psychological system of human liberty: “As for myself, I confess, that were I offered free-will,¹ I would not have it, or any other instrument that might aid in my salvation; not only because, besieged by so many perils and adversities, amidst that horde of devils who assail me on all sides, it would be impossible for me to preserve or make use of that instrument of salvation, since one single devil is stronger than all men together, and no way of real salvation would be open to me; but because, were the dangers surmounted, and the devils put to flight, I should labour in uncertainty, and my arm would be fatigued to no purpose by beating the air with useless blows. For, were I to live for ever, my conscience would never be certain of having satisfied God. After every act of presumed perfection, a scruple would always remain: Who shall say that I have pleased God? That God has demanded no more from me? as is proved by the experience of all souls reputed to be just, and mine unhappily more than all others.

“But as God has taken charge of my salvation, independently of my free-will, and has promised to save me by his grace and mercy without the concurrence of my works, I am certain that he will be faithful to his promise, that he will not lie, and that he is powerful enough to prevent me from being broken by adversity, or carried off by the devil; for he has said: ‘No one shall take him from me, because the Father who has given him to me is stronger than all.’ So then, if all are not elect, much fewer will be so; whilst by free-will none could be saved, and all would perish. Thus we are assured of pleasing God, not by the merit of our works, but through the mercy which he has

¹ De Servo Arbitrio, Op. tom. i. p. 171.

promised to us, and because he will not impute to us the more or less of evil that we shall commit, but will forgive and receive us into his fatherly favour. This is the glorification of the saints in the Lord."

Whether Luther strives or not against the consequences of the principle of moral slavery which he has laid down, his God will always be a blind or wicked deity, who will groundlessly save or destroy a soul that by itself is incapable of merit or demerit—a soul inert and passive. If there be any logical accuracy, the being who embraces Luther's doctrine has no refuge except in despair or indifferentism. His profession of faith amounts to this,—that no one will be happy in eternity, unless he believes in the inefficacy of free-will.¹ What, then, has become of that principle of free inquiry which he introduced into the world? He has proclaimed the independence of reason, and he fetters thought and intellect. He has recovered, according to M. Charles Villers, the title-deeds to the kingdom of human knowledge, which had been buried in the Vatican, and he will not now consent to exhibit them until the queen whom he has set up shall perform an act of vassalage; that is to say, that after having sought to destroy the popedom, he makes popery! What must we think of the salvation of his disciples, who, in their different confessions, disobeyed their master's doctrine, and taught the dogma of moral freedom? The despotism of error is much more oppressive than that of truth: from the instant error has touched you with its finger, you become its property, and you are condemned to run through the entire circle of falsehood which it has drawn around you. When the Anabaptists preached the necessity for a second purification of original sin in adults, resting themselves on a Pharisaical interpretation, Luther loudly proclaimed that the letter killed, and the spirit must be observed. Now he says: "We must avoid, as a poison, all commentaries, and keep to the letter, however hard it may appear, unless the Scriptures force us to seek the

¹ Luth. *De Servo Arbitrio* adv. Eras. Rotterod. Op. tom. i. p. 236. "Dass Niemand selig werden könne, der nicht gerade seine Meinung von dem völligen Unvermögen des freyen Willens, ohn Einschränkung annehme." Das Resultat meiner Wanderungen, p. 262. Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i. ch. v.

mysterious signification concealed under the covering of the word ;¹ that the devil alone can maintain that the divine word is enveloped in darkness, and requires to pass through man's lips to be understood ; that the spirit enlightens every one who comes to it with love, and reveals to him the hidden meaning of God's word."

Erasmus, deafened with this clamour of the Reformers, who appealed to the Scriptures, as if the Bible had until then been a sealed book, and Luther, the angel of the Apocalypse, had been the first to open it, wished to put a stop to the noise, and show that the Scriptures, reduced to the bare letter, were not the sole foundation of the Christian faith. In examining Luther's principles, he had recovered his youthful powers and animated style, which at times seems to have assumed the wings of a poet. His style is concise, and carries his reader with it.

"But I hear you say, 'If the Scripture is so clear, what is the use of commentaries?' . . . I reply: If the Scripture is as luminous as you say, how is it that so many learned men have walked for centuries in darkness, when there was question of what interested them so deeply as moral freedom? If there is no obscurity in the text of the sacred books, why had the written word need of commentaries, even in the time of the apostles themselves? But I grant you that the Spirit is revealed to the simple and ignorant, and concealed from the wise, and that the words of Christ are accomplished: 'My Father, I thank thee that thou hast taught to the simple, and those whom the world considers fools, that which thou hast hidden from the wise.' Who knows if Dominic and Francis would not have become like to those of whom Christ speaks, if they had only followed their own sense? If, when the gift of God was in all its strength, John wished that we should try whether those who came to us had the Spirit from above, shall we not be permitted to make the same test in these times, when all flesh is corrupted? How shall they prove to us their mission? By their gift of eloquence?—but on all sides I see rabbis. By their acts?—On every side I see

¹ Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i. p. 144. Das Resultat meiner Wanderungen, &c., von D. Julius Höninghaus, p. 264. "Man soll alle verblümete Worte meiden und fliehen wie Gift, und bei den klaren, dürrn Worten bleiben, wo nicht die Schrift selbst zwingt, etliche Sprüche, als verblümete Worte zu erklären."

sinners: there is a choir of saints who proclaim that man is free. They say: 'They are men;' but, observe, I compare man with man, and not man with God. They say: 'Of what use is this cloud of witnesses to affirm the gift of the Spirit?' I reply: 'Of what greater use are some talented people?' They say: 'How does the priest's cap aid in understanding the Scriptures?' I reply: 'As much as the knight's mantle, or the monk's cowl.' They say: 'Of what avail are philosophy and science for understanding the inspired writings?' I reply: 'And how much ignorance?' They say: 'Of what use are councils, in which not one member perhaps has received the Holy Ghost?' I reply: 'Or your conventicles, in which very likely God's gift is equally rare?' The apostles would not have been believed if they had not proved their teaching by miracles; but every individual among you calling himself an inheritor of the truth would wish to be believed upon his word. When the apostles fascinated serpents, healed the sick, and raised the dead, they were obliged to believe them, although they preached things supernatural. And among those doctors who have told us so many marvels, is there even one who could have cured a lame horse?¹ They say to me: 'You only invoke the testimony of men;' but, when I insist and demand upon what evidence they wish me to judge of the truth of a doctrine, if on both sides I hear only men's voices, they reply: 'By the evidence of the Spirit;' and when I continue the interrogatory: 'How is it that the Spirit has been wanting rather to those whom the world has known by their wondrous works, than to the disciples of the new gospel?' they would wish to make me believe that the Gospel has not been preached for thirteen centuries! I ask for a doctrine founded upon works. They tell me that faith justifies, and not works. Give me miracles. They are useless, there have been enough, there is no need of them with the bright light of the Scriptures. In this case the Scriptures are not very clear, since I see so many men wander in darkness. And when they have the Spirit of God, who will prove to me that they also understand his word? What am I to believe, when, in the midst of these contradictory dogmas, each pretends to dogmatic infallibility, sets himself up as an oracle,

¹ "Ist noch keiner gewesen, der auch nur ein lahmes Pferd hätte heilen können."—Menzel, l. c.

and, on his own private judgment, flies in the face of the teaching of all his predecessors? What! is it credible, that during thirteen centuries, among so many holy individuals whom he has given to the Church, God has never raised up one to whom he has revealed the truth of the Gospel?"

When, at the present day, in the silence of our closet, we study the cases debated between these two learned men, we sometimes question the evidence of our eyes, and imagine that we are dreaming. Two priests stand before us: the one, Luther, who has studied mankind in books; the other, Erasmus, who has studied him in the works of creation. The former maintains that man acts by the impulse of fate, like the animal whose skin covers the volume over which the monk has grown pale; the latter acknowledges that freedom of action, the principle of all that he has found of the beautiful and great in the life of the nations which he has visited. From the text of Moses, Exodus, ch. vii. ver. 14, Luther concludes that God has hardened the heart of Pharaoh; Erasmus maintains that we must not hold to the letter, which killeth, but raise ourselves to the Spirit, which giveth life; and, in order to prove that the very letter itself demonstrates man's freedom, he quotes to his opponent the passage where St. Paul recommends the creature to work out his own salvation, and throw off the old Adam.

Pressed to the grave of his dead letter, what says Luther? "If Paul," says he, "speaks so, it is not because he supposes that we can ever cast off the old Adam. He and the apostles employ it as a figure: do that, if you can; but you cannot!"¹ Is not this arrant nonsense; and is not nonsense on such a subject real blasphemy?

Then the philosopher resumes, as would a child: "But are we not, then, free to wish?"—"No," replies Luther drily. "And if we perish," continues Erasmus, "the fault, then, is God's?" "Doubtless; but we distinguish," adds Luther, "between God's manifest will, which says, No; and his secret will, which says, Yes: and it is this secret will into which we must not pry."

When Plank, who has summed up the whole discussion with singular impartiality, arrives at this distinction drawn by

¹ De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe seu Collatio.

the father of the Reformation, he is obliged to cover his face.¹

Erasmus's work is a theological treatise which might be supposed to have proceeded from the pen of one of those monks who formed the butt of his ridicule; it savours of the commentator, the disciple of Scotus, and very little of the man of genius. Erasmus accumulates texts, is involved in quotations, and brings into the field a whole cohort of the fathers:—St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril, St. John Damascene, Theophylact, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Arnobius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, the schoolmen, the faculties of theology, the councils, the doctors, the popes; that is to say, evidence for which his adversary, who appealed from them to rationalism, cared not a rush. But what is remarkable in this discussion is, that Luther was obliged to make use of his opponent's weapons in answering him, and summon to his aid both divine and human authority. Erasmus was still the same character; he impaired his work, already so feeble, by commonplace compliments to his opponent; his exordium is a hymn to Luther, which roused the indignation of the Sorbonne. Erasmus was unwilling that Luther's error on free-will should shadow the truths which he had so piously taught as to the love of God and the inanity of mere works. His peroration is a new canticle in honour of his rival. His friends were scandalized. The prince of Carpi wrote to him: "You have confounded Luther!—what skill, what intellect, what genius is displayed in your refutation!—how copious your style and evidence!—with what perspicuity you explain the most difficult matters! But I have one complaint to make: you treat Luther too gently. He is a madman, an obstinate heretic! Your praise is indecorous, your mildness ridiculous!"² Jerome Emser, that indefatigable champion of Catholicism, translated Erasmus's book into German, but omitted from his version the eulogies bestowed on the Reformer.³

¹ Plank, l. c. tom. ii. pp. 113, 131.

² Resp. ad Erasmusum.—Hist. Litt. Ref. part. i. p. 127.

³ Seckendorf, lib. i. p. 312. Emser wrote to Erasmus: "At tu cunctando, ut ingenuè tecum agam, suspectum te nobis reddis. Vide igitur, ut promissum de reliquâ parte arbitrii persolvas."—Hermann de Hardt, Hist. Litt. Reformat. part. i. p. 10.

The "Dresden goat," as Luther called Emser, saw, no doubt, that these perfumed phrases, which Erasmus slipped so adroitly into the exordium and peroration of his book, were designed to pacify his rival, of whose irritable temper he was aware. How poor Erasmus deceived himself! he expected a few grains of incense, which he flattered himself Luther would not fail to burn in honour of the great scholar of the age.

The "Slave-Will,"¹ Luther's reply, is, like everything else proceeding from his pen, keen, violent, and occasionally coarse. Erasmus is represented in it as a Pyrrhonist, an epicurean, a blasphemer, and even an atheist; he who at the very time made a vow to our Lady of Loretto, and composed, in praise of the Blessed Virgin, hymns which the archbishop of Besançon inserted in his liturgy.² Luther's "Slave-Will" ran through ten editions.

Erasmus deluded himself in regard to the power of his name; he fancied himself in the height of his former fame; he therefore besought the elector of Saxony to punish Luther's insolence; but his letter, which ten years previously Frederick would not have exchanged for a province, was unanswered. He thought to revenge himself for the silence of Duke John, who had succeeded to that prince, by writing to Luther himself, who also took no notice of his epistle. This which he had, nevertheless, carefully elaborated, concluded with these words: "I would wish you a better disposition, if you were not so content with your own. You may, in your turn, wish me anything you please, provided that it be not your temper, unless you have changed it." These conceits were quite thrown away.³

He then bethought him of a formal reply to his enemy's Diatribe. He accordingly shut himself up in his cell, and there, with the blue waters of the Rhine, which laved his garden, the green mountains of Jura, and those flowers in which Basle is set as in a picture, before him, he laboured for ten whole days in provoking his style, as one would a lion to make him roar; but all to no purpose. He had, however, taken the precaution to keep constantly before him Luther's polemical writings, in order that he

¹ De Servo Arbitrio adversus Liberum Arbitrium ab Erasmo defensum.

² Canisius.

³ De Burigny, l. c. tom. ii. p. 96.

might borrow some irascible similes from them ; but, in spite of all his efforts, his work was a mere effort, without fancy, energy, or fluency. It was necessary that this painfully-produced volume should appear at the Frankfort fair. Froben, the printer, of Basle, to whom either faith was indifferent when business was concerned, put six presses at the service of Erasmus. Accordingly, the "Hyperaspites"¹ appeared alongside of Luther's *Diatribes* at Frankfort. They met with a good sale, and were severely criticised. Melancthon ridiculed them;² Luther compared them to the hissing of a viper.³ Then Erasmus, disenchanted, exclaimed : "Such is my reward ! Had I done nothing, I would not write a single word to-day."⁴

A letter from Melancthon to Camerarius, which soon spread over Germany, in some degree alleviated Erasmus's annoyance. Melancthon wrote thus : "Luther makes me many enemies, without my having deserved it. Am I not accused of having written several pages, and those the most virulent, of his book against Erasmus ? I suffer in silence. Would to God that Luther had said nothing : unhappily, age and experience only make him more violent ; this pains me."⁵

Misfortune is sacred, especially when it affects men like Erasmus, at the time when, after having left all the excitement of life, they see themselves deprived of their glory as they approach the grave. The "Hyperaspites" may be regarded as a last will and testament. In perusing it, the heart is wrung in contemplating all the sufferings of Erasmus in his affections, his vanity, and his hopes ; all the contests which, when old and infirm, he has to enter into with a young and ardent spirit ; and all the laurels which the world decreed to him, which he will not bear with him to the tomb, but see transferred one by one to the head of his adversary ! When we think that, to the title of "restorer of learning," Erasmus might have added that of "defender of Catholic unity ;" that he refused to arrest or confine the diffusion of Protestantism ; to preserve to Germany its

¹ *Hyperaspites, Diatribe adversus Servum Arbitrium Martini Lutheri.*

² *Ep. Camerario, lib. iv.*

³ *Seckendorf, lib. ii. § 32.*

⁴ *Ep. Carpi.*

⁵ *Epist. Melanchth. 28, lib. v. De Burigni, l. c. tom. ii. p. 98.*

ancient faith and national liberties ; to prevent the wars which drained its blood, the sacrilegious devastations of its churches and their images, and the ruin of authority, we are tempted to upbraid him with having deserted the line of duty prescribed to him by Providence. In this voluntary shipwreck of Erasmus, at least there is this consolation, that he did not abandon the religion of his fathers, although he has been accused of it.¹ The following lines, which shortly before his death he traced with failing hand in his "Hyperaspites," happily prove the possibility of an alliance between faith and genius :—

"Before God who hears me, and from whose wrath I cannot escape, if I have ever wittingly sinned, I desire that all who have received baptism should know that I no less believe the silent words of Scripture than if Christ himself were now speaking to me with his own lips ; and that I have no more doubt of these material signs than of what I hear with my ears, see with my eyes, or touch with my hands : and as I believe that the Gospel has fulfilled all the figures of the law and the predictions of the prophets, I believe in the promises of the second advent. It is this lively faith which assists me to support pains and insults, sickness, old age, and all the reverses of life ; which cheers me, and makes me trust in divine mercy and life eternal. I do not think that I have willingly doubted one single word of Christ ; I would rather die a thousand deaths than touch one iota of the Gospel text ; in God is all my hope, in the Gospel all my joy."

"Erasmus of Rotterdam is no more," said Luther at table ; "he was a writer who had every opportunity of rendering service to literature, for his life passed away without conflicts or disappointments. He lived and died without God, in all tranquillity of conscience. At the time of his death, he asked neither for

¹ The canon De Ram published at Brussels, in 1842, a pamphlet, in 8vo., entitled *Particulars of the Residence of Erasmus at Beale, and of the Last Moments of that celebrated Man*. The learned author quotes a letter from the MS. collection in the imperial library at Vienna (*Opuscula Polemica* Var. Cod. MS. N. xcxi. O. l. 445, folio), which leaves no doubt of the religious sentiments entertained by Erasmus at the time of his death (see pp. 10—13). For some years past Belgium has been enriched with excellent philological works by M. de Ram, Nève, and others.

Louvain remembers the high position which it held in literature at the beginning of the sixteenth century ; and its former fame begins to revive,

priest nor sacrament ; and, when about to breathe his last sigh, said, ' Son of God, have mercy upon me ! ' Perhaps this exclamation attributed to him is a lie : did he not study at Rome ?¹ If for ten thousand gilders, I would not take Jerome's place in the next world, for many more I would not that of Erasmus."²

This wrath towards a corpse not yet cold ; this outrage on one of the glories of Catholicism ; this calumny on the memory of a rival, and cruel play upon words on the soul of one of his brethren in Jesus Christ ; all issued at once from the breast of Luther !

CHAPTER VIII.

LITERARY LABOURS.—THE BIBLE.

At Wartburg Luther labours to reduce to order the elements of his doctrine.

—The German Bible.—Account of the Doctor's version.—The excitement which it creates.—Emser criticises Luther's translation.—The opinion of Germany in regard to it.—Blunders which he made.—The Catholic Church had translated the Bible into the vernacular before Luther.—She has never concealed, as she has been charged with doing, God's word ; and wherefore ! —Dangers which the revealed word would run, if the Church did not watch over the deposit of the truths of the faith.—Protestant commentary.—Agricola.

At Wartburg, Luther employed himself in founding a dogmatic rule, by which in future Protestants might be known. The Catho-

¹ Luther did not wait for the death of Erasmus. In 1526 he published against the philosopher a letter full of calumnies, in which he tried to prove that the philosopher had only sought to establish paganism on the ruins of the Christian religion. This letter Erasmus refuted.—*Erasmus ad calumniosissimam Epistolam Lutheri.* Annal. Sculteti, p. 197.

² "Ich wollte nicht zehn Tausend Gulden nehmen, und in der Gefahr stehen, für unsern Herrn Gott, da St. Hieronymus inne stehet, viel weniger darinne stehet Erasmus."—*Tisch-Reden*, p. 418.

Luther parodied against Erasmus two lines of Virgil :

"Qui Satanam non odit, amet tua carmina, Erasme,
Atque idem jungat Furias et mulgeat Orcum."

The following works may be consulted with reference to Erasmus : Adolf Müller, *Leben des Erasmus von Rotterdam* : Hamburg, 1828, 8vo. ; *Das Leben des fürtrefflichen Erasmi von Rotterdam*, abgefasst von Knight, ins Deutsche übersetzt von Theodoro Arnold : Leipsic, 1736, 12mo. ; Burscher, *Spicil.* ; Hottinger, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. vi. ; Melchior Adam, in *Vitâ Erasmi* ; Strobel, *Miscell. Litt.* ; *Les Propos de Table de Martin Luther*, traduits par M. Gustave Brunet : Paris, 1844, 12mo. pp. 345—348 ; Hoeninghaus, in the first volume of *La Réforme contre la Réforme*, 8vo. 1845.

lies reproached him with his constant shifting of doctrines. They ridiculed those capricious fancies, which even his own disciples could not apprehend or put in shape, and which Emser justly compared to the strange figures which the waves are ever making on the sand. They accordingly asked those who sought to tempt their faith, to give them a confession in which the creed of their master was contained. Luther felt that he must build upon the ruins of the old Church that New Jerusalem which he announced to mankind, and that it was not with faith as with learning, of which the conquests are indefinite, and the progress incessant. Day and night he elaborated his creed at Wartburg. With this view he composed several treatises, in which are set forth very explicitly those fundamental points of Protestantism, of which we have already spoken. They are: his treatise on the abrogation of private masses,¹ addressed to his brother Augustinians; that on monastic vows,² dedicated to his father Hans, in which, abstracting from it what pertains to dogma, there is an effusion of filial piety which does honour to Luther's heart; his pamphlets against Ambrose Catharinus, in which he sets himself to prove from the Scriptures that the beast of the Apocalypse lives and reigns in Rome;³ lastly, commentaries upon forty verses of David (Psalm xxxvi.), to keep up the courage of the flock at Wittenberg.⁴ In these also, if we can forget how the theologian twists the text of the royal poet to suit his views,—to find in it menaces against the kingdom of Satan, represented by the pope and the cardinals, or arms against Emser, who; like a real spectre, always presents himself in his way,—it is very difficult not to admire the art with which the writer welds his thoughts

¹ Vom Missbrauche der Messe: Wittenberg, 1522. Luther, *De Abrogandâ Missâ Privata*, assigned by Olearius to 1521, but which did not appear until the beginning of January, 1522, as is shown by Spalatinus' correspondence.

² An Hans Luther, 21 November, 1521. It is the preface of the treatise, *De Votis Monasticis M. Lutheri Judicium*: Wittemb. 1521. Jonas translated it into German, with the title, *Von den geistlichen und Kloster-Gelübden*, Martini Luther's Urtheil.

³ *Contrâ Amb. Catharinum, sive Revelatio Antichristi*.

⁴ *Der sechs und dreissigste Psalm des königl. Propheten Davids, den Zorn und Unmuth zu stillen, in der Anfechtung der Gleissner und Muthwilligen*. This frequently admirable paraphrase of the sacred writer, addressed to the Christians of Wittenberg, appeared with the altered title of *Der sechs und dreissigste Psalm Davids einen christlichen Menschen zu ehren un trösten, wider die Mütterei der bösen und freveln Gleissner*.

with those of the Psalmist. His language is impressed with oriental imagery, and, from the intimate fusion of two styles that reflect each other, seems to live and move by the same inspiration.

But of all his works,—that at which he laboured with most application, because it was to have the greatest influence on the destiny of the Reformation,—his favourite work, his incontestable glory,—was the translation of the Sacred Scriptures into the vulgar tongue.¹ For the sane or insane, rich or poor, high or low, whom he constituted with equal titles the interpreters of the revealed word, a book which thenceforward should have no mystery of language was required. As he had destroyed the priesthood, or, rather, as he had incarnated it in the human being, the man-priest should possess the charter in which his apostleship was written by the hand of God. To the intractable mind, which feeds on illusions, and loses itself in proud thoughts or ecstatic raptures, like those of Munzer and Storch; to the dreamer, hallucinated like Carlstadt; to the vacillating, like Didymus; to the simple, like the Anabaptists, Luther had said: “There is the Book of Life; it is no longer veiled or obscure to you; you are the judges of the meaning of Scripture; you are to translate it, whether God has given you the rare gift of interpretation or not!” Astonishing! at the very moment that he speaks thus, he himself,—Luther,—who had read and studied the Bible all his life, demands a new explanation of a verse in the Epistle to the Corinthians, which seems at first as clear as the sun: “*Alioqui filii vestri immundi essent, nunc autem sancti sunt.*”²—Otherwise your children should be unclean,

¹ Fred. Mayeri, *Hist. Vers. Germ. Bibl. Lutheri*, pp. 4—7.

² “*Volo enim scire ut tractâris illud, 1 Corinth. vii. etc. Num de solis adultis aut de sanctitate carnis intelligi velis?*”—Melancthon, 13 Jan. 1521. In a letter to Amsdorf, Luther admits that, in attempting to translate the Bible, he has undertaken a work beyond his strength, and that it is very difficult to interpret the Latin text. Different texts are quoted there: 1st, “*Dormiunt cum patribus suis,*” in speaking of the souls of the just; and 2nd, “*Virum injustum mala capient in interitu,*” of the Psalmist, which the Reformer cannot comprehend, and to which he gives a sense quite different, from Amsdorf. It is there that, after admitting his insufficient knowledge to translate several passages of the sacred books, he appeals against the prophets of Zwickau to Scripture. “Let them not trouble you,” says he; “to confound them you have Deuteronomy xiii. and the first verse of St. John, chap. v.” Now these prophets, Nicholas Storch, Mark Stubner, M. Cellarius, and Thomas

but now they are holy. And yet, at the same time, he thinks himself entitled to laugh at the mad inspirations of Carlstadt or Munzer. But if the Spirit was communicated to Munzer or Carlstadt, it was because both had read the sacred word in a volume, the immutable characters of which feared no longer the rust of time, or the equally corrupting fancies of criticism. The Gospel requires a dead language. Alas ! for that book, if it is to be understood by means of imagery as changeable as dress, which is altered at each transformation of mankind, and follows all the laws of material progression. Authority watches in vain over the destiny of the revealed word, as over the precepts which it contains ; that word, which God has given us for our salvation, is only a capricious and lying guide. With a dead language, which has ceased to be in common use, the word of the Spirit is like the holy ark floating over the waves which cannot reach it. Therefore it is that the Catholic Church has preserved the Latin language in her liturgy. Every living language follows the human condition of the people who use it ; and there is no nation that will not some day die. Marot, in his time, attempted, amid the applause of his co-religionists, to stitch on the psalms some tinsel, which was then styled verse ;¹ a wretched poetry, now so faded, that we know not what to call it : it is the carcase of which Bossuet speaks.

The Latin Bible was an assemblage of characters which required an interpreter. Now, according to Luther, the man-priest ought to be his own expositor. He therefore translated it in language intelligible to all who could read, and he said again, "Take and read it." But his own translation was, sooner or later, to become antiquated.

Imagine for an instant Marot translating the words of Christ in the Gospel, or St. Paul in the Apostles, without the aid of the muse, if you choose, and see whether the language of the New

Munzer, who had separated from the Reformer, precisely taught their doctrines from the Bible.—Amsdorf, 13 Jan. 1522.

¹ "Qui habitat in oculis iridebit eos, et Dominus subsanabit eos."—Psalm.

"Mais cestuy là qui les hauts cieux habite,
Ne s'en fera que rire de là haut.
Le Tout-Puissant de leur façon despitte
Se moquera, car d'eux il ne lui chaut."

MAROT.

Testament would not be in our days most difficult to be understood ; if it were to reach us without a commentary, whether it would not be truly a myth, and frequently inexplicable, until some modern translation should replace that which time had caused no longer to be understood ; a fresh emblem, which perhaps would not survive the artist who had discovered it.

The idiom which Luther employed was pliant and docile, serving all his caprices and fancies ; this old Saxon German, so masculine and attractive ; the language of Hermann, which had never yielded to the Roman sword ; the only one, perhaps, which could be employed to advantage in translating the sacred text, has inveterated and experienced the lot of every human tongue. This translation of the Bible is, however, a noble literary monument ; a vast undertaking, which would seem to defy a man's life, but which Luther effected in the space of a few years. Although the critic may censure him for having commenced this labour with so imperfect a knowledge of the Hebrew, which he only had studied seriously while in his retirement at Wartburg,¹ the poet will often praise this version, wherein the sacred muse lives natural and melodious, as in the original. It is certain that Luther's translation brings the original before us with a simplicity which touches the heart, and, as occasion requires, is stamped with a lyrical pomp, and subject to the artist's modifications ; simple in the narrative of the patriarch, elevated with the royal prophet, familiar with the evangelists, gentle and colloquial in the epistles of Saints Peter and Paul. Imagery throughout follows imagery ; and it is frequently light for light, and flame for flame. To this is added that perfume of antiquity which Luther's language carries with it, and which charms like the dark tints which we see in the engravings of the old German masters.

We need not, then, be astonished at the enthusiasm excited in Saxony by this translation, which Luther did not in the first instance publish complete, but merely the New Testament, the most marvellous portion of the inspired volume. To both Catholics and Protestants, who regarded this work as an honour conferred on their national idiom, it was indeed a curious novelty to

¹ See Richard Simon, in his *Histoire Critique du Nouveau Testament*, book ii. ch. xxiii.

observe the ancient Saxon reflecting, as in a faithful mirror, the various beauties of the original text. The learned were especially delighted: in their opinion, this translation restored their language to a position wherein it might vie with all the oriental languages. They called it a wonder;¹ his disciples, a miracle, — an inspiration from heaven.² The press, then directed by printers who had followed the national movement, and were bound to it by their own interest, sent forth the monk's master-work with an elegance and beauty of type previously unknown, and which is still at the present day an object of admiration. Hans Lufft cast a fount expressly for it, and threw off nearly three thousand sheets daily. From 1537 to 1574, one hundred thousand German Bibles were printed in Saxony.³ Engraving, likewise, came into its service; but as it could not be combined with printing at a time when so fierce a war was waged against images, it ornamented the wooden boards of the volume with scrolls, arabesques, flowers, and fantastic figures, frequently designed by Lucas Cranach or Albert Ducer. Luther's New Testament accordingly became a fashionable book, to be found at that time even on the toilet of ladies, who were seized with a rage for Luther's Bible. They carried it with them in their walks, read and commented on it with a fervour quite ascetic, and upheld its text, says Cochläus, against priests, monks, doctors in theology, and Catholic magistrates, whom they taxed with gross ignorance,⁴ and called envious, as knowing nothing of the Scriptures, or of Greek, Hebrew, or Latin, which Luther alone understood! The Reformer has praised the zeal of Argula,⁵ who offered to dispute in public upon the Scriptures, either in Latin or in German. "Christ," said she, "did not disdain to speak on religious topics with Magdalene and another

¹ Mathes. Comm. 13, De Luth. Florimond de Rémond, book i. ch. xv.

² Georges d'Anhalt.

³ Georg. Zeltner, *Abrégé de la Vie de Hans Lufft*, pp. 55, 56. J. A. Fabricius, *Cent. Luth.* pp. 621, 622.

⁴ "Ut non solum cum laicis partis Catholicæ, verum etiam cum sacerdotibus, et monachis atque cum magistris disputare non erubescerent. . . . Et quidem procacissimè insultantes ignorantiamque impropèrant: id quod de nobili quâdam muliere compertum habetur."

⁵ Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luth.* lib. i. § 126.

poor Samaritan woman, or St. Jerome to correspond with females. Shame on those who dare to question the accuracy of Luther's version! The doctor's language is a divine inspiration; and even were he to desert it, I should defend and support it."

Catholicism was watching over the sacred deposit of the faith. At the time when Protestant Germany received this translation of the New Testament, a man appeared with whom the Reformer had become acquainted by the castigation which he had received from him; this was "that goat"¹ whom Luther entreated God to remove from his path: the "goat" was waiting for him. Emser kept his eye upon his enemy, ready at the least signal to engage in another contest. That was a sharp one. Emser took the new version, dissected the preface, where the milk of the Lutheran doctrine was so cleverly concealed, discovered the poison of the marginal notes, where the doctor spoke with the authority of a father of the Church, and imposed on the reader an explanation preferable to that of the Septuagint. Emser exposed, without asperity, but with great force of truth and learning, the systematic corruptions of the text. Luther had to deal with a scholar versed in Greek and Hebrew, as well as general erudition. He lost his temper, and again summoned to his aid those impertinent epithets which no language like the German affords in such plenty. Emser is represented as a wild ass, a blockhead, a pedant, a basilisk, and a pupil of Satan. The learned did not laugh at these invectives as they did before; they were even so bold as to ridicule the Reformer, when they saw him revise his work, and correct many of the gross inaccuracies which his adversary had pointed out,² professing all the while his haughty contempt for those papistical asses who were unworthy to judge his book.³ "It is a wretched work," said Emser, "in which the text is falsified in every page, and in which we can reckon more than a thousand altera-

¹ Emser bore a goat in his blazon.

² "*Ipsū non pauca de quibus in notis suis litigat Emserus mutasse, supplevisse, aut quæ per errorem irreperant sustulisse.*"—Seckendorf, Comm. de Luth. lib. i. sect. lii. § 122.

³ "*Asinos pontificios non curo. Indigni enim sunt qui de laboribus meis judicent.*"—Seckendorf, Comm. de Luth. lib. i. sect. lii. § 127, p. 240.

tions."¹ "It is one in which Luther falls at every step," added Bucer.²

Time has done justice to Emser; Luther's translation is now looked upon in Germany as faulty and insufficient; the Old Testament as incomprehensible by the faithful;³ the epistles as obscure;⁴ the version so full of error,⁵ that in 1836 some consistories expressed a wish that it should be entirely revised.⁶

¹ "Hunc ferè libris, singulisque propè capitibus, Biblia falsasse ac ferè mille quadringentos errores hæreticos, mendaciaque occultavisse."—Jer. Emser. in Præf. Ann.

² "Lutheri lapsus in vertendis, explanandisque scripturis manifestos esse, nec paucos."—Bucer. Dial. contrà Melanchth.

Some of the errors exposed by Emser were, in Psalm cxviii. v. 112: "Inclinavit cor meum ad faciendas justificationes tuas in æternum." Luther had omitted "propter retributionem."

In the Epistle of St. John he has omitted the 7th verse: "Tres sunt qui testimonium," etc.

In St. Paul to the Romans, ch. iii. ver. 26, "Arbitramur hominem justificari per fidem sine operibus," he has added "solam." To those who, like Emser, complained of that addition, Luther replied: "Si papista se morosum et difficilem præbere vult de voce *sola* statim dic: Papista et asinus eadem res est: Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas." He adds, in the Altenburg edition of his works: "Contendunt papistæ solam fidem charitate formatam justificare. Hic debemus repugnare et totis viribus nos opponere: hic nullis cedere debemus nec latum unguem, nec coelestibus angelis, nec inferorum portis, nec sancto Paulo, nec centum imperatoribus, nec mille papis, nec toti mundo, et hæc sit mea tessera ac symbolum."

In 1 Cor. ch. ix. ver. 5, "Nunquid non habemus potestatem mulierem fortem circumducendi," he adds, "in uxorem."

In Psalm lxxv. ver. 12, "Vovite et reddite Domino Deo vestro," he translates, "Habete Dominum pro Deo vestro."

In Prov. ch. xxxi. ver. 10, "Mulierem fortem quis inveniet," he puts in the margin, "Nihil melius est in terrâ amore mulierum, si hæc sors obtingat alicui, ut eo possint frui."

In Acts, ch. xix. ver. 18, "Multique credentium veniebant confitentes et annuntiantes actus," he writes, "Veniebant et annuntiabant quid quisque eorum negotiatus esset."

Osiander asserts that Luther has interpreted many passages of the Scriptures most falsely and deceptively.

³ Neue deutsche Bibliothek, tom. xiii. p. 327.

⁴ Seruensee, Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek, tom. lxxvi. p. 60.

⁵ Consistorialrath Horstig's neue deutsche Bibliothek, tom. xiii. p. 66. See Geschichte der deutschen Bibel-Uebersetzung Dr. Martin Luther's: Leipzig, Köhler, 1836, von Heinrich Schott.

⁶ Luther was assisted in his translation by Melancthon (to Spalatinus, 1522). He first published the Gospel of St. Matthew; then that of St. Mark, the Epistle to the Romans, and finally the other portions of the New Testament, which was then published complete in September, 1522. Towards the end of November, 1522, he began to translate the Old Testament, with extraordinary ardour. In January of the following year he published the books of Moses, which he had sent to press in the preceding December (to Spalatinus, 2 Nov.). Job, commenced in 1524, occasioned him much difficulty: "It would seem,"

Protestants accuse the Catholics of having concealed the word of God until the advent of Luther. That a writer like M. de Villers should dare to assert in print, "that to translate the Bible into the vulgar tongue would have been an audacity deserving of death," surprises us beyond everything; for had not Bossuet said, in his "History of the Variations," "We had similar versions for the use of Catholics centuries preceding the Reformation?" Is the language of the bishop of Meaux to be despised? John Lefèvre d'Étaples, in fact, had published, in 1523, his translation of the Bible, on which he was engaged before even Luther's name was known in France.¹ Previous to M. de Villers, Seckendorf wrote, that German translations of the Bible had appeared at Wittemberg in 1477, 1483, and 1490, and at Augsburg in 1518.² Entirely prepossessed with the honour of Germany, M. de Villers is never tempted to glance at other countries to study their intellectual movement. Had he been acquainted with Italy, he would have seen that she anticipated other nations in elucidating the sacred text. Jacobus de Voragine, bishop of Genoa, and author of the "Golden Legend," translated the Bible into Italian about the end of the thirteenth century, nearly at the same time when Dante wrote. At Venice, about 1421, Nicolo Malermi or Malerbi, a Camaldulensian monk, translated the word of God³ so successfully, that his version was reprinted nine times in the fifteenth century, and nearly twenty times in the succeeding one.⁴ Another monk, Guido, translated

he said to Spalatinus, "that the writer did not wish that he should ever be translated." The Prophets appeared in 1527 (to Langus, 4 Feb.); Isaias in 1528. In 1530 his translation was finished. It was revised and corrected successively in 1541 and 1545.—Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luther*, lib. i. sect. li. § 125, 126, p. 204. In the library at Wittemberg is a copy of the original edition of Luther's New Testament, with this title: *Das Newe Testament deutsch*: Wittenberg, folio, without the names of translator or printer, and without date.

¹ John d'Étaples, vicar-general of Meaux, has been suspected of a leaning to the reformed doctrines; but it is very certain that he was engaged on his translation long before he lent an ear to Luther's novelties.

² Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luther*, lib. i. sect. li. § 125, p. 204.

³ Fontanini, *Della Eloq. Ital.* p. 673. Another translation of the Bible, which appeared in October of the same year, without the names of printer or author, is mentioned by Dibdin (*Ædes Althorp*, tom. ii. p. 44).—*Bibl. Spencer.* tom. i. p. 63.

⁴ Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana*, tom. i. p. 339. *Prospectus* of a New Translation, by Dr. Geddes, p. 103.

the four Gospels with the commentaries of Simon de Cascia ; and Federico of Venice published an exposition of the Apocalypse in 1394.¹ Finally, in 1530, Brucioli made a complete translation of the sacred books. It was to Brucioli that Aretino wrote, in 1537 :² " You are unequalled in the knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Chaldee ;" and the poet ought to have added Italian, for Brucioli wrote in that language, as Luther did in German. He was master of the old idiom of Dante's time, as Luther was of the ancient Saxon. The Church condemned his translation, and Brucioli submitted.

Let us, then, be no longer told that the Church is opposed to the diffusion of the Sacred Word. Why should she be so ? Is not this word the manifestation of her truth and immortality ? What she will not suffer is, that this living Word should be left like a profane text to every unauthorized commentator ; that every one, whether resting or not on the faith of Jesus Christ, should experiment upon it as an ordinary human production, and expose to the world his folly or his doubts ; that the word of God should be treated like an old poem just discovered, and hitherto unexplained. " Writing," says Plato, " is not like speech ; speech can explain itself, but writing cannot." This word has spoken by the lips of the fathers, the doctors, and the martyrs of the new law. Does not the conduct of the heresiarchs justify her in her care of the Divine Word ? What would have been its lot, had not the Church from the earliest ages watched over this sacred deposit ?

We shall see : " It is very probable that the pure doctrine of Jesus Christ has not been preserved intact in the New Testament." ³

" The Gospel of St. Matthew is neither by an apostle nor an eye-witness." ⁴

¹ Li Quattro Volumini de gli Evangeli volgarizzati da Frate Guido, con le loro Esposizioni Fatte per frate Simone da Cascia : Ven. 1486. L'Apocalisse con le Chiose de Nicolo da Lira, traslazione di Maestro Federico da Venezia, lavorata nel 1394, e stampata : Ven. 1519. Erasme del Signore Marchese Scipione Maffei, p. 19. Roveredo, 1739.

² *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie und Literatur*, von Schelhorn. Mazzucchelli, Scritt. It. tom. ii. p. 4. Th. M'Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 59 et seq.

³ Augusti, *Theol. Monatsschrift*, No. 9.

⁴ Fischer, cited by Hoeninghaus, l. c. tom. i. p. 176.

"The Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, have been derived from an Aramean manuscript."¹

"The Gospel of St. John is the composition of some philosopher of Alexandria."²

"The Epistles attributed to St. John are by an unknown Jew."³

"The Epistle to the Hebrews was composed by a philosopher of Alexandria."⁴

"The Apocalypse of St. John is repudiated by a great number of Protestant commentators."⁵

"The history of Moses, until the attainment of the promised land, has been falsified by priests for the benefit of the Jewish hierarchy."⁶

"The book of Judith is a pious romance; the Canticles, a pastoral idyll."⁷

"The Psalms are the production of a heated brain."⁸

"The writings of Solomon are not in harmony with the New Testament."⁹

Permit the Bible now to be translated into the vulgar tongue by any one who believes in the right of free inquiry, and what will become of Christianity?

But when the Church is once satisfied of the fidelity of an interpreter, see how she acts. Bossuet distributed through France fifty thousand copies of Father Amelotte's translation of the New Testament, and as many Prayer-books in the vernacular.¹⁰ It is thus that she conceals God's word from the faithful.

Take one instance of the danger to which this word is exposed by leaving it to the interpretation of every one.

¹ J. G. Eichhorn, *Bibl. der bibl. Literatur*, tom. v. pp. 761, 996.

² Stäudlin, *Magazin der Religionsgeschichte*, tom. iii.

³ Claudius, quoted by Hœninghaus, tom. i. p. 177.

⁴ Lucke, *Uebersicht der zur Hermeneutik gehörigen Literatur*, von Anfang 1828 bis Mitte 1829. *Theol. Stand-Krit.* 1830, tom. ii. p. 440.

⁵ *Allgem. d. Real-Encyklop.* tom. iv.

⁶ *Zur Vorlesung über die Geschichte des jüdischen Staats*, 1828.

⁷ Haffner, *Einleitung zu der neuen, von der strassb. Bibel-Gesellschaft veranstalteten Ausgabe der Heil. Schrift*, 1819.

⁸ Bretschneider, *Handbuch der Dogmatik*, tom. ii. p. 93.

⁹ Minerva, *Archenholz*, Julius, 1809, p. 97. Robelet, *Influence de la Réformation*, 8vo. p. 418.

¹⁰ Robelet, *Influence de la Réformation*, p. 389.

"Hail ! full of grace," says the angel to that Virgin whom the Church styles the Morning Star ;—" *Καίρε κεχαρισμένη*," says St. Luke ;—" *Ave gratiâ plena*," says the Vulgate ;—" *Ave grâtis dilecta*," says Theodore Beza ;¹—" *Ave gratiosa*," says Erasmus of Rotterdam ;²—" *Ave gratiam consecuta*," says Andrew Osiander the younger ;³—" *Who is received in grace*," says the New Testament ;—" *Bist gegrüsset, du Begnadete*," says the Church of Zurich.⁴ "Wretched translations !" here exclaims Luther. " ' Hail Mary ! full of grace,—' *gratiosa !* ' What German booby has made an angel speak thus ! ' Full of grace ; ' as one would say of a pot, ' full of beer ; ' or of a purse, ' full of money.'⁵ I have translated it, ' Hail ! Most Holy, — ' *du Holdselige*.' My translation is the correct one ; I shall have no popish ass for my judge ; whoever rejects my version, may go to the devil !" In 1523, a year after the appearance of his New Testament, Luther, forgetting his Satanic wish, translated it, in a postil on the angelic salutation : " And the angel came and said, ' Hail ! Mary, full of grace : '—*Gegrüsset seyst du Maria voller Gnaden*."⁶

Now mark the commentary on this by J. Agricola, Luther's disciple and successor in the administration of the Church of Wittemberg, a man of learning undoubtedly.

"Gabriel, in the form of a young man, enters the bedchamber of the young woman, and intones a love-song, a nuptial choral, as if to obtain Mary's favour. ' Hail ! fair lady,' says he, ' *Ave gratiosa !* ' The Virgin, offended by such a salutation, ponders, is troubled, and cannot comprehend the message. Her modesty is alarmed, her chastity startled,—that modesty which she hopes never to lose, but which she feels so strongly attacked : she knows not what is to happen."⁷

¹ In Novo Testamento Græcè et Latine : ann. 1567, 1568.

² 1520. Nov. Testamentum : Basil.

³ Biblia Sacra : Tubingæ, ann. MDC. folio.

⁴ Ann. 1587.

⁵ Bible printed at Zurich, ann. 1530, 8vo.

⁶ Welcher Deutscher versteht, was gesagt sey : voll Gnaden ! Er muss denken an ein Fass voll Bier, oder Beutel voll Geld."—Oper. Luth. tom. iv. fol. 160.

⁷ Oper. Luth. part. ii. : Jenæ, 1555, fol. 510 a.

⁸ "Ingressus cubiculum puellæ Gabriel, adolescentis formâ, amatorium

And J. Agricola publicly made this commentary to the lambs of the Reformation. The letter then may sometimes kill.

CHAPTER IX.

DIETS OF NUREMBERG AND RATISBON. 1524—1525.

The legate Campeggio at the Diet of Nuremberg.—Aspect of the States.—Decrees of the Diet.—Luther's protest against the Orders.—The Catholics assemble at Ratisbon in defence of their faith.—Otho Pack deceives the reformed princes, by inventing a plan of conspiracy by the Catholics against the Protestants.—His imposture is detected by means of Duke George of Saxony.

THE Orders again assembled at Nuremberg in 1524. Clement VII. had been elected pope. War was ravaging Italy, where Charles V. and Francis I. were contending for the empire of the world; and the pope had entered into an alliance with the king of France, for fear of the emperor. These troubles occupied men's minds, and were serviceable to the progress of the Reformation. Charles was more successful than his rival; he beat him, and the pope then threw himself into the arms of the conqueror. The emperor was great and generous; he forgot the past, and promised to attend to the religious affairs of Germany. The

quiddam et nuptiale orditur, virginem, ut apparet, plecturus ad concubium," etc.

The following are some examples of Protestant explanations:—

When the shepherds, in the fields of Bethlehem, were illuminated with the Lord's glory, they only saw the light of a lantern, which they had held to their eyes.

If Jesus laid the storm, it was because he managed the rudder properly; and instead of walking on the waves, he walked upon the shore.

Five thousand people were satisfied in the desert, but they had brought bread in their pockets.

The dead who were brought to life were only entranced, or lethargic; those from whom the devils were expelled, only enthusiasts or crazy people.

When the Saviour rose from the tomb, he had not tasted of death, and had escaped under cover of a cloud, when the disciples believed that he had ascended into heaven.

Lightning flashed beside Paul, and he fancied himself wrapped in light from heaven.—See Theodul's Gastmahl.

Dr. Thiess reckons eighty-five different commentaries on the parable of the unjust steward; and one hundred and fifty on the text "Mediator autem unius non est; Deus autem unus est."—On the Incompatibility of the Spiritual and Profane Power, p. 17, note 14. M. Lachat, Note on Mœhler's Symbolism, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126.

pope selected as his representative at the diet, with the title of legate *à latere*, Cardinal Campeggio, a man of ability and character, an able theologian, an accomplished orator, and the friend and admirer of Erasmus.¹ But the public mind in Germany was more and more excited; the Lutherans daily acquired new strength, and increased in audacity as in power. The marks of Catholicism now displeased them as much as its dogmas, and they made open war upon them. They tore down the wayside crosses, the images and pictures, and proscribed or insulted the clerical and monastic costume. On his entry into Augsburg, Campeggio wished to bestow his benediction, but the people laughed at and mocked the legate.² The princes, who waited to receive him at the gates of Nuremberg, entreated him to divest himself of the marks of his dignity, for fear lest the populace should show him any insult. He was therefore necessitated to assume secular attire, and enter Nuremberg without any kind of ceremony. The cardinal expected to find the Elector Frederick, to whom he was charged to deliver from the pope a very kind brief. He relied on his natural eloquence to induce this prince to embrace the interests of the Catholic Church; but the elector had left the city. Campeggio forwarded the brief to him; but we are ignorant of the elector's reply.

Next day, the cardinal was received in solemn audience by the princes and deputies from the imperial cities. He was fully prepared; and his speech was deficient neither in address nor ability. He painted in a forcible manner the evils to which the new doctrines had consigned Germany, and predicted the future calamities to which they led. He made no allusion to the national council which the States had so urgently solicited, but he rested on the grievances which the diet sought to have redressed, and pledged his word that their complaints should be attended to, and justice done to them, on condition, however, that from this list of grievances they would expunge some articles that manifestly tended to the overthrow of the pope's authority, and the privileges of the Church.³

¹ Schmidt, History of Germany, vol. vi. p. 333.

² Freilitschii Relatio ex Archiv. de Comitibus. Schmidt, l. c. tom. vi. p. 334.

³ Menzel, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. p. 151. Cochläus, in Act. Luth. Maimbourg, Hist. du Luthéranisme, 4to, book i. p. 87.

The strength of the two parties in the diet was thus divided : the legate could reckon upon the votes of the Archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother and lieutenant, the dukes of Bavaria, the cardinal archbishop of Salzburg, the bishop of Trent, and ten other secular or ecclesiastical princes. Nearly all the deputies of the imperial cities were tainted with Lutheranism ; and they formed the majority. The discussion was long and stormy. Charles V. had sent to the States a mandate, in which he insisted on the execution of the edict of Worms, and threatened them with his anger in case of disobedience. The Lutheran princes would have wished on that occasion to declare liberty of conscience, in other words, resistance to the imperial edict : they adopted a middle course. The diet resolved that the pope should summon, with the emperor's consent, a general council in Germany, to put an end to the religious differences, and that they should hold a new assembly at Spire, on the feast of St. Martin, in which the Orders, after having appointed competent theologians to examine what of Luther's doctrine should be admitted or rejected, should formally pronounce their judgment. While awaiting the decision of the council, they promised to examine and, if possible, amend in some points the statement of the "*Centum Gravamina*" against the court of Rome, and, in obedience to the emperor, to put in execution the edict of Worms.¹

The resolution of the diet was absurd ; it offended every one. It gave the laity a right to reconsider the doctrines which the Holy See had condemned, and the vassals of Charles the power of disobeying an imperial rescript. It recognised the decree of Worms as the law of the empire, and provoked Germany to disregard it. The Orders constituted themselves judges in the matter of faith and of legislation, and by a manifest contradiction, acquitted and condemned Luther, by approving of the edict of 1520, wherein he had been denounced as a heretic, and by ordering a fresh inquiry into his doctrines at Spire.

The legate protested, and Charles's ambassador declared that he would carry his complaints to the feet of his master.

The emperor was at that time absent. The pope apprised

¹ Maimbourg, l. c. book i. p. 89. Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles. ad ann. 1524*, No. 15. N. I. *Der Reichsabschied*, tom. ii. p. 253.

him of the resolution of the diet, and the contempt shown to the imperial edict and the decisions of the Church. Charles, offended, addressed a rescript to the German princes, in which he threatened with death all who should disobey the edict of Worms. But this was only a menace, to which the States paid no attention. Lutheranism did not hide itself; it marched boldly, defying the pope and the emperor, proclaiming its grievances, and forcing the doors of the Catholic churches, when the keys were not given up to its followers. Magdeburg, Nuremberg,¹ and Frankfort openly abolished the forms of the Catholic worship. At Magdeburg, on the 24th of June, 1523, the citizens assembled, and issued orders to the civil magistrates to close the convents, expel the priests, recognise the ministers sent from Wittenberg, and establish communion under the two species; and the magistrates, who had not sufficient power to enforce the emperor's edict, found it nevertheless to obey these fanatical citizens. Knights seriously offered the inhabitants of Nuremberg, if they would support them, not to leave the head of a bishop within a space of twenty miles;² at Neustadt, some Lutherans laid an ambush for Ferdinand's chaplain, and mutilated him.³ Luther was not satisfied; the edict of the diet enraged him. Never did a political assembly subject itself to so severe a castigation. Had there been any drops of German blood in the veins of one of the members of the diet, they would have put Luther under the ban of the empire, as a chastisement for his insolence. If only in a literary point of view, his language is grand and magnificent.

"How shameful in the face of day are all these cheats of the emperor and princes!⁴—how fearfully shameful those contradic-

¹ At Nuremberg, two curates apostatized, and published their grounds for secession from Catholicism in a German pamphlet, entitled, *Reasons and Cause of the Conduct of the Two Curates of St. Sebaldus and St. Laurence, &c.* The pamphlet was scarcely published, when both of them married.

² "*Si receptum sibi et sociis in urbe sua daturi essent, effecturos se esse ut intra milliarum viginti spatium nullus reliquus esset episcopus.*"—Seckendorf, lib. i. p. 290.

³ "*In sylvis propè Neustadium ab equitibus sex captus atque castratus capellanus Ferdinandi.*"—Seckendorf, l. c. p. 290.

⁴ "*Zwei kaiserliche uneinige und widerwärtige Gebote, das Wormser Edict und den Nürnberger Reichsabschied, mit Anmerkungen und einer Bor- und Nachrede, &c.*"—Luther's Werke, tom. xv. pp. 2, 712. Ad. Menzel, tom. i. pp. 135 et seq. 190. Cochl. in Acta Luth. p. 116.

tory decrees which they make against me, proscribing me by the edict at Worms on the one hand, and on the other appointing a diet at Spires to examine what is good or evil in my books !—definitely condemned, and yet sent to be judged at Spires !—guilty by the Orders in the eyes of the Germans, by whom I and my doctrines ought to be unceasingly pursued !—guilty, but remitted for trial in a new court ! Blockheads and sodden-brained princes ! Well, Germans ! it appears that you must remain Germans, asses, victims of a pope, and permit yourselves to be brayed in a mortar like chaff, as Solomon says. Neither complaints, informations, prayers, tears, long-suffering, or the abyss of sorrow in which we are plunged, can avail us anything ! My dear princes and nobles, come, quickly despatch a poor wretch ; after my death, you will have fine doings. If you have ears to hear, I will tell you a secret : If Luther and his doctrine, which comes from God, were killed, do you think that your power and existence would be more secure, and that his death would not be a source of calamity to you ? Let us not trifle with Heaven ! Set to work, princes, kill and burn ! What God wills, I will : here I am. I only entreat that, when you have killed me, you will not bring me to life again, to kill me a second time. I perceive that God does not wish me to deal with rational beings ; he delivers me to German brutes, as to wolves and boars. But I must inform all those who believe, that there is a God who forbids the execution of such commands. The Lord, who has given me power not to tremble before death, as I have shown, will make my last moments sweet and agreeable ; you will not hasten them ; your menaces are powerless ; you will not prevail against me before God has called me. He, who for the last three years has supported me against your machinations, beyond even my hope, will prolong my days if he wishes it, and in spite of me. If they should kill me, my death will be a victory neither to my murderers nor their children. They will not be able to say that I spared to warn them ; but to what purpose ? God has blinded and hardened them. Dear princes and nobles, whether you wish it to me or not, I beseech you to know that I desire no evil to you ; God is my witness, and I trust that you can do me little harm. I beseech you, by your own salvation, raise your eyes to heaven, and

change your purpose. Indeed, to act as you do is sinful and irritating to the Lord. What would you have, my dear masters? God is very powerful, he will crush you : fear his might ; tremble, lest he inspires you with these thoughts, lest he impels you afterwards to fulfil them, and destroys you, as he does the strong ones of the earth, according to the words of the Psalmist : ‘ God dissipates the counsels of the nations’ (Ps. x.); and of Moses : ‘ For I have raised you up, to make manifest my power in you, and to spread my name among all nations ;’ as also of the Apostle : ‘ He has cast down the mighty from their seats’ (Luke, i. 52). This is what awaits you, my dear princes, mark it well Christians, I beseech you, raise your hands, and pray to God for these blind princes, of whom he makes use to chastise us in his great wrath ; and beware of giving your offerings and alms against the Turk, who is a thousand times more pious and wise than our masters. What success can such fools, who rebel against Christ, and despise his words, hope for in their war with the Turks ? Observe then this poor emperor, this worm of the earth, who is not sure of one hour of life, and who is not ashamed to proclaim himself the high and mighty defender of the Christian faith ! What says the Scripture ? ‘ Faith is a rock stronger than the devil, death, or men : it is the arm of God.’ And such an arm would require the protection of a mortal, whom the slightest illness can stretch on his bed ! My God ! is the world mad ? This is like that king of England who plumes himself also on his title of ‘ Defender of the faith and the Church of Christ ;’ and the Hungarians, who sing in their Litany : ‘ Ut nos defensores tuos exaudire digneris !’ — ‘ Hear us, O Lord ! thy defenders !’ Ah ! if one king takes a fancy to make himself the defender of the Lord, and another that of the Holy Ghost, what fine protectors will the Holy Trinity, Christ, and the Faith have found ! I pity from the bottom of my heart these Christians,—these assemblies of fools, madmen, blockheads, and idiots ! better far a thousand times to die, than to listen to such blasphemies against the Majesty of heaven. But it is their lot and their chastisement to persecute the word of God : their blindness is a punishment from the Lord : may he deliver us, then, from their hands, and in his mercy give us other masters ! Amen.”

The Catholic princes were alarmed. Safe at Wittemberg, the Reformer braved the emperor and the pope. His doctrines gained ground. From Upper Saxony they had spread in the northern provinces, and become established, partly by force, partly by persuasion, in the duchies of Lunenburg, Brunswick, and Mecklenberg. Pomerania, Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Wismar, and Rostock had opened their gates to them; they had crossed the Baltic, and invaded Livonia; then Prussia, where the margrave Albert of Brandenburg had given them protection, and where the bishop George had openly confessed them by marrying.¹ After the margrave Albert married, he had appropriated to himself, under pretext of a fief holding of Poland, Prussia, which belonged to the Teutonic Order, of which he was grand master!² The two creeds were arrayed against each other; Lutheranism wished to treat with Catholicism on equal terms; from being oppressed, it had become the oppressor. Not satisfied with erecting places of worship for itself, it took possession of the Catholic churches, after tearing down their images, and there, by the sound of their bells, it summoned its gossellers to its service, and from the pulpit inveighed against the superstitions of a religion which it said was for ever extinct, and to which it boasted of having given a mortal wound. The Catholic princes, either through regard to their creed, or from fear for their crowns, felt the necessity of closer alliance. They met at Ratisbon in July, 1524, to confer as to the means of supporting the Catholic religion. The assembly was numerous: it was composed of Ferdinand, the emperor's vicegerent; Mathew Lang, cardinal and archbishop of Salzburg; William and Louis, dukes of Bavaria; Bernard, bishop of Trent; and John, duke of Bavaria, prince palatine, in capacity of commissioner of the church of Ratisbon. The following bishops were represented by plenipotentiaries:—Wigand, of Bamberg; George, of Spire; William, of Strasburg; Christopher, of Augsburg; Hugh, of Constance; Christopher, of Basle; Philip, of Freysingen; Sebastian, of Brixen; and Ernest, prince of Bavaria, in capacity of commissioner of the chapter of Passau.³ They resolved

¹ In the bishop's epitaph, the poet praises George, because that in contempt of public opinion, he had the courage to take a wife: "*Factus deinde maritus paterque.*"—Hartknochius, lib. ii. c. i. p. 308.

² Schmidt, l. c. tom. vi. p. 376.

³ Ibid. pp. 330, 340.

that the edict of Worms against Luther and his adherents should be observed as a law of the empire ; that no alteration should take place in administering the sacraments, or in the ritual, commands, and traditions of the Catholic Church ; that the clergy who should marry, and the apostate monks, should be punished with all the rigour prescribed by the canons ; that the Gospel should be preached as interpreted by the fathers and the doctors ; that such of their subjects as were students at Wittemberg should be compelled to quit that university within three months, under pain of confiscation of their property, and that those who had completed their studies should be disqualified from ever holding a benefice ; that no exiled Lutheran should find asylum in the confederated States ; and that support and assistance should be given to any prince who might be attacked on account of any clause in the confederation.

The legate who attended this conference was the first to demand that the just claims of the Orders of Nuremberg against certain abuses which had crept in among the clergy should be satisfied. He published a constitution, in thirty-five articles, for regulating the ecclesiastical government, the administration of the parishes, and the payment of tithes. Some of these regulations depict the manners of the time. For example, in one article ecclesiastics are ordered to wear a decent dress, and abstain from merchandise ; in another, they are forbidden to haunt taverns, or dispute on religious subjects over their wine.¹

Seckendorf regards the conference of Ratisbon as the tocsin which roused Germany ; as if Catholicism, despoiled, persecuted, which could not protect its images in the cathedrals which it had built, or preach to the people whom it had converted to the faith, should submit to be delivered over to those whom Luther styled the beasts of the arena, — the multitude, and the great ! A man may suffer martyrdom without complaining ; but a religion has another mission, and that is to live. If threatened with death, it must repel it in the name of him who has given it and preserves life. There are two prophecies,—the one of Jesus Christ, who has promised his Church to protect it unto

¹ "Nicht in den Tabernen, sondern in Herrnhäusern, ordentlich leben, und vom Glauben nicht freventlich, hinter dem Wein disputiren."—Menzel, l. c. p. 166.

the end of time ; the other of Luther, who fixed the time when God should cease to support Catholicism. The Lutheran princes believed that the time predicted by the monk had arrived, and they strove to fulfil the accomplishment of the oracle. Everything was right against the old German faith,—mockery, outrage, persecution, robbery, exile ; and they were astonished that a religion “which had served its time” should raise its head, and cling to a land which had been bathed with the blood of its martyrs ! and, as if violence had not sufficiently advanced the work of the Reformation, they had recourse to calumny.

A wretch, named Otho Pack, offered to sell to the landgrave of Hesse an agreement to take up arms against the Protestants, lately concluded between Duke George and the electors of Mayence and Brandenburg, William and Louis of Bavaria. He put a high price on his felony : he asked four thousand guilders for the original treaty signed by his master, for he was chancellor to Duke George. The landgrave immediately gave him the money, and communicated the information to the elector of Saxony, when both agreed to raise a numerous army to oppose the plans of the Catholic princes : and some thousands of men were soon under arms. Protestant Germany was in a state of excitement. Duke George demanded to see the convention which Pack had promised to deliver. On being pressed, Pack could only give a pretended copy, to which he had affixed his master's seal. Being arrested and tried at Cassel, he was obliged to admit his forgery ; and, being banished from Saxony as a punishment for his crime, he wandered about Germany for some years, and died at Antwerp, in 1536, by the hands of the executioner.¹

¹ Arnold, l. c. tom. i. p. 469. Frid. Hortelboderus, von Ursachen des deutschen Krieges, tom. ii. lib. ii. Sleidan, tom. i. lib. vi. Chytreus, l. c. lib. xii.

CHAPTER X.

THE PEASANTS' WAR. 1524—1525.

State of the public mind in Germany in 1524.—Boldness of the new doctrines.—Carlstadt at Orlamünde.—Strauss at Eisenach.—Munzer in Thuringia.—Partial revolts of the peasantry.—The association of the Bundschuh.—Confraternity of the Tun.—Luther's manifesto, addressed to the German nobility, drives the people to rebellion.—Menzel's opinion on this point.—Insurrectionary movement in the country places.—Schappeler, a priest, draws up a manifesto for the peasants.—Effect of this appeal on the masses.—Insurrection of one part of Germany.—Character of the strife.

ANARCHY threatened Luther's work ; in vain the monk strove to arrest the religious and social movement which he had called into action : the rebellion increased. Luther formerly said to Spalatinus, " They may burn these fragile leaves on which I have written my theses, but the spirit which has breathed upon them, never ! " The doctor also had caused Carlstadt's books to be thrown into the flames, and the spirit which dictated them had escaped the commissioners of his highness the elector of Saxony ; it diffused itself everywhere, and even in Wittenberg, where Luther wished to reign master.

Sheltered at Orlamünde, a parish in the gift of the university of Wittenberg, Carlstadt destroyed the images, the statues of the saints, the tombs of the old bishops of Germany, the pictures of the old masters, the stained windows, and from the pulpit taught the people visions, which he said came direct from heaven. Luther laughed, and said, " In a little while the doctor will introduce circumcision among his little flock." Already polygamy was publicly preached at Orlamünde. Appealing to the Old Testament, a peasant simply asked the iconoclast if he might not be the husband of two wives ; and the doctor, shaking his head, could only reply by a smile.¹

The greatest boldness of human language was no longer startling ; every doctrine was called in question, — prayers,

¹ Ranko, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* : Berlin, 1842, tom. ii. ch. vi.

public worship, auricular confession, purgatory, good works, Christ's divinity, and the Gospel.

At Eisenach, James Strauss, a turbulent individual, opposed, in the name of civil society, the lending of money at interest, taxation, and tithes; and proclaimed, in God's name, the nigh approach of a spiritual kingdom, in which the poor should regain possession of the wealth of which their temporal princes had robbed them, and of those fine crops which the lance of the Landsknecht, the satellite of the feudal lord, had beat down in the labourer's fields; new heavens which were to open, and a new earth which was to unfold, where the hand of man could gather all that God's sun should cause to grow and spring in it.

Not far from Eisenach, Munzer, still more audacious, substituted for Luther's gospel an interior revelation, which in no case could deceive the soul disposed to listen to it docilely: a celestial voice which spoke to God's elect, and a thousand times preferable to that dead letter, written in unintelligible characters, which neither papists nor Lutherans could understand better the one than the other. From his elevated pulpit he hailed, like an inspired poet, his future Jerusalem. His language was as clear as it was savage. In order to found his new church, it was necessary, he said, to exterminate every miscreant: "Blood!" he exclaimed, "to fertilize the word; the blood of the nobility and the clergy!"

"Away," he said, "with all those priests who exact from the faithful money for their popish masses; they are worse than Judas."¹ At Strasburg, Otho Brunfels declared that the time was come for them to free themselves from that Mosaic tax of tithes which the poor paid to their curates. The priest ought to support himself, like ordinary men, by the sweat of his brow, in working the soil, for working was praying. Christopher Schappeler at Memmingen, James Wehe at Leipheim, Belthasar Hubmaier at Waldshut, and John Wolz in the villages round Hall, preached the same doctrine. Luther had taught that every man was a priest; these preachers wished that every priest should be a man, subject, like the other sons of Adam, to the

¹ "Proditores Christi sunt, Judâ peiores et sacerdotibus Baal, qui pro missis papisticis et canonicis peculis decimas recipiunt."—*De Ratione Decimarum Othonis Brunfelsii Propositiones*, p. 115.

common law of labour. The peasantry thought these preachers right.

In general the peasantry were on Luther's side: his new doctrines were to deliver them from the yoke of their superiors; and this was a weighty one indeed.

On the death of the *Hausvater* [father of the family], the lord inherited the best pair of oxen belonging to the deceased; on that of the *Hausfrau* [lady of the house], the best dress in her wardrobe. This right was termed the *Todfall* [right of heriot]. Every peasant who changed his master was obliged to pay the *Lehnsschilling* [feu-shilling]; the finest sheaf of wheat, the best bunch of grapes, the best fruit of his garden, the best piece of honeycomb in his hive belonged to the lord. On Shrove Tuesday he owed his master a hog; at Martinmas, a pair of geese; and at Michaelmas, fowls. "The temporal or spiritual lord," says Böttinger,¹ "treated his peasantry like slaves: in body as well as soul they were subject to him; if he changed his religion, the vassal was obliged to adopt that of his master without a murmur."

This pitiless sovereign disdained even to protect his property; the *Stegreifritter* scoured over the fields of which he swept away or burned the crops; the *Landsknecht*, after sleeping in the villager's hut, would set out at daybreak, frequently carrying with him his host's wedding-cup. The peasant might mourn, but he never dared to complain; and it must not be disguised, that the exactions of the priest, his spiritual lord, were often as cruel as those of his temporal master.

So that under the herdsman's lowly thatch, from the foot of the Godesberg to the falls of the Traun, nothing was heard at this time but the wailings of despair: every place resembled Dante's hell.²

Long before Luther, the peasantry had striven to cast off the double yoke of their "tyrants." In 1491 they rose at Kempten against their abbot. In 1492, in Flanders, they flew to arms, to the number of 40,000, having taken for their device on their banner an enormous cheese. These brethren of the cheese spread

¹ Böttinger, *Geschichte von Deutschland*. Samuel Bauer, *Geschichte des Bauernkriegs*.

² H. Kren, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*: Reutlingen, 1838, 12mo. *passim*.

themselves on the banks of the Rhine and the Moselle, where soon, by the active measures of the spiritual and temporal lords of the country, they were defeated and reduced to submission.¹

They were more fortunate, some years later, in Holstein, and on the shores of the North Sea. The Danish princes, in order to subdue them, had recourse to that terrible black guard, composed of ruthless soldiers, whom the peasantry attacked with the cry, "Beware, black guard, here are the peasants."²

In 1502, the Rhine became the theatre of insurrectionary movements, and from the small town of Niedergrombach, belonging to the bishopric of Spire, the signal of rebellion was given.

Joseph Fritz constituted himself leader of the rebels, and gave the peasantry a watchword and standard whereby to rally round him. The standard was a piece of cloth, half blue and half white, with the figure of Christ crucified in the centre, and below Christ a laced shoe, *Bundschuh*. The knights who scampered over their newly-sown fields wore boots. To the well-fitting and polished boots of the *Ritter* they opposed the great shoe of the working man fastened with thongs, and shod with heavy nails; hence the name of *Bundschuh* adopted by the association.³

"Who goes there?" would be constantly heard on the high-roads.

"*Bundschuh, Stiefel*," peasant or *Ritter* would reply; and one of the twain fell a corpse.

If the peasant slew his adversary, he would clasp his hands, and exclaim: "Blessed be God! He who is humbled shall be exalted."⁴

If the knight felled his enemy to the earth, he would say with an oath: "To hell with the black soul of a boor!"

But next day a peasant, passing by the scene of the fray, would dip his handkerchief in his brother's blood, run to the next village, rouse its inhabitants by the sight of the victim's blood, and call for vengeance. He would generally say: "As there is but one God in heaven, so should there be but one

¹ Krem, l. c. p. 7.

² "Hüt dich Gard, nun kommt der Bauer."

³ Krem, l. c. p. 8.

⁴ "Was unten ist, soll oben stehen."

master on earth." At the close of this address, numerous pots of beer would be tossed off to the death of the tyrants, those spiritual ones especially whom Luther had wounded to the heart, but whom the countryman's axe must prevent from rising again. They did not always curse their enemies; they believed themselves already strong enough to laugh at them.

X/ "Patience!" they would say, in the words of a pamphlet which at that time was widely circulated in the country; "it will not always be as at present; peasants and citizens are weary of the game they have been made to play so long: everything changes."¹

One day at Schöndorf, in Wurtemberg, a peasant named Conrad invited his comrades to come on the following Sunday to drink and be merry. Conrad was an arrant toper, careless of the future, who laughed at every one, even his own curate. They kept their appointment punctually. Conrad sat astride a large cask, his face lit up with the copious libations of wine which he had poured with his neighbours, according to wont. On his barrel he played the prophet, and promised to all those who would join his confraternity lands at the foot of the mountain of famine, flocks in the pastures of beggary, and fishponds in the sea of mendicity.² The association was soon formed. Conrad enrolled all those who loved to drink in secret as soon as they had got a groschen to buy good wine. In 1502, a confraternity had been already formed, but was obliged to dissolve by order of the Emperor Maximilian.

Conrad did not wish to make war with the emperor, but to laugh. His arms were a tun. Every village had soon a confraternity like that of Schöndorf. They laughed, danced, sang, and got drunk: the authorities took no notice of them. In 1514, the duke of Wurtemberg, who reckoned in his states a great number of these confraternities of the tun, increased the duty on wine. Conrad made a wry face at first, but he soon resumed his merriment, and took it into his head (having drunk that day more than usual) to bring his master to trial.

¹ Ein ungewöhnlicher und der ander Sendbrief des Bauernfeyndts zu Karsthannsen, gedruckt durch Johann Locher, von München.

² Menzel, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. pp. 305, 306.

The assizes were to be held in the market-place of Schöndorf: the judges, his boon-companions, were appointed.

It must be mentioned that the duke, who was both avaricious and needy, had, as was formerly done at Constantinople, altered the weights and measures. Now, as banker, merchant, and privileged factor of the duchy, he was confident of making a good profit by it; and he was not mistaken. Accordingly, the tribunal was constituted; all the villagers were spectators; the articles indicted—the weights lightened by his grace—were produced. Conrad took them and threw them into a vessel of water; they fell to the bottom. The mob clapped their hands and laughed; God had pronounced sentence, and the duke was condemned. Eight days after, in a great number of villages, dukes, electors, barons, and abbots were summoned to the tribunal of God, and everywhere their symbol—a piece of iron thrown into water—was found too light, and the people shouted, “Hurrah! hurrah!” Poor Conrad’s confraternities increased in numbers; but his associates were not all as light-hearted as the peasant. It was at this time that Luther appeared in the pulpit at Wittenberg, and announced that he came to deliver Germany from the “yoke of the papacy.” Conrad’s disciples flocked round the doctor, because he waged war with the nobility, and promised to the poor the crumbs which fell from the table of the wicked rich. Conrad continued to laugh; they cut off his head to make him be quiet; but the laughter did not cease; the merriment went on in Carinthia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg,—above all, in electoral Saxony, that country of Germany where Charlemagne’s foundations were so opulent. Luther continued to pursue in his wrath the prelates who fattened themselves at the expense of Germany, and publicly from the pulpit denounced them as robbers and knaves. Now these prelates—frequently we know the temporal masters of the communities who paid to them revenues, taxes, and all sorts of duties,—were sons of ———, according to the doctor’s expression,—hellhounds, secretaries of the devil. Menzel positively admits that Luther’s was not merely a religious but a political doctrine, that must in the end upset society.¹

¹ “Auch lässt sich nicht läugnen, dass Luther zuweilen Worte fallen liess, in denen eine politische Beziehung hervortrat, und die nichts weniger als

Listen to the Mirabeau of the cloisters: "I am the evangelist of Wittemberg; Christ has so styled me: at the day of judgment, he will say that it is his doctrine and not my own that I have taught.

"Defy the bishops as you would the devil himself. If they tell you to beware of rising against the ecclesiastical hierarchy, answer:—

" 'Would it be better to strive against the Lord and his word? Would it be better to let the world perish and souls be eternally lost, rather than to rouse these bishops from their soft slumbers?'

"No, no! let all the bishops, monasteries, and colleges perish, rather than one single soul.

"What folly to die for a set of idols and puppets who only fatten themselves in luxury at the expense of the labour and the sweat of others!

"Bishoprics, colleges, monasteries, and universities are nests in which the wealth of princes is swallowed up."¹

"It does not do to trifle with the beer of Munich," says an old Bavarian adage: Luther's language was equally heady. His manifesto, after the meeting of the States at Nuremberg, was an appeal to rebellion—a war-song.

During all the time of Luther's war with Rome, the peasantry remained quiet under the yoke of their masters. They waited for the result of this great struggle. Had Rome been victorious, they would have continued to demand redress for their grievances from the Diet or the empire, attempting, perhaps, if their complaints were unheard, some partial risings; but rebellion would never have assumed a systematic form. Maximilian had on more than one occasion done right to the peasants' complaints, and we may believe that Charles V. would have granted them ample justice. When Luther was triumphant, the oppressed listened to those learned people who talked of liberty and enfranchisement, and they applied to themselves, says M. Michelet, what was not said for them.² What mercy could they henceforward have for the masters

geeignet waren, einen im Volke vorhandenen Gährungslust zu beschwichtigen."—Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. i. p. 169.

¹ Contra falsò nominatum ordinem ecclesiasticum.

² M. Michelet, *Mémoires de Luther*, tom. ii. p. 163.

whom Luther publicly denounced from his pulpit as children of hell? The war in which the peasantry was to engage was a regular battle between archangels and devils ; if they failed, heaven would open for the conquered slave. Accordingly they flew to arms.

The first insurrectionary movement in the country broke out in the Black Forest, near the source of the Danube. On the 24th of August, 1524, a shepherd, Hans Muller, of Bulgenbach, at the head of a numerous band of peasants, and preceded by a tricoloured flag, red, black, and white, entered Waldshut, called together the inhabitants, and announced to them that he came in God's name to deliver them from bondage. Each member of the evangelical association, of which he had constituted himself the chief, was to pay a small sum intended for the furtherance of the rebellion by means of faithful messengers. At this time Munzer arrived in that part of the country.¹ After residing some weeks at Griesheim, he crossed the Hegau and Kletgau, preaching on his way the redemption of Israel, and the establishment of a heavenly kingdom. The rebels soon won over the counties of Werttemberg, Montfort, Sulz, Reichnau, Constance, and Stulingen. The alarmed nobles applied to the Suabian league to repress these outbreaks ; the league employed entreaties and threats, but the peasants continued in arms. In other times the empire alone could have suppressed the insurrection, but at this period it was weak, powerless, and divided. Luther had enervated the great German body, and destroyed that robust nationality which had cost Maximilian so much trouble to form ; the great vassals had ceased to walk in union with their lords.

The peasants laid their grievances, of which they insolently demanded redress, before the imperial government at Eslingen. "If the lords," said they, "will not give us justice with good-will, we shall take it by force." The nobles, in order to escape from the clubs of the peasants, were compelled to take refuge within the walls of Ratolfzell.²

For a considerable time Munzer gave precedence to Hans Muller of Bulgenbach, the acknowledged leader of the evangelical league ;

¹ Schreiber, *Taschenbuch für Süd-Deutschland*, tom. i. p. 72.

² *Certis de causis*,—Bullinger *adversus Anabaptistas*.

for the rebellion was formed and recruited by means of the Bible. He cut a fine figure with his purple cloak shaped like a chasuble, his cap fashioned like a bishop's mitre, and his horse stolen from the abbot's stable.¹ He marched, preceded by an enormous standard drawn on a carriage ornamented with ribbons and foliage, and resembling a Neapolitan corricolo. When he arrived before a village, he dismounted from his horse, demanded the keys of the monastic cellar, and drank with his companions, out of the vessels of the church, to the success of the holy league. He came not, he said, to bring war, but peace to men of goodwill, that is to say, to the abbots and nobles who would consent to leave their splendid mansions to live like the peasant in a thatched cabin. In the meanwhile, he laid violent hands on the plate of the churches or castles, gave to his comrades for their attire the finest suits from the abbatial or seignorial wardrobes, and exchanged the work-horses of the rebels for the Mecklenburg steeds which he found in the stables of his tyrants.²

When the expedition was ended, the chief of the rebel corps assembled the neighbouring villagers, by the sound of the tocsin, in a vast plain, and a herald, mounted on a cask, read to the silent mob the manifesto of the league.

It was drawn up by an able priest, Christopher Schappeler, and consisted of twelve principal articles.

In this "friendly complaint" the peasants demanded :—

I. That they should be at liberty to choose their own pastors among those who preached the Gospel in its primitive purity, without the addition of human precepts, and depose him when necessary, should they be dissatisfied with him.

II. That they should only pay taxes in corn ; that the tax of blood (of cattle) should no longer be exacted, because the Lord has created the lower animals for the use of man.

III. That they should no longer be treated as slaves, as the property of their lords, both shepherd as well as emperor being redeemed by the blood of Christ.

IV. That they should be permitted to hunt and fish freely,

¹ Fueselin's Beiträge zu. Historie der Kirchen-Reformation, tom. ii. p. 68. Walchner, Geschichte von Ratolphzell, p. 92. Ranke, l. c. tom. ii. p. 193.

² Schreiber, der Breisgau im Bauernkriege, im Taschenbuch für Süd-Deutschland, tom. i. p. 235. Ranke, l. c. tom. ii. p. 201.

since God, in the person of Adam, had given them dominion over the fish of the waters and the birds of the air.

V. That they might cut timber in the forests for warming themselves, and preparing their food and shelter.

VI. That the labour imposed on them should be mitigated.

VII. That the lord should not exact from the peasant more gratuitous services than should be stipulated by mutual contract.

VIII. That they should be at liberty to possess real property.

IX. That the taxes should not exceed an equitable rate.

X. That the fields and meadows which had been illegally taken from the people should be restored to them.

XI. That the tribute which they were bound to pay to the lords after the death of the father of a family should be abolished, so that the widow and orphans should not be reduced to beggary.

XII. That if these grievances were ill-founded, they should be disproved by the word of God.¹

Conveyed to the valley of Odenwald, called the Schupfergrund, this manifesto, drawn up with studied moderation, excited all the rural districts. George Metzler, a tavern-keeper of Ballenburg, was elected leader of the rebels. He was a man of ruined-character, who had spent the greater part of his life in ale-houses, and would in a single day drink from twenty to thirty pints of beer. Metzler consented to make peace with the lords on certain conditions: the lord was to surrender the greatest portion of his lands to the common people, renounce statute-labour, abolish all feudal rights, and head the peasants in destroying the spiritual princes of the nation. His troop was called the "White Band;" another, commanded by Hans Kœlbenschlag, was called the "Black Band." Together they formed a mass of several thousand footmen and horsemen, who fought excellently, and seldom gave any quarter to a conquered foe.

Suabia was soon overrun: the counts of Hohenlohe and Löwenstein, and the baron of Rosenberg, were compelled to subscribe to the conditions imposed on them by their conquerors. Sometimes, as before Grunbuhl, a tinker stepped forth from

¹ Bensen, *der Bauernkrieg in Ost-Franken*: Erlangen, 1840. Karl Hagen, *der Geist der Reformation und seine Gegensätze*: Erlangen, 1844, tom. ii. p. 135 et seq.

the ranks, and addressing the lords whom he saw on the eminence: "Brothers George and Albert," he said, "come hither, and promise to serve us like true brothers; for you are no longer lords, but mere peasants:" and the two princes were obliged to descend the mountain, and shake the orator's hand in token of alliance.¹

Woe to him who resisted the confederates, like the count of Helfenstein. The prisoner's wife, a natural daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, implored her husband's pardon on her knees, with her infant in her arms. The peasants were deaf to her tears and prayers: they formed a double line of soldiers armed with pikes, through which two men drove the unhappy count, who thus perished by the hands of his vassals. One of his servants attended him playing on a fife, as if he were conducting his master to a village ball.²

It was now the nobles' turn to implore mercy. From Odenwald to the frontiers of Suabia they submitted without a murmur. The Winterstetten, the Stettenfels, the Zobel, the Gemmingen, the counts of Wertheim and Rheineck, and the Hohenlohe, delivered their artillery to the rebels.³ Then the two great bands, the "White" and the "Black," united to march against the most powerful lord of Franconia, the bishop of Wurtzburg. On their way, the peasants met coming to them a renowned captain, Gœtz von Berlichingen,⁴ who, by placing himself at the head of the insurgents, sought means of revenge on his old enemy, the league of Suabia. Wurtzburg threw open its gates to the allies.⁵

Germany was in flames: the monasteries, says one historian, fell like card houses; the peasantry thought that God had commanded them not to stop until there remained nothing but cottages. The Frankish and Suabian races rushed upon the various countries of Germany to overturn the social institutions to their foundation. At that time the rebellion was much more of a religious than a political character. This was because it had

¹ Ranke, l. c. tom. ii. p. 205.

² Bensen, l. c. p. 526.

³ Chronik der Truchsessen, tom. ii. p. 195.

⁴ Lebensbeschreibung des Götzt, p. 201.

⁵ Johann Reinhard, Würzburgische Chronik, in Ludwig Würzb. Geschichtsschr. p. 886.

ceased to be directed by mere peasants: the priest came to lead the masses. Munzer, the chief of the rebels, was in Thuringia, preaching through the country from morning to night the deliverance of Israel. He said that the poetic Christ of Luther—the Christ of love and mercy—had served his time; that the true Christ had come, who desired that the weeds should be plucked out of the fields whose produce they choked. He refused to subscribe to the treaties which the peasants had settled with their masters in Suabia and Franconia. According to him, the world could not be ruled by princes. Under God's heaven every creature ought to be free, all property common,—air and water, fish and fowl, herbs and rocks. He acknowledged no law framed by man's hand; there was only one great law, he repeated, which should be obeyed, the inward revelation; but there was need of a new Daniel to interpret it, and march at the head of the regenerated nations like Moses; and Moses and Daniel were both personified in himself.¹

While Germany was a prey to these frightful convulsions,—while the blood of her children was flowing at the foot of the Harz, on the banks of the Rhine, and as far as the mountains of the Danube, a man, who had rendered signal service to the Reformation, expired in his castle of Lochau, a prey to terrible sufferings, which he bore with resignation. The court-preacher knocked at the door of the dying man, who raised himself on his couch to salute his visitor. "Thanks," said Frederick, duke of Saxony, to the minister,—“thanks for your kind visit; the Gospel commands us to visit the sick; and I am very ill.” And making the priest approach his bed, he talked in a feeble voice of the peasants' insurrection, of Luther, the friend of his heart, of the destinies of the new doctrine, and of the future life. Then he summoned his domestics. "My children," said he to them, "if I have offended any of you, I beg your forgiveness, for the love of God. We princes often do wrong without being aware of it; it is necessary to excuse us." He then asked for a devotional book, published by Spalatinus, of which he read a few pages, received the communion in both species,² and expired. He was

¹ *Thuringia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 173 et seq. Strobel, *Leben, Schriften und Lehren Thomä Münzers*, p. 95.

² *Spalatin, Leben Friedrichs des Weisen*, p. 60.

a well-informed man, of pure morals, and great mildness of disposition, but weak and pusillanimous. As a lover of peace, he constantly refused to join in the measures which the emperor wished to adopt against the new doctrines. To put down the disturbances which Luther raised in Germany, it would have been necessary for him to emerge from that tranquillity in which he had buried himself. So, at every great peril which threatened the faith and society, he withdrew, and betook himself in unworthy flight to the solitude of his green forests, where he fancied he should fulfil the orders of God, with a pagan poet in his hands. His mind resembled his body; once gained by Luther, it quietly slept, without the admonitions of the Catholic Church being ever able to rouse it from its voluntary supineness. Of such princes let us not inquire the religious or political convictions; they die as they have lived, in a philosophic calm which the world sometimes calls wisdom, but which is merely a chastisement of Heaven.

Frederick died without issue, on the 4th of May, 1525. His brother John succeeded him.

CHAPTER XI.

END OF THE PEASANTS' WAR AND EXECUTION OF MUNZER.

1525.

What part does Luther take in the rebellion of the peasants against their lords?—His address to the nobles.—The peasants, emboldened by his language, rise in all quarters.—Phiffer.—Munzer goes to the mines of Mansfeld.—Luther changes his opinion and language; his manifesto to the rebels.—The prophet's reply.—Osiander and Erasmus accuse Luther.—Progress of the rebellion.—Luther preaches the murder of the rebels.—Melancthon's language.—Battle of Franckenhausen.—Defeat of the peasants.—Munzer is reconciled to the Catholic Church, and dies denouncing Luther.—Is Luther to be accused of having misled the peasantry?—The musket, the ultimate ratio to which the monk appeals for settling the rebellion.—The Protestant princes rally to that theory of despotism.—It is one of the causes of the success of the new doctrine.

GERMANY had its eyes fixed on Luther; she anxiously inquired, what part would he take in this great crisis? If he declared for

the rebels, there was an end to society in Germany ; a new world would arise out of the chaos which his almighty word was to form, —but what sort of a world ? If he was faithful to the doctrines of liberty which he had hitherto preached, inflexible logic inevitably would compel him to defend the insurrection of the peasants ; for they, in order to destroy the ecclesiastical hierarchy, employed those very Bible texts of which he so frequently had made use. How could he condemn a crusade undertaken against the priests of Rome, whom he had cursed and vilified both in the pulpit and in his writings ? At the commencement of that great war of the cottage against the monastery, when he had no idea that the revolutionary movement would be directed by his implacable adversary Münzer, Luther freely declares himself on the side of the peasantry. He then addresses the nobility of Germany,¹ and his counsels resemble rather the transports of passion than the advice of a wise mediator.

“On you first, princes and lords, devolves the responsibility of these tumults and seditions ; on you especially, blind bishops, stupid priests, and monks !”

“You, who persist in playing the fool, and attacking the Gospel, knowing perfectly well that it will stand firm against your assaults.

“How do you govern ? You only oppress, ravage, and pillage to maintain your pomp and arrogance. The people and the poor are sick of you.

“The sword hangs over your heads, and you fancy yourselves to be so firmly seated, that you cannot be upset.

“You will see that this blind security will break your necks . . . God presses and threatens you ; his wrath will burst upon you, if you do not repent.

“Look at the signs in the heavens, those admonitions of the Lord ! these denote no good, my dear masters ; these predictions from above, my good lords, announce that the people are weary of your yoke, and that the time is arrived when they are ready to break it.

“There must be a change. Beware of God’s wrath ; if you

¹ Vermahnung an die Fürsten und an die Bauern : Witt. Maii, 1525. Ulenberg, Vita Martini Lutheri, p. 262 et seq.

² “Primum nemini possum referre id tumultus quam vobis principibus.”

do not apply to it with good-will, they will make use of brute force.

"If the peasants had not risen, others would have come; and if you were to annihilate all the insurgents, others would appear. God will stir up new ones. He wishes to chastise you, and he will do so, my good lords; it is not the peasantry who rebel against you, but God himself, who comes to visit you in your tyranny.¹

"A drunken man gets a litter of straw; the peasant must have a much softer bed. Do not go to war with them, for you know not how that will end."²

The peasants, emboldened by this manifesto, and confident henceforward of Luther's assistance, rose in a mass.

Thuringia, Alsatia, Saxony, Lorraine, and the Palatinate rose, relying on the Reformer's words;³ the fields were covered with rustic tents, from which ascended, instead of war-cries, sacred hymns. The peasants sang as they marched, armed with stakes, which they cut in the forests, and were protected in their camps by dense ramparts of chariots raised in form of intrenchments: they said that God, on the day of battle, would cover them with his buckler. God seemed to fight for them; victory had provided them with lances, pikes, horses, and even cannon. But what artillery was equal to that burning eloquence of some of their leaders, which swept before it the fields, and depopulated them to drive their inhabitants to revolt? Storch was no more. It is said that nature creates beings expressly for times of commotion, and keeps them in reserve, to produce them when the storm is about to burst. Such is the new man who presents himself in the name of Heaven, to fill the place of the absent prophet: he is a Catholic renegade, a Premonstratensian monk, dealing with the Lord, who reveals to him his pleasure in

¹ "Non rusticos esse qui nunc insurgunt contra principes, sed Deum ipsum exercere vindictam quam tyranni ipsorum merentur."—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 262.

² "Cedant furori popularium, nec acie cum illis configant, sed animos illorum pertentent oblatâ transactione."—Ibid.

³ "Die Bauern setzten sich zwar anfänglich mit Luther in Verbindung."—Karl Hagen, l. c. tom. ii. p. 139. We may see in the work of M. Hagen, professor of history at Heidelberg, how Luther deceived the peasantry. The *Der Geist der Reformation und seine Gegensätze*, of this Protestant author, is a conscientious work, in which the spirit of the Reformation is nearly always impartially judged.

dreams. Phiffer does not seek for his inspiration in the Bible ; he narrates the marvels of his slumbers, and this narrative rouses the multitude.¹

Listen to one of his visions :—"I saw," says he, "a vast swarm of rats, who rushed into a barn to devour the grain ! Princes, you are the rats who oppress us ; nobles, you are the rats who devour us. But, during my sleep, I attacked these vermin, and made a great slaughter of them. To arms, then ! away from your fields !—to your tents, O Israel !—now is the day of battle ; our tyrants and their castles fall ! A rich booty waits us, which we shall carry to the feet of the prophet, who will apportion it faithfully among his disciples."

Munzer, for his part, descended into the mines of Mansfeld.

"Arouse, brethren, arouse !" cried he ; "awake, you who sleep ; take your hammers, and break the heads of the Philistines. Victory declares for our brethren at Eichsfeld : glory to them ! Let their example serve as a lesson for you. Come to us, Balthasar, Bartlet, Krump, Walten, and Bischof. Take care of God's work. Brethren, let not your hammers remain unemployed ; strike with repeated blows on the anvil of Nimrod ; employ the iron of your mines against the enemies of Heaven ; God will be your master ! What, then, have you to fear, if he is with you ? When Josaphat heard the words of the prophet, he threw himself with his face on the earth. Brethren, bow your heads, for behold God comes in person to your rescue."

Then these subterranean arsenals were seen to pour forth battalions of men black with smoke, armed with shovels, mattocks, and red-hot iron, responsive to the voice which summoned them with cries of blood against the nobles or priests. Munzer, like another Satan,—for we fancy we are reading a scene from Milton,—counts them, ranges them in battle array, and points out to them the spot of the general muster. None of them were missing.

On issuing from the mines, he addressed this energetic appeal to other brethren in rebellion :—

"Do you sleep, then, dear brethren ? Come, to fight the

¹ Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i. pp. 190, 199, &c.

battle of heroes: the whole of Franconia has risen; the master shows himself; the wicked fall. At Fulda, in Easter-week, four pestiferous churches have been pulled down; the peasants of Klegen have run to arms. Were there only three confessors of Jesus among you, you would not have to fear a hundred thousand enemies. To work! Dran, dran, dran!—[*At it, at it, at it!*] Now is the time; the wicked shall be hunted like dogs. No mercy for these atheists; they will pray, caress, and whimper to you like babies; no mercy; it is God's command by the lips of Moses, ver. 7. Dran, dran, dran! for the fire burns; let not the blood get cold on the blades of your swords.¹ Pink, pank, on the anvil of Nimrod; let the towers fall beneath your blows. Dran, dran, dran! Now is the time: God leads you; follow him."

Placed between the nobles, who loudly laid to his charge the troubles which rent Germany, and the peasants, who hailed him at once as their apostle and liberator, what was Luther to do? If, as he said, it was not the peasants who rebelled against their lords, but God, who came to chastise their merciless oppressors, could he, without denying his own words, abandon the oppressed? What bed was he to prepare for these unhappy rustics, for whom he demanded a couch softer than the straw whereon a drunken man was stretched? When he implored, in cries of lamentation, mercy for the slave, the slave was not led by a Spartacus in a cassock. With Hans of Bulgenbach, Luther continued to be master of the consciences, which he directed and ruled; but if Munzer triumphed, Luther would be unseated, and cease to be the ecclesiastes of Wittenberg, the Lord's chosen, the pure disciple of Christ: the "prophet of murder" is the spiritual master of Germany.

Luther undertook to reply to the manifesto of the peasants.²

"My brethren, the princes who oppose the propagation of the Gospel light among you are deserving of God's vengeance; they merit dethronement. But would you not be also guilty, were you

¹ "Lasset euer Schwert nicht kalt werden von Blut: schmiedet pink, pank auf dem Ambos Nimrod, werfet den Thurm zu Boden."—Luther's Werke, edit. of Altenburg, tom. iii. p. 134. Menzel, l. c. tom. i. pp. 200—202.

² Ermahnung zum Frieden: Auf die XII Artikel der Bauerschaft in Schwaben: Wittenberg, 1525, 4to.

to stain your hands and souls with the blood which you intend to shed? I know that Satan conceals among you, under the guise of the Gospel, cruel-hearted men, whose infuriated tongues seek to destroy me; but I despise them, and fear not their rage. They tell you that you will conquer, that you are invincible. But cannot the God who destroyed Sodom crush you? You have taken up the sword,—you shall perish by the sword. In resisting your rulers, you resist Jesus Christ. You say: 'The yoke of our masters is unbearable; let us break it, for they deprive us of the liberty of hearing the Lord's voice.' But the law of nature forbids you to take the law into your own hands; you demand it in the name of an authority to which you have no right. Speak not of revelations as authorizing your rebellion! Where are the miracles which attest them? What! would the Spirit of the Lord come to confirm by prodigies, larceny, murder, rapine, and the usurpation of the rights of the magistrates? They take your property from you, it is a sin; you take from them their jurisdiction, you are equally guilty. What would the world be, were you to succeed, but a den of robbers, where violence, pillage, and homicide would prevail? Jesus has no need of brute force to defend him. Peter drew his sword, when they sought to take the Redeemer's life, and the Gospel from his disciples. What did the Lord do? He commanded Peter to return his sword to its scabbard: a noble lesson, that patience should be your only weapon in the day of trial. Observe that I have always respected the supreme authority. Under its powerful protection, I have heard unmoved the papists' cry of vengeance. However, I do not pretend to justify your rulers; I know their injustice, and detest it: but wait, your day will come.

"You ask to be permitted to hear the Gospel in liberty; but that word is preached to you in more quarters than one. Cannot you change your residence, and come hither to drink at the source of the Divine Word? Come, you will find Jesus here. You wish to choose your own pastors; your rulers are there, convey your wishes to them; if they refuse to hear you, you are then free; if they employ force against you, let the shepherd fly, and his flock with him. 'No more tithes!' you exclaim. By what right do you take them from their lawful

possessors? It is to convert them to charitable purposes. But ought you to be so liberal with what is not your own? You wish to emancipate yourselves from slavery; but slavery is as old as the world. Abraham had slaves, and St. Paul laid down rules for those whom the law of nations had reduced to servitude. The rights of fishing, hunting, and pasturage are regulated by the law of the land. On reading my letter, you will shout, and exclaim, that Luther has become the courtier of the princes; but, before rejecting my counsels, examine them; above all, do not listen to the voice of these new prophets, who deceive you: I know them."

By way of reply, Munzer tore out a page of the pamphlet, entitled, "*Contra falsò nominatum Ordinem Ecclesiasticum*," and sent it to Luther. It was thus:—

"Wait, my lord bishops, imps of the devil; Doctor Martin will read you a bull which will make your ears tingle. This is the Lutheran bull: 'Whosoever with his arm, his fortune, and his estate, shall assist in destroying the bishops and the episcopal hierarchy, is a true son of God, a real Christian, who obeys the commandments of the Lord.'"¹

Osiander, the Sacramentarian, regrets that Munzer had not been acquainted with this passage of Luther's pamphlet against Sylvester Prierias:—

"If we hang robbers, behead murderers, and burn heretics, ought we not to wash our hands in the blood of these masters of perdition, these cardinals, popes, serpents of Rome and Sodom, who defile the Church of God?"²

"Alas! poor peasants," adds Osiander, "whom Luther flatters and caresses, while they only attack the bishops and the clergy! But when the rebellion increases, and the insurgents, laughing at his bull, threaten him and his princes, then appears another bull, in which he preaches the murder of the peasants, as he

¹ "Nunc attendite vos episcopi, imò larvæ diaboli, doctor Lutherus vult vobis bullam et reformationem legere, quæ vobis non benè sonabit, doctores. Doctoris bulla et reformatio: quicumque opem ferunt, corpus, bona et famam impendunt ut episcopi devastentur et episcoporum regimen extinguatur, hi sunt dilecti filii Dei et veri Christiani, observantes præcepta Dei et repugnantes ordinationibus diaboli."—Op. Luth. tom. ii. fol. 120: Wittemberg. Osiander, Cent. 18, p. 87.

² Osiander, Cent. 161, &c. p. 109.

would of a flock.¹ And when they are slain, how will he celebrate their funerals?—by marrying a nun!"²

And to the accusation of Osiander is added that of Erasmus.

"It is to no purpose that, in your cruel manifesto against the peasants, you repudiate all ideas of rebellion; your books are at hand, written in the vulgar tongue, wherein, in the name of Gospel liberty, you preach a crusade against the bishops and monks: in them is the germ of all these tumults."³

Meanwhile, the rebellion daily made greater progress, and Munzer threatened Wittemberg. Luther felt the necessity of preventing, at all hazard, the triumph of his rival, although he must renounce his own logic, give the lie to his doctrines, alter his language, and demand the blood of Christians whom but recently he desired should be spared. Lately, the enslaved peasant was an oppressed being, deserving compassion; now he is only a rebel, whom human justice ought to pursue with its vengeance. Lately, Luther piously collected the tears of the poor, which he offered to God as a holocaust of propitiation; now, it is the blood of the rustic which he demands, as an expiation and a punishment.

Listen: let none of his new words be lost. He sings his *Marseillaise*:—

"Come, my princes," he cried, "to arms! to arms! the time has arrived, the wondrous time, in which a prince can easier win heaven with blood, than others with prayers."⁴

"Strike, slay, front or rear: for nothing is more devilish

¹ "Lutherus cum eos inermes videret, nec satis potentes ad prævalendum, eos ad obedientiam hortatus est. Cum verò turmatim confluentes paci minime acquiescerent, sed bullam Lutheri transgredientes, non modò episcopos et clerum, sed alios etiam proceres impugnarent, aliam bullam edidit, quâ eos omnes tanquam feras mactandas esse statuit."—Osiander, Cent. 6, p. 103.

² "Lutherus non aliter funera eorum canit quàm ipse monachus virginem Dei votam Boram sibi copulando."—Cent. 104, p. 100. See the learned work of Bretleius, translated into Latin by William Reynerius, by the title of *Apologia Protestantium*, etc.: Paris, 1665, 4to.

³ "Tu quidem libello in agricolas sævissimo suspicionem abs te depulisti, nec tamen officis quominus credant homines per tuos libellos, præsertim Germanicò scriptos, in oleatos et rasos, in monachos, in episcopos pro libertate evangelicâ, contra tyrannidem humanam, hisce tumultibus datam occasionem."—Erasmii Hyperaspites.

⁴ "Mirabile tempus, nimirum ut principes multò facilius trucidandis rusticis, et sanguine fundendo, quàm alii fundendis ad Deum precibus cælum mereantur."—Oper. Luth. tom. ii. fol. 130. Wittemb. tom. ii. fol. 84, b.

than sedition ; it is a mad dog that bites you, if you do not destroy it.

"There must be no more sleep, patience, or mercy ; the times of the sword and wrath are not times of grace.

"If you fall, you are martyrs in the sight of God, because you walk according to his word ; but if your enemies, the rebellious peasants, fall, they will have their inheritance in eternal fire, because they take up the sword contrary to God's commands : they are children of Satan."

Melancthon concurred with his master to subdue the peasantry. He said to the princes :—

"These rustics are indeed unreasonable ; what, now, would these countrymen wish, who have already too much freedom ? Joseph increased the burden of the Egyptians, because he knew that he must not give the people the reins."¹

The rebels, placed in the dilemma of death or apostasy, did not hesitate ; in their eyes, death was martyrdom ; apostasy, eternal punishment. Their courage did not fail them, and, in sight of the gibbet with which he was threatened, Munzer maintained all his daring.

The letter which he wrote to the count of Mansfeld is a savage defiance.

"To Brother Albert, count of Mansfeld, for his conversion."²

"Brother, you abuse a text of the apostle in preaching to us submission to the magistrates. You are still in the toils of that papacy which made Peter and Paul two tyrants to us. Do you not know that God, in his anger, often makes the people chastise princes, and hurl wicked kings from their thrones ? It is of you, and such as you, that the mother of Christ has said : 'The Lord hath put down the mighty, and hath exalted the humble.' In your Lutheran and Wittenberg repasts, have you not learned what Ezekiel prophesies in his 37th chapter, that God has com-

¹ "Ja es wäre vonnöthen, dass ein solch wild, ungezogen Volk als Deutsche sind, noch weniger Freiheit hätte, &c."—Pfizer, *Luther's Leben*, p. 816.

Compare Melancthon's sentiments at this time with those which he held on 3 Feb. 1523. *Corpus Reformat.* tom. i. p. 600. *Karl Hagen*, l. c. tom. ii. p. 140.

² Bruder Albrechten von Mansfeld zur Bekehrung geschrieben.—*Leben, Schriften und Lehren Thomä Münzer's*, von Strobel : Nürnberg, 1795, 8vo. p. 98.

manded the fowls of the air to feed upon the flesh of princes, and the beasts of the field to drink of the blood of the great? Are not the people whom you oppress more agreeable in the sight of God than the wicked, who fatten on their substance? Idolater, who take the name of Christian, you have the words of St. Paul in your mouth: you rush to destruction. Henceforward, dominion is to the people. Break the bands which bind you to our tyrants; come to us; our arms are open to receive you. If you advance against us, come on; we despise your threats and your sword. Soon will the hand of God press upon your brow. From Thomas Munzer, armed with the sword of Gideon."¹

At the same time, the prophet sent to Count Ernest, the brother of Albert of Mansfeld, then at Heldrungen, this insolent cartel:—

"Tell me, then, count, wretched wormbag (*Madensack*), who has appointed you prince of that people whom Christ has redeemed with his blood? Prove to us that you are indeed a Christian; I offer you a safe-conduct to come hither, to demonstrate your faith. You must exculpate yourself from the crime of tyranny; if you do not come, I shall excite against you my brethren, who will treat you like a Turk. You shall be exterminated from the earth, for God has commanded us to hurl you from your throne; you are good for nothing here on earth; you are but the infamous dust-broom² of God's servant. We demand an answer to-day, or we shall march to seek it in the name of the God of battles."

The two brothers kept the appointment.

We now arrive at the catastrophe of this painfully-interesting drama.

The scene was at Franckenhausen, where all the princes were met. The army of the allied nobles was commanded by the landgrave of Hesse, and Duke George of Saxony, the prince whose love of literature has been praised by Erasmus,³ and whom

¹ Menhovius, De Anabapt. lib. i. This is the same Count Albert to whom Luther addressed a remarkable letter, on works and communion in both species. Witt. ix. 235, quoted by Wilh. Martin Leberecht de Wette, tom. ii. p. 341, Luther's Briefe.

² "Denn du bist der Christenheit nichts nütz, du bist ein schändlicher Staubbesen der Freunde Gottes."—Strobel. l. c. p. 101.

³ Erasmi. Ep. 19, lib. xiii.

Luther insults in every page of his correspondence. The duke revenged himself nobly on the Reformer ; he fought like a soldier.

Thomas Munzer had selected for his encampment a hill, the base of which he had surrounded with broken trees and cars, to render it inaccessible to cavalry.

The two armies presented a singular spectacle at sunrise. That of the allies was drawn up in order of battle in a vast plain. The two wings were protected by squadrons of cavalry, whose glittering cuirasses seemed to light up with their fire the sides of the hill where the peasants were huddled together. In the centre, the infantry presented a black mass, broken at intervals by banners, on which was depicted the image of a saint, or the blazon of the house which they represented. Some old cannon, brought from the arsenals where they had long slumbered, or from fortifications which they had not defended for ages, were paraded before the lines to frighten the peasants.

The hill, of which all the windings were filled with rebels, presented another aspect. There was no order, no regular tactics of war displayed by these irregular groups of combatants. There were only irregular masses, separated from each other by some inequality in the ground, and resembling in their movements clouds rolling over each other. Had it not been for the war-cries which at intervals escaped from them,—for the standards which the wind caused to wave above their heads, and on which was painted the wheel of fortune,¹ this crowd of peasants might have been taken for one of Munzer's ordinary train of auditors.

The princes should have had mercy on these unhappy wretches who marched to destruction. Some cannon-shots would have sufficed to put them to flight. But Luther did not wish this. It was like a Roman battle. Everything proceeded as in a narrative of Livy : first came the military harangue ; then the trumpet-sound to charge.

Munzer, from an eminence on which he stood, thus addressed his followers :—

“ You see before you those princes who make their courtiers and minions drunk on your blood and sweat. God, in Deuter-

¹ Gropp. Chron. de Wurzburg.

onomy, commands kings to have but few horses ; and what do our princes do ? They care not to watch over the welfare of their subjects ; they listen not to the voice of their poor ; they set justice aside ; they repress neither murder nor robbery ; they assist not the widows or orphans ; they take no care of the young ; they forget God ; pillage, arson, every iniquity they commit. Think you that God can any longer bear with their misdeeds and their tyranny ? No, no ; he smote the Canaanites, he will smite these miscreants. . . . The hour of your revenge has come.

"Do not yield to carnal fears, but boldly await the enemy's attack ; fear not the cannon, every hostile ball will sink into the sleeve of my robe. God is with us. You see that rainbow which he has set above our heads, and which we bear upon our standards ; it is the sign of our victory, the sign of our tyrants' defeat. Courage ; stand firm in your trenches !"

When his harangue was finished, Munzer, to increase the fanaticism of the peasants, caused to be stabbed, in sight of the whole army, a young knight, Maternus von Gehofen, one of the parliamentary envoys sent to the rebels by the landgrave of Hesse. Whilst the young man writhed in the agonies of death, the peasants, at a sign from their general, fell on their knees, and sung the hymn : "Come, Holy Ghost :"—

"Komm heiliger Geist an."²

The landgrave had also his harangue ; it was much shorter than that of Munzer, but savoured quite as much of the Bible : "'Whoever will draw the sword,' says the Lord, 'shall perish by the sword ;' and he who resists princes resists God. A subject ought to resemble Sem, who threw a fold of his robe over the nakedness of Noe.³ Forward !"

And he ordered the charge to be sounded. The artillery began to play, the balls whistled over the heads of the rebels without hitting any one. The peasants, who saw Munzer praying upon an eminence, with his hands raised to heaven, believed that his prophecy was being accomplished, and resumed their hymn. But this error was merely of an instant's duration, the princes' cavalry charged among them.

¹ See Munzer's harangue at length, in the *Prophet's life* by Strobel, l. c. pp. 110, 111.

² Menzel, l. c. tom. i. p. 207.

³ Ibid. p. 208.

It was a butchery, rather than a regular fight. The peasants stretched out their necks singing to the Lord, who did not send his angel to deliver them, as the prophet had promised. The sword was weary of the work of death, and the cavalry were ordered to ride over all who still breathed. The miners, who relied upon their hammers, made a vigorous resistance. They still fought when the trumpets of the princes' army sounded victory. Not one of them begged quarter. All died pouring forth with their blood imprecations on their tyrants, and, says Sleidan, for the glory of God, and the liberty of their country.¹

One of these wretches, who had fought valiantly, was taken and brought before Philip, landgrave of Hesse. "Let us see," said the prince, "whether you love the rule of the princes or peasants best."—"On my word, my lord," replied the prisoner, "the swords would not cut better, were we peasants masters." He was pardoned.²

Munzer was brought to the camp of the victors. He had been captured at Franckenhause, stretched on a bed lent to him by some one to whom he was unknown; he was bleeding profusely, much wounded in the breast, and with the pallor of death on his lips. The soldiers who were in search of him passed by, not wishing to disturb the last moments of a dying man; but the servant of a gentleman of Limbourg accidentally perceiving a courier's bag hanging by the sick man's bedside fastened to a stool, opened it, and found the letter which Count Albert had addressed to the prophet. "How came you by this letter?" he asked the wounded man, who stammered some unintelligible words between his teeth. "Are you Munzer?" added the servant, looking fixedly at him. The dying man turned his head away to avoid reply; but, pressed with questions, he at length confessed that he was the prophet.³ He was not allowed time to dress, but was dragged half-naked into the tent of the conquerors. His appearance made them smile; but, instead of reproaching him, the landgrave wished to enter into a controversy with the prisoner.⁴

¹ "Occubuerunt videlicet illi honestè ac piè, pro gloriâ nominis divini, proque salute patriæ."—Sleidan, lib. xxii.

² Mathesius, in der fünften Predigt von Luther, pp. 451, 452.

³ Strobel, l. c. p. 123.

⁴ Melancthon's *Historie Thomæ Münzer's*.

The prophet did not decline it; but neither party could boast of victory. From the torture, Munzer was conveyed to prison, whither he was followed by a Catholic priest, who reconciled the Anabaptist to the Church, confessed him, and gave him the sacraments.¹ Munzer, to his last breath, accused Luther of being the author of his misfortunes. Religion, rather than the approach of death, which he had braved so often, had tamed his spirit. He trembled, but it was through fear of the judgments of God. When the hour of execution came, he drank off two pints of wine,² said his prayers, and walked with erect head to Heldrungen, the place of execution. The priest bade him kneel, and repeat the Creed. The sufferer's voice failed at the first word. Then the duke of Brunswick and the priest recited the prayer, which Munzer repeated in a low voice. It seemed as if a supernatural light had suddenly come to comfort his soul. He arose, looked steadily at the crowd, and addressed to the princes who surrounded the scaffold an exhortation which brought tears to their eyes. When that was ended, he said to the executioner: "Come on!"—to the priest who attended him: "Adieu!" The executioner caused the rebel's head to roll off six paces; a soldier kicked it back. The executioner lifted it, and stuck it on a pike surmounted by this inscription: "Munzer, guilty of treason!"

The rebellion of the peasants was extinguished in the blood of their chief. His disciples hastily withdrew from a country where death menaced them at every step: some fled to Moravia; others, in greater numbers, to Switzerland, which compassionately received them. It had no cause to repent of its hospitality. Their ardour for rebellion evaporated in religious disputes. Zwinglius opened meetings at Zurich and Zollikon, where Anabaptists and Sacramentarians might in peace, and under the protection of the magistrates, discuss the fundamental points of their beliefs. Each sect claimed for itself the victory. Zwinglius finally triumphed over his opponents, because the senate was on his side. The Anabap-

¹ "*Fidem Romanam professus et totus factus est pontificius.*"—Joh. Ruhel, Ep. ad Lutherum. "*Munzerus magnâ fertur fuisse ductus penitentia, multâ devotione, et errores revocasse, et venerabile sacramentum præviâ confessione ritu Catholico sub unâ specie accepisse, priusquam ictum gladii subiret.*"—Cochlæus, in Comm. de Act. et Scriptis Lutheri, p. 111.

² "*Duos congios uno haustu ebibisse dicitur.*"

tists had again to go into exile. The remains of the sect, under the name of "Moravian Brethren," live dispersed in some provinces of Holland, reconciled, if not to the great Catholic law, at least to the civil authority, the peace of which they no longer disturb.

Were we to bring an accusation against Luther, our testimony might perhaps be suspected. But who will dare to contradict these enemies of our religion,—the one, the Sacramentarian Hospinian, who says to Luther: "It is you who have excited the peasants' war;"¹ the other, Memno Simonius, who appeals to the conscience of the Lutherans themselves for the origin and spread of the sedition.² We have heard the last sigh of Munzer escaping in maledictions against the Reformer; Erasmus reproaching him to his face with having fomented the rebellion by his libels against the monks and shaven crowns; and Luther himself, in all our quotations from him. What more is required to draw up the sentence of the historian?

"At the day of judgment," says Cochläus, "Munzer and his peasants will cry before God and his angels: 'Vengeance on Luther!'"³

There is a logic which the people has no need of learning in books, and which it has received from a master as great as Aristotle. If you tell the people: It is written in the inspired volume that you may rebel with all safety of conscience against those who are called the priests of the Lord, the people will not search even in that book for texts to justify their rebellion against the civil power; wherefore should they not rise against the temporal master who refuses them bread, when they are at liberty to rebel against the master who denies them the bread of life? For the people to live materially is the supreme law; and if you have the anathema, they have the axe or the sword. There are not two logics, because there is but one God: the theses affixed to the church of All Saints placed the hammer in the peasants' hands.

A Protestant historian has ventured to write: "Had Munzer been victorious, his name would have ranked with those of

¹ "Lutherus belli Germanici causa non levis."—Hist. Sacram. part. ii. fol. 200—202.

² "Quam peregrinas et sanguinolentas seditiones Lutherani etiam ad introducendam et comprobendam doctrinam suam, annis aliquot proximis concitarint, id illud ipsis expendendum reliquimus."—Memno Simonius, lib. de Cruce.

³ Cochl. Defensio Ducis Georgii, p. 63: Ingolst. 1545, 4to.

Stauffacher and Tell; fortune betrayed him, and he died on the scaffold. Had Luther yielded, there would have been an end of that glory which the half of Europe loves at present to contemplate."¹ It was in 1793 that Hammerdörfer wrote this.

During the two years in which God permitted the peasants to scourge society, it is reckoned that a hundred thousand men fell in battle, seven cities were dismantled, a thousand religious houses razed to the ground, three hundred churches burnt,² and immense treasures of painting, sculpture, stained glass, and engravings destroyed.³ If they had triumphed, Germany would have become chaos; literature, arts, poetry, morals, dogmas, and authority, would have perished in the same storm. The rebellion which proceeded from Luther was a disobedient child; but, at all events, her father knew how to punish her. Whatever innocent blood was shed, must fall on his head: "For," says the Reformer, "it is I who have shed it, by God's commands; and whoever has fallen in this war has lost body and soul, and is the prey of Satan."⁴

It was the blood of the peasants for which Luther had no mercy, for he no longer needed it.⁵

"Give the ass thistles, a pack-saddle, and the whip," says Luther to Ruhel; "give the peasants oat-straw. If they are not content, give them the cudgel and the carbine; it is their due. Let us pray that they may be obedient; if not, show them no mercy; if you do not make the musket whistle, they will be a thousand times more wicked."⁶

¹ "Hätte Müntzer Glück gehabt, so würde sein Name neben dem Stauffacher und Tell prangen. Das Glück verliess ihn, und er starb unter dem Beile des Henkers. Wäre Luther nicht glücklich gewesen, wir würden ihn gewiss nicht in dem Lichte betrachten, in dem ihn jetzt wenigstens halb Europa sieht."—Geschichte der lutherischen Reformation, part. i. p. 75: Leipzig, 1793, 8vo.

² The peasants waged merciless war on the cellars. In the monastery of Erbach there was a vault containing eighty-four hogsheads of wine; they emptied nearly the whole of it.—Cochläus.

³ Genevæus calculates the number of slain at 110,000; Cochläus at 150,000. In two years, 26,000 peasants were slain in Lorraine and Alsatia, 4,000 in the Palatinate, 6,000 in Hesse, and 8,000 in Wirtemberg.

⁴ "All ihr Blut ist auf meinem Halse, aber ich weise es auf unseren Herrn Gott, der hatt mir das zu reden befohlen. Welche seynd erschlagen worden, sind mit Leib und Seele verloren, und ewig des Teufels."—Tisch-Reden, Eisl. p. 276, b. Op. Luth. tom. iii.: Jen. Germ. fol. p. 130, b.

⁵ "Vela vertit, prout erat fortunæ flatus."—Ulenberg, l. c.

⁶ "Der weise Mann sagt; cibus, onus, et virga asino; in einem Bauern

Hunted and tracked like deer in the forests of Germany, the peasants vainly implored mercy from the conquerors, who burned and hanged them. Occasionally, a judge, moved by compassion, wrote to his prince to solicit pardon for some criminals; but the prince seldom commuted the punishment of fire or gibbet: if he was mollified, he considered himself merciful in ordering the right hand of some and the ears of others to be cut off. In Luther's opinion, to ask pardon for the rebels was a crime. "Speak to Luther in my behalf," says one of these generous people who were moved with compassion; "I am denounced; my clemency to the wretched peasants is accounted a crime. What would you have?—how can I help being afflicted at seeing so many innocent persons imprisoned, the laws violated, and such frightful punishments inflicted on these unhappy people?"¹

But Luther was inflexible. "A rebel," he wrote to Gaspard Muller, "deserves not to be treated with logic; we must answer him with the fist till his nose bleeds; the peasants would not hear me, we must open their ears by means of the musket. He who will not hear a mediator armed with tenderness, will hear the executioner armed with his sword; I have done right in recommending against such caitiffs ruin, extermination, and death. . . . The Scriptures call them deer. Let the peasants, then, become masters; the devil will soon be abbot of the monastery; let tyranny triumph, his mother will become its abbess."²

gehört Haferstroh. Sie hören nicht das Wort und sind unsinnig, so müssen sie die Virgam, die Büchsen hören, und geschieht ihnen Recht. Beten sollen wir für sie, dass sie gehorchen, wo nicht, so gilt's hie nicht viel Erbarmens. Lasso nur die Büchsen unter sie sausen, sie machen's sonst tausendmal ärger. An Joh. Rühel."—De Wette, tom. ii. p. 669. Menzel, tom. i. pp. 216, 217.

¹ "Velis me coram Luthero expurgare; delatus sum, ut audio, tanquam male et iniquè egissem patrocinio meo pro rusticis. Videbam et audiebam innocentes captos, ordo verò juris non observabatur, tormenta adhibebantur."—Weller, im Alten aus allen Theilen der Geschichte, tom. i. p. 167.

² Luther's Sendbrief an Caspar Müllern. Walch, tom. xvi. p. 99.

Luther, in his correspondence, recommends the princes to show no mercy to the peasants, and threatens them with the wrath of God if they pour oil into the wounds of their enemies. "Nulla patientia rusticis debetur, sed ira et indignatio Dei et hominum. Hos ergò justificare, horum misereri, illis favere est Deum negare, blasphemare, et de cœlo velle eradicare."—Nicol. Amadorfio, 30 Maii, 1525. See also his letter to Rühel, of 23 May, same year. Consult the work of Peter Gnodal, *De Rustico Tumultu*, lib. iii.; *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i. ch. iv. v. pp. 167—217. But especially a pamphlet by Cochläus, *Adversus Latrocinantes et Raptorias Cohortes Rusticorum*, Mart. Lutherus; *Responsio Johannis Cochläi Vuendelstini*, MDXXV. Cochläus is

We must acknowledge, with one of the most liberal organs of modern Protestantism, that Luther's conduct during the peasants' war, while blamable in logic and morality, was of a tact truly Machiavellian. Except the elector Frederick of Saxony, no German prince had yet ventured publicly to declare himself for the new doctrines of the monk of Wittenberg.¹ They were restrained by fear of the theories of Christian liberty which he taught in his writings. How often had they not heard him maintain, both in the pulpit and in his pamphlets against Rome, from texts of Scripture, that the word alone could explain the word?—a dangerous theory, which would not suit despots. But when they saw him defend the lawfulness of the "Faustrecht"—that law of the strong arm which had so long ruled Teutonic society,—and teach, by means of his favourite disciple, that the back of the peasant was only fit to bear the burden of the ass; and himself proclaim that the cudgel and shot must be applied to the refractory animal if it refused to go; their eyes were unsealed, and they only saw in Luther the apostle of despotism. These were not, we admit, the social theories of Eck or Cochläus. If these doctors taught, with the apostle, that subjects should obey their masters, even if wicked ones, they did not erect into a dogma the political forfeiture of the peasants; they did not make mute obedience an article of faith; they did not make slavery of the Christian a divine command; they did not fetter both the tongue and the soul of the subject; they did not say: "Give the ass thistles, a pack-saddle, and the whip;" on the contrary, they taught that the peasant and the prince had alike been created after God's image, and ransomed by the blood of Christ.

"Doubtless," here observes Hagen, "the success of Munzer's theories would have been a real misfortune for Germany; but we do not hesitate to acknowledge that Luther triumphed over the

occasionally eloquent. Under this text of Luther, "*Idcirco et sanctus Paulus, R. xiii., talem in rusticos fert sententiam: Qui potestati resistunt, hi iudicium super se acquirunt . . .*" Cochläus adds this commentary: "*Hoc totum est verum, Luthere. At tu non debueras pediculos in pellicium populi spargere, ubi scribebas: Quousque teneamur superioribus obedientiam præstare? Non debueras Cæsarem vocare sacrum vermium et principes fatuos effeminatos,*" etc.

¹ Karl Hagen, l. c. tom. ii. p. 147.

rebellion only by the sacrifice of the principle of the Reformation."¹

It is a melancholy spectacle for human nature to observe the haste of all these princes to fall into Lutheranism, by accepting the despotic theories of the Saxon.² The landgrave of Hesse, the grand master of the Teutonic order, the dukes of Brunswick, Lunenburg, and Mecklenburg; the prince of Anhalt; the margraves of Anspach and Baireuth; and the count of Mansfeld, one after the other embraced, with the fervour of neophytes, this new politico-religious gospel, which transformed the husbandman into a pariah. Some of them did not blush to put their names to the code which thenceforth was to rule the country.

"No," said they, "nothing is more expressly taught in the Scriptures than the obligation of obedience to the princes of this world: whoever rebels against his prince, rebels against God; woe, then, to those who disobey their masters. Do you wish not to fear the authorities?—do what the authorities command you. Would you resist? Tremble, for God has sent them the sword; power comes from God. Christian liberty does not consist in denying tithes, quit-rents, taxes, statute-labour, and seigniorial rights, but in blind obedience to all that the sovereigns of this world prescribe. Such is the doctrine of salvation which the clergy must preach to their flocks; if their flocks embrace the devilish liberty of the flesh, it is at the peril of their souls, their bodies, and their goods."

One disaster brings with it another. It was not only the

¹ "Aber eben so wenig dürfen wir läugnen, dass durch die Besiegung der volksthümlichen Tendenzen und durch das Mittel, welches Luther anwendete, um den Sieg zu erringen, der ganze Charakter der Reformation verändert ward, und zwar keineswegs zum Vortheil derselben."—Karl Hagen, l. c. tom. ii. p. 151.

² Den durchlauchtigsten hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren, Herrn Casimir und Herrn Georgen, als den ältesten regierenden Gebrüder, Markgrafen zu Brandenburg, &c., meinen gnädigen Herrn anzeigen, wie die gewesen Empörung und Aufruhr, mit den wenigsten Theil aus ungeschickten Predigern entstanden sind, und dass herwiederum durch frummen, gelehrt, geschickt, christlich Prediger viel Aufruhr fürkommen werden mög. Auch christenliche Unterricht, wie hinfüro in ihrer F. G. Fürstenthumben, Landen und Gebieten, von rechten, wahren christlichen Glauben und rechter wahrer christlicher Freiheit des Geistes gepredigt werden soll, damit ihrer Gnaden Unterthanen nit durch falsch widerwärtig Predigt zu Aufruhr und Verderbung ihrer Seelen, Leib, Lebung und Guts verführt werden: 1525.

democratic principle, of which he had so often shown himself the eloquent defender, that Luther was to sacrifice in his struggle with the "prophets of murder," but his priesthood, which he made the appanage of every Christian, and even his faith without works, that "beautiful pearl" which he had been the first to discover. With the priesthood incarnated in every being regenerated by Christ, whether priest or layman, how could he break the sword of the rebellious peasants who had received the holy oil upon their heads? By means of the Bible, he had founded his human priesthood; by means of the Bible, he was to destroy it. Bugenhagen, one of the lights of his school, imagined a new theory as to the clerical power, which should prevail in the reformed Church.

"It is very true," said Bugenhagen, "that God has given us his Christ, but he has given him by the Gospel revelation: now, since it is to the priest that he has sent the Gospel, it is by the priest that Christ is preached to us;¹ by the priest that the word of salvation is spread. Who believes in this word will obtain eternal life; that holy word of which the priest is the official distributor. Now, if it belongs to the priest to preach the word of God, to him must belong the dispensation of the sacraments and instruction; spiritual functions which he derives not from himself, but from God; heavenly gifts, which are only efficacious because they are divinely delegated." "It is the Spirit," added Bucer,² "the force supreme, the breath from above, which descends and rests on the priest." And Luther, going beyond his disciples, withdraws from man this vital priesthood, which assimilates itself to the Christian after baptism, as the air to the lungs of the new-born infant, and even the right, which he had so often acknowledged, of being judge of his priests.³

With faith unaccompanied by outward works, how could he prove to the peasants that they were the children of perdition,—they who boasted of being directed by an inward illumination, that is to say, by a supernatural communication with God to found their New Jerusalem? Munzer had no need of visible signs to prove

¹ Disputation zu Flensburg, 1526.

² Von der wahren Seelsorge und dem rechten Hirtendienste.

³ Von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern. Luther's Werke, Walch, tom. xx. pp. 2074, 2078, 2085.

his faith in Christ. Luther is therefore obliged to amend his first teaching: so we see him maintain, in a sermon on the sacrament of the altar, that participation in the blood of Christ, even without faith, is profitable for salvation. Faith alone, then, is no longer in his eyes that pearl which he so proudly extols to us.¹

¹ "Während er und seine Anhänger früher behauptet hatten, dass der Glaube Alles sei, und nichts ohne denselben etwas bedeute, kam er nun auf die Ansicht der katholischen Kirche, dass der küssere Genuss des Sacraments etwas nütze; auch ohne Glaube."—Karl Hagen, l. c. tom. ii. p. 166. See, on this subject, the sermon, Von würdiger Empfängnis des heil. Sacraments: Jena, tom. iii. p. 161, and Melancthon, über die Wiedertäufer, Corpus Ref. tom. i. p. 332.

The following are the titles of some works published by Th. Munzer, when he was curate at Altstädt:—

Ordnung und Berechnung des deutschen Ampts zu Altstädt durch Thomam Münzer, Seelwarters, in vorgangenen Ostern aufgerichtet, 1523. Gedruckt zu Eilenburg. Several fragments are to be found in the Unschuld. Nachrichten of 1707, p. 611.

Von dem gedichteten Glauben auf nächste Protestation ausgegangen. Thomä Münzers, Seelwarters, zu Altstädt, 1524, 4to.

Deutsch evangelische Messe etwann durch die Bebstische Pfaffen in Latein zu grossem Nacteyl des Christen Glaubens vor ein Opfer gehandelt und jetzt verordnet, in dieser fehrlichen Zeit, zu entdecken den Gröwel aller Abgötterey durch solche Missbreuche der Messen lange Zeit getriben. Thomas Münzer, Altstädt, 1524, 4to. (Compare also the Unschuld. Nachrichten, 1708, p. 393. Feuerlini Bybl. Symb. part. i. p. 346.)

Deutsch Kirchen Ampt verordnet, aufzuheben den hinterlistigen Deckel unter welchem das Liecht der Welt vorhalten war, welche yetzt wiederumb erscheynt mit dysen Lobgesengen und götlichen Psalmen, die so erbawen die zunemenden Christenheit, nach Gottes unwandelbarn Willen, zum Untergang aller prechtigen Geperde der Gotlosen: Altstedt, 1524, 4to.

Protestation oder Empietung Tome Munzers von Stolberg am Hartz, Seelwarters zu Altstedt seine Lere betreffende, und zum Anfang von dem rechten Christen-Glauben und der Tawfe, 1524. (Compare also the Unschuld. Nachrichten, 1706, p. 29.)

Hoch verursachte Schutzrede und Antwort wider das geistlose sanfft lebende Fleysch zu Wittenberg. 1521. This is a bitter pamphlet against Luther, in which Munzer calls his rival fool, impostor, scribbler, rascal, more than scoundrel, infamous monk, doctor of lies, Wittemberg pope, dragon, basilisk, serpent, harlot, devil, chancellor of hell. He accuses him of being a drunkard, and of emptying many bottles in bacchanalian orgies at the house of Melchior Lothe, in Leipsic.

One might form a library of the works written upon the peasants' war. The following may be consulted: Sattler, Württembergische Geschichte; Widemann, Chron. in Mencken, tom. iii.; Haggenmüller, Geschichte der Stadt und Grafschaft Kempten; Lang, Geschichte von Baireuth; Lersner's Frankfurter Chronik; Thuringia Sacra; Pauli Langii Chronica Numburgensia, in Mencken, tom. ii.; Brower, Annales Trevirenses, tom. xx.; Zauner, Chronik von Salzburg, tom. iv.; Luther's Letters, in De Wette's collection, vol. iii.; the Correspondence of Capito, Hetzer, Sertorius, with Zwinglius, Ep. Zwinglii, tom. i.; Zwinglius's Letter to Badian, 11 Oct. 1515, Ep. tom. i.; Die Historia Thomä Munzers, des Anfängers der Düringischen Aufruhr, sehr nützlich zu lesen: Hagenau, 1525; Aurbach, Dissertatio de Eloquentiâ ineptâ Th. Munzeri: Vitteb. 1716, 4to.; Weller, Altes aus allen Theilen der Geschichte, tom. i.; Arnold, Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte, tom. ii.; Plank, Geschichte

How powerful was Munzer ! The curate of Alstædt compelled the Wittemberg ecclesiastic to renounce his own doctrines. And yet Luther told us that he received them from heaven, and that if an angel were to bring him another gospel than that which he had preached, he would reject the divine messenger. This is easily explained. Luther was more afraid of Munzer than of an angel ; the invisible being would have resumed his flight, leaving the doctor his pulpit at Wittemberg. Now it was this pulpit of which Munzer wished to deprive the Saxon.

CHAPTER XII.

LUTHER'S DISPUTATION WITH CARLSTADT. 1524, 1525.

The extinction of the peasants' war has not restored peace to Luther.—New disputes arising from the principle of free inquiry.—Reappearance of Carlstadt.—Various pamphlets written by him to subvert the Wittemberg creed.—Rise of Sacramentarianism.—Luther preaches against the prophets at Jena.—Carlstadt's challenge to Luther.—The two theologians dispute upon the Lord's Supper, at the Black Bear inn.—Luther at Orlamünde, where he again meets Carlstadt.—Bickering with a shoemaker.—He is driven from Orlamünde.—Carlstadt has given the signal for new revolts against Luther.—Effronteries of the rationalists.

THE peasants' rebellion was suppressed : the castle had vanquished the cottage ; but all was not finished for Luther. Upon the blood of the hundred thousand rustics¹ spilt in Germany, floated the code of free inquiry, which the Saxon monk had brought to the Teutonic nations, and which was incessantly to keep up religious or political factions. Carlstadt, as dastard a soldier as he was a sorry theologian, had for a brief space mingled in Franconia with the rebels, whom he deserted at the first cannon-shot, casting aside his warlike uniform, his peasant's

protestantischen Lehrbegriffs, tom. ii. ; Stark, Geschichte der Taufe und Taufgefinnten ; Warlich, Geschichte aus Obersachsen für einen deutschen Knaben, Müntzers Unruhe : Göttingen, 1786, 12mo.

¹ " Rusticorum res quievit ubique, cæsis ad centum millia, tot orphanis factis reliquis verbò in vitâ sic spoliatis, ut Germaniæ facies miserior nunquam fuerit."—Epist. Luth. ad Briesmann, in Act. Boruss. tom. i. p. 800.

cloak, and felt hat,¹ to resume his original occupation of pamphleteer. His vocation was to blacken paper; to throw ink on the head of Luther or his disciples, his delight and amusement. He wrote by day and by night, and printed himself the lucubrations of his distempered brain. He published two dissertations intended to combat the doctrines of the Wittenberg school: the one upon sin,² the other on Christian resignation.³

In the first he treats of the divine will. To God he assigns two wills: the will eternal, and the will temporal; the one works good, illumines us and draws us to Christ; the other works evil, and accommodates itself to the inclinations of the heart. Whoever attains to accomplish the eternal will, cannot wish but what God wills. It is never by outward practice that man obeys the eternal will. God is a spirit; he must therefore be served in spirit. It is to the essence, and not to the surface of the letter, that we must adhere: the letter is a sepulchre.⁴

In his second work, he follows up his spiritualist argument, and inveighs against the Lutheran faith. He maintains that faith cannot exist without love: faith without love is a dead carcase—a mere paper faith; faith, like love, must never proceed from the fear of punishment, and neither the one nor the other must look for reward.

But it is in his theory on the eucharist in two parts, pamphlets extremely virulent, that he principally studies to destroy Luther's impanation.

In the one he seeks to demonstrate, that it is a gross error to believe that participation in the supper can operate the remission of sins; faith alone, united to love, can reconcile the sinner with God. If the sacrament effects the redemption, it will follow from it that the blood of Christ, which was shed upon the cross,

¹ Bensen, der Bauernkrieg in Ostfranken, p. 79.

² Von Mannigfaltigkeit des einfältigen einigen Willen Gottes: Was Sünd sei. Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt. Ein neuer Lay.

³ Was gesagt ist, sich gelassen und was Wort Gelassenheit bedeute, und was in Heiliger Schrift begriffen.

⁴ "Gott ist ein Geist, deshalb muss sich die geschaffene Creatur mit und durch den Geist mit Gottes ungeschaffenen Geist vereinen. Demnach mag und soll ein Jeder den Geist des Buchstabens, und nicht die Rinden oder Schalen des Buchstabens ergründen."

has been of no use to fallen humanity. We cannot grant to the bread and wine the power of raising man from his fall.¹

In the other, he examines the words of the institution of the Supper.² "If we were to refer it," says he, "to Luther's interpretation, Christ, instead of his blood, to save man, would have given only material bread, made by the hands of a baker. Christ spoke to the future, and not to the present. At the eucharistic repast he had not yet shed his blood; what he said does not refer then to the supper. Had he wished to teach that his body is really under the species of bread and wine, he would have explained himself in clear and precise terms, especially if we admit that he wished to make his presence in bread and wine an article of faith."

It is useless to lay hold of everything in this deduction of falsity and folly. Luther did right to laugh at it, without disguising from himself, however, that his professor's tropes had great chance of success in Germany, and especially in Switzerland. "You could not believe," he writes to Amsdorf, "what progress Carlstadt's dogma makes."³ Reinhard, at Jena; the curate of Cala; Strauss, at Eisenach, publicly preached it;⁴ at Wittemberg it had made notable conquests;⁵ Nuremberg had adopted it; at Heidelberg, Martin Frecht taught it, but with some oratorical precautions;⁶ others more daring, such as Capito, Bucer, and Otho Brunfels, at Strasburg, adhered to the arch-deacon's opinions. At Zurich, Zwinglius, after learning Carlstadt's theory, transformed into a dogma the figurative presence of Christ in the Sacrament.⁷ All these freaks of the mind broke out in the midst of the peasants' war with their lords. The

¹ "Von dem widerchristlichen Missbrauch des Herrn Brod und Kelch. Ob der Glaube in das Sacrament Sünde vergöbe, und ob das Sacrament ein Arrabo oder Pfand sei der Sünde Vergebung."

² "Ob man mit Heiliger Schrift erweisen möge, dass Christus mit Leib, Blut und Seele im Sacrament sei."

³ Luther's Briefe, Octob. 1824. De Wette, tom. ii. 557.

⁴ Id. *ibid.*

⁵ Melanoh. Spalatino, Decemb. 1524. Corpus Reform. tom. ii. p. 369. "Nosti vulgus. Et hoc dogma arridet sensui communi."

⁶ Martin Frecht an Wolfgang Richard in Ulm, 1824, in Beesenmayer's Sammlung von Aufsätzen, p. 182.

⁷ Ecclampad an Zwingli, 21 Nov. 1524. Ep. Zwinglii, tom. i. p. 369.

marvellous activity of Luther was not a moment at fault. Amidst the thunder of the cannon, he fulminated his manifestoes against the rebels, and went from city to city to stifle the germs of a threatening heresy.

At the time when a misguided study of the sacred text disclosed to Carlstadt the hidden sense of the words of the supper, an angel, as we know, revealed the mystery to Zwinglius. Then sprung up the sect of sacramentarians, who deny the real presence in the eucharistic sacrament, and the oblation in flesh and blood of the body of Jesus Christ in the communion. If the conditions of the intuition of the truth are such as Luther exacts, we must admit the testimony of Zwinglius. "For, do you know why the Sacramentarians have never had the sense of the Scriptures? It is because they have not the devil for their adversary; if the devil is not fastened to our necks, we are but sorry theologians."¹ Now, that angel who appeared to Zwinglius, and whose colour Zwinglius has not been able precisely to tell us, was, according to these Lutheran theologians, a fallen angel: an angel of darkness,—the devil. How, then, does he now make out, that Zwinglius and the Sacramentarians, in denying that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are really received in the Eucharist, are heretics who have broken off from the Church of God?²

Some mutual friends endeavoured, but in vain, to effect a reconciliation between Carlstadt and Luther. Neither of them would attend the interview at which it was hoped to be arranged: Carlstadt, because he would not be instructed by one who had been his pupil; Luther, because he no longer regarded his professor than as an old tyro and jabbering charlatan, who had for his confederate a chaplain, entrusted with the part of the spirit in the Lord's visions.³

In the mean time Luther, while visiting the cities into which

¹ "Quòd sacramentarii sacram scripturam non intelligant, hæc causa est quia verum opponentem, nempe diabolum, non habent, qui demum benè docere eos solet . . . quando diabolum ejusmodi collo non habemus affixum, nihil nisi speculativi theologi sumus."—Luth. Colloq. Ial. de Verbo Dei, fol. 28. Coll. Francf. f. 18.

² "Hæreticos censemus et alienos ab ecclesiâ Dei Zwingianos et omnes sacramentarios qui negant corpus et sanguinem Christi ore carnali sumi in venerabili Eucharistiâ."—Lutherus.

³ Luther's Briefe, De Wette, tom. ii. passim.

Anabaptism had crept, arrived at Jena, which was in a state of excitement from the preaching of Carlstadt, who had set up a printing-press there.¹ The Wittemberg monk had never been heard in Jena. He ascended the pulpit which Carlstadt had occupied on the previous day. The church was full. He preached against the prophets, less in the style of a Christian orator than as a man of letters of the sixteenth century, quite in the manner of Erasmus, amusing his audience at the expense of the fanatics, on whom he showered his railery. All eyes looked for the poor archdeacon, who on this occasion had not concealed himself behind the broken statuery, as in the church of All-Saints, but was seated opposite the south window, which concentrated on his face a flood of dazzling light. Luther perceived him, and his discourse, which had been general, was directed suddenly, like the blow of a miner's hammer, on Carlstadt's head. It was no longer one of those vague and general pictures applicable to all who had separated from the church of Wittemberg, but an accurate sketch of the unhappy renegade, in which not a single trait of resemblance was defective, not even the scant hairs of him whom he thus placed before his audience. Never was there such a martyr. Carlstadt rose; sat down; rose again, and was agitated like one possessed. Luther, regardless of all these contortions,—of this pantomime of arms and legs, which was intended to interrupt him,—continued his discourse, every sentence of which became more bitter and insulting. At length Carlstadt, unable longer to restrain himself, withdrew behind a pillar of the nave. The scene was not yet over.

As soon as Luther descended from the pulpit, the archdeacon whispered in the ear of the preacher, who made an affirmative nod of the head. It was a challenge, which Luther accepted. The Black Bear inn, where the monk lodged, was the place of meeting.

Scarcely had Luther reached the inn, when he received a letter from Carlstadt, desiring a conference in formal terms, the nod not appearing to him sufficient.

"Let him come," said Luther to the messenger; "let him come, in God's name, I am ready."

¹ An den Kanzler Brück. 7 Jan. 1524. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii.

He speedily made his appearance, bringing with him some of his disciples; among others, Gerard Westenberg, of Cologne. The inn had never before had so many visitors. Luther was mixed up in the crowd, seated at table, having on his right the burgomaster, whom he had requested to be present at the conference.

Carlstadt placed himself beside him, and commenced the debate on the Last Supper, at first in a very calm manner. They discussed the subject in a moderate tone, and without excitement; but when Luther had developed his opinion on the real presence so clearly that the guests applauded his address, Carlstadt could contain himself no longer. The following dialogue then took place between the doctors: ¹—

CARLSTADT.—You must acknowledge, master, that you have treated me rudely in your sermon, in comparing me with those turbulent spirits who breathe nothing but sedition and murder. I protest with all my might against such a comparison: I have nothing in common with such worthless characters. Between ourselves, you attribute to them, in regard to internal revelation, ideas which they never had.² I do not come here as their apologist; I speak for myself. I consider whoever would make me responsible for the sanguinary doctrines of these hotheaded preachers, to be a wicked man and a liar. I have heard what you have preached: I only wish to speak of that portion of it which relates to the Eucharist. I maintain that, since the time of the apostles, doctrine similar to your's has never been heard on that matter. I tell you this to your face. I also have preached upon the Eucharist; but my preaching is founded on the rock of truth, and you will not be able to establish the contrary.

LUTHER.—My dear doctor, let us begin from the beginning. You will never prove that I have pointed at you in my discourse. You say that you recognised yourself there,—that you saw the picture: be it so; it has hit you. You have written

¹ Oper. Luth.: Jense, tom. ii. fol. 462—466; Wittemb. fol. 209—312. The proceedings in this dispute have been collected and published by the preacher Martin Reinhard, of Jena, and are contained in Walch's edition, tom. xv. p. 2423 et seq.

² Carlstadt did not speak the truth, or he had not read Munzer's printed sermons. See *Auslegung des andern Unterschieds Danielis des Propheten, gepredigt aufm Schloss zu Altstedt vor den tetigen theuern Herzogen und Vorstehern zu Sachsen, durch Thomam Münzern, Diener des Worts Gottes: Altstedt, 1524.*

many sharp letters against me ; for what end I cannot imagine, since there has been no discussion between us. You complain that my words have offended you : so much the worse, and so much the better. So much the better, since you have declared that you do not resemble those preachers ; so much the worse, if you recognize the portrait. I have spoken against the prophets : I will speak against them again. If I have hurt you, I shall hurt you again.

CARLSTADT.—Say what you will, you did point at me in speaking of the sacrament ; but you have only perverted the Gospel, and I will prove it ; you do me injustice in likening me to those homicidal individuals ; and I protest, before my brethren here assembled, that I have nothing to do with them.

LUTHER.—Why this protestation, doctor ? I have read the letters which you wrote, from Orlamünde, to Thomas Munzer, and I saw that you rejected the seditious doctrines of the prophets. . . .

CARLSTADT.—Then why say that the spirit which animates the prophets is the same which destroyed the images, and teaches that the Eucharist must be taken and received from its hands ?

LUTHER.—But I mentioned no names : your's least of all, doctor !

CARLSTADT.—But I was obviously pointed at ; for I was the first who publicly taught the necessity of an immediate communion. You maintain that the spirit which speaks thus is the spirit which breathes, by the lips of the prophets of Alstædt, murder and sedition : that is false. As for the letters which I have written, I am ready to confer on them with you.

There was a moment's silence. Then Carlstadt resumed :—

If I were in error, and you wished to do a Christian deed, you ought to have, in the first instance, advised me, and not shot your envenomed darts at me from the pulpit. Your constant cry is “charity, charity !” Pretty charity, truly, to throw a morsel of bread to the poor, and leave on the road his wandering brother, without caring to bring him back to the fold !

LUTHER.—What ! have I not preached the Gospel ? What then have I done ?

CARLSTADT.—Hold ! I tell you, and I will prove it, that the Christ whom you spoke of in your sermon on the Eucharist, is not the Christ who was nailed to the cross, but a Christ made

by your hands, and after your own image ; besides, there are palpable contradictions in your teaching.

LUTHER.—Well, then, doctor, get up into the pulpit in the face of day, like an honest man, and show wherein I have erred.

CARLSTADT.—That I shall do ; for I do not shun the light, as you say. Will you debate with me at Wittemberg or Erfurt, at table, in a friendly way ? We shall propound our reasons ; others shall judge of them. I do not fear the light of day ; I only ask security for my person.

LUTHER.—Of what are you afraid ? Surely at Wittemberg you are safe.

CARLSTADT.—Yes. But it is long since I left it. In a public disputation we might treat each other sharply ; and I know, to my cost, how the people are attached to you.

LUTHER.—Well, doctor, come ; I promise that no one shall molest you.

CARLSTADT.—Very well ; I shall dispute publicly, and I shall manifest the truth of God or my shame.

LUTHER.—Say rather your folly, doctor.¹

CARLSTADT.—My shame, which I shall bear for the glorification of God.

LUTHER.—And which will fall back on your own shoulders.² I care not for your menaces. Who fears you ?

CARLSTADT.—And I, whom can I fear ?—my doctrine is pure ; it comes from God.

LUTHER.—Ah ! if it comes from God, why have you not infused into your hearers that spirit which made you break the images at Wittemberg !

CARLSTADT.—That was a work which I did not undertake of myself alone, but with the assistance of the councillors and some of your disciples, who fled at the moment of danger.

LUTHER.—That is false, I protest.

CARLSTADT.—And I affirm it.

LUTHER.—I advise you not to go to Wittemberg ; you will not find there such zealous friends as you imagine.

CARLSTADT.—Nor you any longer, perhaps, creatures so de-

¹ "Fiet ; stoliditas tua manifestando veniet."

² "Portabo lubens ignominiam, ut Deo suus constet honor."—"Redundabit in te ignominia."

voted to you. At least, I may console myself, since the truth is on my side. The day of the Lord will explain all mysteries ; then the veil will be lifted, and God will manifest his justice.

LUTHER.—You astonish me ! You always talk of God's justice. It is his mercy which I invoke.

CARLSTADT.—And why not his justice ? God makes no distinction of persons ; he regards not man ; the weak and the strong will be weighed in the same balance. I desire that God may judge me according to his justice and his mercy. But now that you despise the spirit which lives in me, and that you ask why I do not go, why I stop in the way, I will tell you : it is because you bind me hand and foot, and that you strike me, bare and disarmed.

LUTHER.—I strike you !

CARLSTADT.—Is it not to bind, and then to strike me, to write and preach against me, to print libels against me, and to hinder me from preaching, writing, and printing ?¹ If you had left me speech and pen, you would have learned what spirit animates me.

LUTHER.—Preach without a vocation ! Who has commissioned you to teach the people ?

CARLSTADT.—Do you speak of man's vocation ?—I am an archdeacon, and consequently authorised to teach. Of divine vocation ?—I also have my mission.

LUTHER.—Mission to preach in the parish church ?

CARLSTADT.—Are the people who attend the collegiate not the same with those who attend the parish church ?

LUTHER.—You, doctor, attack and calumniate me in your numerous libels.

CARLSTADT.—Libels !—what libels ? My treatise on vocation, perhaps ? But when did you admonish me charitably ? I defy you to point out, in the whole course of my life, a single hour in which, belying my character, I have been deficient in charity towards you ; whilst violence is your usual weapon. If

¹ Luther, indeed, wrote in January, 1524 (*De Wette*, l. c. tom. ii. p. 457), to the Chancellor Bruck, to procure from the prince elector that the printing-house established by Carlstadt at Jena should be suppressed. Subsequently, he besought the university of Wittenberg to remove the archdeacon from Orlamünde, and supply his place with another preacher.—*An Spalatin*, 14 March, 1524, *ibid.* p. 486. *An den Ehurfürsten*, 21 May, 1525, *ibid.* p. 521.

you did not wish to admonish me alone, you might have come with some of your friends.

LUTHER.—That is what I did, bringing with me Philip and Pomeranus to your study.

CARLSTADT.—That is false. You came, perhaps, but never to admonish me,—never to point out any erroneous articles taken from my writings or sermons.

LUTHER.—I brought you a statement from the university, in which were noted the articles which appeared to us censurable.

CARLSTADT.—Doctor, you violate truth ; I have never seen such a document.

LUTHER.—I will quote a thousand instances, in which you invariably charge me with falsehood.

CARLSTADT.—If you speak the truth, may the devil twist my neck !¹

LUTHER.—But I brought these articles to your lodging.

CARLSTADT.—Well, doctor, what would you say were I to show you a letter, in which Jerome Schurff tells me that they would, if I wished it, show me the errors into which I had fallen ? The university had not then assembled to point out these articles.

Luther was silent. Carlstadt broke this new silence by intreating the audience's forbearance if he defended himself with too much passion.

LUTHER.—Doctor, I know you ; I know that you like to fly in the clouds, walk proudly, and exalt yourself in your own estimation.

CARLSTADT.—It is you who have given me the example ; you are hunting incessantly after honours and notoriety.

LUTHER.—Remember that at Leipsic I publicly reprov'd you for your arrogance ; you wished to be allowed to dispute first, and I yielded to you that honour, of which I was unambitious.

CARLSTADT.—Ah ! dear doctor, what assurance you have ! You know that, at the outset of the controversy, it was a question whether you were to be permitted to dispute at all. I appeal

¹ " Wenn das wahr ist, was Luther sagt, so gebe Gott, dass mich der Teufel vor euch allen zerreiße ! "

to the councillors of Duke George and the university of Leipsic.¹

LUTHER.—Let us have an end of this. I have preached against the prophets to-day ; I shall do so again ; we shall see who will prevent me.

CARLSTADT.—Preach as long as you wish ; we shall see what we can do.

LUTHER.—Come, doctor, if you have anything on your mind, say it openly.

CARLSTADT.—I shall do so fearlessly.

LUTHER.—You will not forget to support these poor prophets ?

CARLSTADT.—Whenever they have truth on their side ; if they fall into error, the devil shall serve them as acolyte.

LUTHER.—You will write openly against me, doctor ?

CARLSTADT.—If that pleases you, doctor. I shall not spare you.

LUTHER.—There is a florin for earnest, doctor.

CARLSTADT.—What a good-for-nothing fellow I should be, if I did not accept your wager, doctor !

Then Luther took from his pocket a gold florin, which he presented to Carlstadt, saying : " Take this, and act boldly."—" See," said Carlstadt, showing the florin to those present, " Doctor Martin has given me this florin in pledge and token of the authority which he gives me to write against him." Luther gave him his hand. " Assuredly," said he, filling a glass of ale, and handing it to his opponent : " Your health, doctor."—" Yours," said Carlstadt ; " this is agreed, but on condition that you do not give further annoyance to my poor printers, and that, when the affair is ended, you shall not oppose any obstacle to the new kind of life which I may wish to lead ; for, after this dispute, I desire to become an agriculturist."

LUTHER.—Fear nothing ; I shall leave your printers alone, as I have challenged you to attack me ; I have given you a florin not to spare me ; the more violent your attack, the better I shall be content.²

¹ This is correct. After the disputation, so unfortunate for Carlstadt, Melancthon, in a letter to Ecolampadius, commends the archdeacon's theological learning, which at a later date he was to sacrifice to his sarcasm. See chapters vii. and viii. of this volume.

² It is evident that Luther broke his word ; in this Protestant authors agree.

CARLSTADT. — May God assist you ! I shall endeavour to satisfy you. So said, they shook hands and parted.¹

Luther left Jena and went to Gala, where the populace had broken the crucifix. Luther collected the fragments, and then ascended the pulpit, and preached upon the prophets and obedience to the authorities.

He then went towards Neustadt,² and arrived on the 24th of August at Orlamünde, where he was impatiently expected. He had sent Wolfgang Stein to the burgomaster of the city, to request him to assemble the council and the citizens, in order to confer with them, in accordance with the desire which they had manifested.

The burgomaster, accompanied by the magistrates, received and paid his respects to the doctor at the gates of the city. The monk's countenance was severe, and almost impassioned. He did not lift his square cap to salute his hosts, but contented himself with a slight inclination of the head. The burgomaster was about to address him, but he interrupted him, on the pretext that there would be time for discussion in the court-house. Luther entered Orlamünde in a car, accompanied on each side by the magistrates and councillors.

At the court-house the burgomaster resumed his address, thanked Luther, in the name of the council and people, for his kindness in coming to visit them, and besought him to preach the word of God.

Luther replied that he had not come to Orlamünde to preach, but to confer with the council and the people on the subject of some letters which he had received.

They sat down to table, and called for beer. Luther and those present exchanged numerous toasts, after the fashion of Germany. The news of Luther's arrival had spread through the city, and there soon arrived a crowd of citizens desirous to see and hear the Wittemberg doctor. All intreated him to preach, for, said they, "we know you suspect us, and call in question our faith. Ascend the pulpit, then, and if your doc-

¹ Ulenberg, *Vita et res gestæ Martini Lutheri*, cap. xiii. fol. 229—242.

² Ulenberg, l. c. p. 243. *Oper. Luth.* : Witt. tom. ix. p. 214 ; Jena, tom. i. p. 466.

trine is that of truth, our eyes will be unsealed, and we shall confess our errors."

"I have not come to preach," said Luther; and drawing from his pocket a letter which he had received on the 17th of the month: "Tell me," said he, "what seal is this?"—"These are the arms of the city," replied the burgomaster. "Is not this," returned Luther, "the letter of Carlstadt, who, doubtless, the better to deceive me, has affixed the seal of Orlamünde?"—"It is indeed the letter," said the burgomaster, "which we addressed to you; I recognise it. Carlstadt did not write or dictate a single syllable of it, and the seal of the city is too carefully kept to leave room for suspicion that he could have had access to it.¹

Luther impatiently opened the letter and read it.

"The peace of God through Christ our Saviour. Dear brother:—On his return from Wittenberg, Andrew Carlstadt, our pastor, informed us that from your pulpit you publicly railed against us, and represented us as spirits of disorder and error, although you have never visited or heard us. Your writings prove that our pastor has not deceived us. In one of your pamphlets, addressed to the princes of Saxony, do you not treat with contempt those who, faithful to God's command, will not allow dumb idols or pagan pictures? You depict Christians in colours which you may have found in your own brain, but never in the Scriptures. We, who are Christ's members and the Father's vine, cannot regard as the disciple of Jesus one who, instead of correcting us in the spirit of charity, lacerates us with his poignant irony.

"In the name of God, then, we intreat you not to calumniate those who have been redeemed at the cost of the blood of Jesus, the only Son of God. 'See,' you will say, 'those disciples of Christ who cannot bear the least reproach, and yet call themselves the children of him who has suffered so much!' That is true; but do you not know that Jesus soundly rated the Scribes and the Jews, who passed for just, and that he prayed for his executioners? We are ready, however, to give an account of our faith and our works, whenever you call on us to do so. Mean-

¹ Ulenberg, l. c. p. 244 et seq. Oper. Luth.: Jenæ, tom. ii. p. 266.

while, come and visit us ; come and confer with us ; and if we are deceived, lead us out of error by the voice of gentleness and charity, in the name of Jesus, and the glory of his holy Church. Answer us in a spirit of peace. Orlamünde, 17th of August, 1524."

"You wish," said Luther, "that I should point out to you wherein you have sinned ; it is, in the first place, by giving the name of pastor to Carlstadt, whose right to which title has never been acknowledged either by the duke of Saxony or the academy of Wittemberg."

"But," said one of the councillors, "if Carlstadt is not our lawful pastor, St. Paul's teaching is a lie, and your books a deception ; for we have chosen and elected him, as our letters to the academy of Wittemberg testify."

Luther said nothing ;¹ but, passing to another part of the letter : "You have sinned," said he, "in the second place, by destroying the pictures and images."²

He was proceeding, when Carlstadt entered, and, after saluting Luther, took his place among the bystanders. "Doctor," said he, again saluting Luther, "with your permission, I come to take my part in this interview."

"That is what I will not permit," said Luther.

"As you please, doctor."

"No, no ; you are my enemy, my adversary ; I reject you. Have not I given you a gold florin ?"

"It is true, doctor ; I am the adversary and enemy of every one who will oppose God, and fight against Christ and the truth."

"Leave us, then," sharply replied Luther, "we have no need of you here."

"But is not this a public meeting ?" asked the archdeacon ; "and if you have truth on your side, why be afraid of me ?"

"It is because I suspect you," replied Luther ; "you would be both judge and client."

"Suspected or not, I do not constitute myself your judge ; I am your enemy, your adversary : but what of that ?"

Then Wolfgang Stein, turning to the archdeacon, said :

¹ Ulenberg, l. c. p. 247.

² Oper. Luth. : Witt. tom. ix. p. 214.

"Doctor, pray leave us ; go away."—"Are you my master," said Carlstadt, "to address me thus? Show me the prince's orders."

Luther, impatient, made a sign to put the horses to his carriage, and threatened to leave Orlamünde if Carlstadt did not withdraw.

Some of the people present surrounded the archdeacon, and whispered in his ear, and Carlstadt left the room.

Luther then resumed his discourse, and maintained that he had never, either in the pulpit or in his writings, spoken of the inhabitants of Orlamünde, and that he had enough to do at Wittemberg, without troubling himself about them. "Nevertheless," said the town-clerk, "you have, in more than one pamphlet, compared those who denounce pictures to spirits of darkness. How should we not recognise ourselves, since we have destroyed the images in our churches? Do you, then, lie, doctor?"¹

"I have spoken in general terms," replied Luther; "other cities besides yours have attacked images. You accuse me wrongfully; your letter is insulting. In it you refuse me a title of honour which princes, the nobility, the people, and even my enemies, give me. The superscription bears: 'To the Christian doctor, Martin Luther;' and, in the course of the letter, you treat me as if I were not a Christian."

"Our expressions are courteous and paternal," said the burgomaster. "Produce, then," added a voice from the crowd passionately, "a single insulting expression."—"This is," said the doctor, "the tone and passion of the prophets. Your eyes, my friend, are like two burning coals; but they do not scorch me. But, let us see, where have you read in the Scriptures that images ought to be destroyed?" There was a moment of silence.

"I will answer you," said a councillor. "Dear brother, do you consider Moses to be the promulgator of the Decalogue?"—"Doubtless."—"Well, then, is it not written in the Decalogue, 'You shall have no other God but me?' and does not Moses

¹ "Interim verò mendacium fuit quo nos tetigisti quando cum vertiginosis spiritibus nos conjungebas."—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 249.

add, as explanatory to this divine command: 'You shall take away from among you all images, and you shall keep none?'"

"But that applies to idols or images which are worshipped; it is not the image of Jesus crucified that I worship," replied Luther.

"Well, then," said a shoemaker, "I have often, when passing by images, painted on walls or raised on the highways, lifted my cap. That was an act of idolatry which God certainly condemns; images, therefore, must be abolished."

"But that is an abuse; and if, on account of abuse, we must destroy images, put away your wives, and stave your barrels."

"By no means," said another, "for women and wine are created by God for our support and assistance, and God has not commanded us to put them away; whereas, the command against images made by men's hands is express."¹

"Once more," said Luther, "there is only question in the Decalogue of the idols that are made to be worshipped."

"I would grant it," said the shoemaker, "if Moses had not spoken of every kind of images."

"Moses?" said Luther.

"Let us argue the point," continued the shoemaker—"but, first, let us pledge ourselves to the discussion." Then Luther held out his hand, which the shoemaker seized and shook, whilst some one went for a Bible.

The discussion was lively and animated. The shoemaker exclaimed and gesticulated like a madman, quoting every text of Scripture that occurred to his memory. "Are you a Christian?" he said to Luther in a loud voice; "since you reject Moses, you will, at least, admit the Gospel which you have translated. Let us see what the Gospel teaches. Jesus says in the Gospel—I do not know the place, but my brethren know it for me—that the wife ought to strip and throw aside even her shift when she wishes to sleep with her husband."²

¹ "Nam hæ sunt Dei creaturæ in adiutorium et sustentationem nostram quas non mandavit Deus à medio tolli; verum de tollendis imaginibus hominum manu factis præceptum habemus."

² "Jesus dicit, nescio quo loco; fratres mei noverunt: Sponsam, si cum sponso cubare debeat, prorsus oportere nudam esse, etiam indusio exutam."—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 251.

Luther, who had been standing, sat down at this odd quotation, and covered his face to conceal his merriment. "Stay, then," he said, after a hearty burst of laughter, "that means, in fact, that we must abolish images: this is truly admirable!"

"Yes, doubtless," said another of the company, "that, indeed, signifies that God wishes the soul should strip itself of all earthly ideas. When we set our affections on an earthly object, our heart is then filled with its image. Much more, then, does our soul become stained, when it rests upon forbidden images."

They brought the books of Moses, translated into German by Luther, and some one read the 20th chapter of Exodus, and 4th of Deuteronomy, and concluded from them that images and all representations were prohibited by God, and that a Christian could neither make nor keep them.

"But read, then," the doctor repeated: "the question is as to idols which you shall not worship."

"There is no mention of idols in the text," said one of the company, "'You shall not make or keep any image.'"

"But the text of Deuteronomy is clear and express," resumed the shoemaker: "'Take care of your souls; on the day when the Lord spoke to you, you saw no similitude, lest you should be corrupted, and make to yourselves some image or representation in the form of male or female.' Is that clear?"

"Go on, pray," said Luther.

"That you may not look up to heaven, and, seeing the sun and moon, adore, by grievous error, the stars of heaven."

"Well, then," continued Luther, "why do you not blot out from creation the sun and moon?"

"Because the celestial luminaries," said the shoemaker, "were not made by our hands; the divine injunction does not relate to them."

Then the burgomaster interposed, and maintained that they followed God's command; that it was written they should neither add nor take from the Lord's word.

"So then," said Luther, "you condemn me?"

"Certainly," said the shoemaker, "you and all who speak and teach contrary to God's word."

"Adieu, then," said Luther, getting into his carriage.

• But one of the company seized him by his robes, and said:

"Before you leave, master, a word as to baptism and the eucharist."

"What! have you not my books?" said the monk impatiently to him; "read them."

"I have read them, and, on my conscience, they do not satisfy me."

"If you find fault with anything in them, write against me;" and he drove off.

"To the devil and all his imps with you!" exclaimed the company, burgomaster, councillors, and shoemaker; "may you break your neck and limbs before you get out of the city!"¹

Let us leave Luther to chant his victory over the burgomaster and shoemaker of Orlamünde; whilst from the breast of Carlstadt, the sceptic, that is to say, the personification of the Protestant principle, will burst forth a breath of life; the archdeacon will sow among the briars and thorns, through which he walks a fugitive, in peasant's attire, and with a long sword by his side, the seeds of rebellion against him whom he styles the "pope of Wittemberg." Until the end of time, every rising sun will cause one of these germs to blow. Luther would fain take refuge in that luminous cloud called "tradition," from which he has violently separated. But it is all in vain that he makes, as we admit, magnificent efforts of mind and body to recall those who from the outset had abandoned it, misled by his teaching and example; Carlstadt, and all those whom his voice misleads, will no longer heed a letter which fetters the intellect; it is Rationalism which henceforth shall be the ruler of the new Church; and those remains of truth, which Luther still maintains with admirable courage, will fall one by one under the strokes of those who boast of being his disciples, but who deny their master, when he wishes to stop them on the brink of the gulph!

In the city of Antwerp, preachers proclaimed that every man is possessed of the Spirit of God; that this Spirit is none other than the reason which is born with us; that beyond this life there will be no punishment for the soul; that the body only will

¹ "Abi in nomine mille demonum. Utinam præceps corruas fractis cervicibus antequam civitatem egrediaris."—Ulenberg, l. c. p. 254.

suffer ; that nature wills that we should do to our neighbour what we should wish him to do to us ; that he who has not the Spirit cannot sin, because he is deprived of his reason.¹

John Denck, professor of literature at Nuremberg, taught his pupils that the Son and the Holy Ghost are not equal to the Father.²

Louis Hetzer, of the same city, wrote a long treatise against the divinity of Jesus.³

"Lo !" mournfully exclaims Luther, "one rejects baptism ; another, the eucharist ; another constructs a new world between the present and that which will arise after the last judgment ; another, who strikes out revelation from his creed ; one says this ; the other, that ; there are as many sects as there are heads ; everybody wishes to become a prophet."⁴

At Strasburg, while Matthew Zell was in the pulpit, a man entered the cathedral, and called to the preacher : "You lie ; you lie to the Holy Ghost !" He was thrust out of the church, and when on the steps of the porch, exclaimed : "Your preachers deceive you !"⁵

At Zurich, the number of those who attacked Zwinglius's doctrine was so great, that, to put an end to their outcries against the reformer, it was necessary to expel them the city. They then spread into other cities,—Schaffhausen, Saint Gall, Basle, Berne, Croire, and Soleure, everywhere endeavouring to stir up people against the Lutheran and Zwinglian creeds.

Constance and Waldshut were filled with dissenters who,

¹ "Jeder Mensch hat den heiligen Geist ; der heilige Geist ist nichts weiter als unsere Vernunft und Verstand. Jeder Mensch glaubt. . . Die Natur lehrt dass ich meinem Nächsten thun solle, was ich mir will gethan haben, &c."—Karl Hagen. l. c. tom. iii. p. 110.

² "Norimbergæ ludimagister apud Sebaldi templum negavit Spiritum Sanctum et Filium esse æquales Patri."—Capito Zwingl. ep. Zwinglii, tom. i. p. 47.

See, in Karl Hagen, the chapter entitled, Louis Hetzer and James Kautz. The author quotes the following lines, by Hetzer, on the Trinity :—

"Ich bin allein der einig Gott,
Der ohne Hülff all Ding beschaffen hat.
Fragst du, wie viel meiner sei ?
Ich bin's allein, meiner sind nicht drei."

—See, as to Hetzer : Frank, Chronik, p. 425.

³ Füssli, Beiträge für die schweizerische Reform.-Geschichte, tom. iii. p. 310.

⁴ Luther an die Christen zu Antwerpen. De Wette, l. c. tom. iii. pp. 60, 64.

⁵ Epist. Zwinglii, tom. i. p. 516.

with the Gospel in hand, announced themselves as the Lord's elect.¹

Ulm, Eslingen, Reutlingen, Rothenburg on the Necker, Stuttgart, and Heilbronn, opened their gates to Munzer's disciples.²

Rebellion of the poor against the rich, political and religious equality, were preached at Munich, Scherding, and Ratisbon.³

Carlstadt's opinions on adoration in spirit, carried down by the Danube, were taught on both sides of the river.⁴

If Luther complained of his disciples' treason, his disciples did not disguise the motives for their desertion. They accused him of having dastardly abandoned the cause of the poor to support the rich; of showing no pity towards the oppressed; and of having thrown aside the life-giving spirit of the pure Gospel, to preach a letter which both killed body and soul. These complaints possess something which goes direct to the heart, because they fall from the lips of men deceived by the fine theories of liberty which the Saxon monk formerly promulgated, and who bore in exile the punishment of their blind faith in the apostle of Germany.⁵

These dissensions tended more and more to absorb the Catholic principle. Other elements of disorganization, set in operation by Luther, were to hasten the fall of authority in Germany; these were entirely human, namely, the secularization of the religious houses, the marriage of the monks, the spoliation of the property of the clergy, and the usurpation of the civil over the spiritual power.

Let us take a rapid survey of their fatal influences.⁶

¹ Haller to Zwinglius, Ep. tom. ii. pp. 49, 66.

² Pfaff, Geschichte der Reichstadt Eslingen, 1840, p. 492. Gayler, Denkwürdigkeiten von Reutlingen, 1840, p. 297.

³ Otto, Annales Anabapt. ad ann. 1526, 1527, pp. 44, 46, 49.

⁴ Raupach, Evangelisches Oestreich, p. 52.

⁵ M. Alexander Weill has contributed to the *Phalange* (1845) several remarkable articles on the peasants' war, in which Luther's part in that struggle is properly appreciated.

⁶ The history of the development of the sectarian spirit, after the defeat of the peasants and the banishment of the prophets, belongs much more to the general history of the Reformation than to the biography of Luther. The following curious books may be consulted, on the variations of Protestantism at that time:—Nehr, Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte von Windsheim, 1801;

CHAPTER XIII.

SECULARIZATION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES AND MARRIAGE OF THE MONKS. 1524, 1525.

How Luther contrived to legitimate the expulsion of the monks.—Disorders occasioned in the monasteries by the reformer's writings against celibacy.—The unfrocked monks enter the service of the printers.—They are active auxiliaries for the Reformation.—Froben of Bâle.—Carlstadt.—Monachal bigamies.—What Luther thought of them.

THE secularization of the monks was one of the great measures contrived by the Reformer to destroy Catholicism ; it was necessarily followed by the spoliation of the religious houses.

Among the Protestants, some timorous persons searched the Scriptures for texts to appease the cry of their consciences, and palliate their attempts against individual and moral liberty. An angel seemed to hold the Bible open at that page in which God prohibits violence. They consulted Luther, and put this question to him :—

“ It is said, that to force consciences is forbidden ; yet, do not our princes expel the monks from their monasteries ? ”

“ The casuist replies,¹ ‘ Yes ; we must not compel any one to believe our doctrines ; we have never done violence to conscience ; but it would be a crime not to prevent our doctrines from being profaned. To repel scandal is not to injure liberty. I cannot compel a rogue to become an honest man, but I can prevent him from doing mischief. A prince cannot compel a highwayman to confess the Lord ; but he has a gibbet for malefactors. ’ ”

“ But do we not tolerate the Jews, who blaspheme the Lord ? ”

“ The Jews belong neither to the clerical nor secular com-

Jäck, *Materialien zur Geschichte von Bamberg*, tom. iii. ; Falkenstein, *Chronik von Schwabach* ; Will, *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Nürnberg* ; Winter, *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Baiern*.

¹ “ Ob die Fürsten recht daran gethan, dass sie nicht haben dulden wollen das Klosterleben und die Messe. ”—Luther's Werke : Witt. tom. ix. p. 455.

munities ; they are captives among us, and we do not suffer them to blaspheme God in our presence. A robber about to be hanged may insult his judges ; who could prevent him ? But our monks wish to be ‘*de utroque jure* ;’ to blaspheme publicly, and be entitled to do it ! They would wish to resemble the Jews, and belong neither to Christ nor to Cæsar ; to proclaim themselves enemies of Christ and of Cæsar ; and that we should permit them in their synagogues to blaspheme the Lord at their pleasure, and as long as they like !” He continues :—

“So, when our princes were in doubt whether the monastic life and private masses were an offence against God, they would have done wrong to close the monasteries ; but since they have been enlightened, and see that the conventual life and the Mass are insults to the Deity, they would have been guilty, had they not exercised their power to proscribe them ; for it is written : ‘*Thou shalt love God with all thy heart and all thy strength.*’”

The princes religiously obeyed Luther.

Erasmus, who was in Germany at the time when Luther’s pamphlet against celibacy appeared, has left us some curious details of the disorders which it excited in the monasteries. He represents certain towns in Germany crowded with cowed deserters and vagrant apostates, married priests, starving and half-naked monks, leaping, dancing, getting drunk, and praying for bread and a wife for the rest of their lives, and paying no more regard to the Gospel than to a hair of their beards.¹ Wives they had in abundance ; when they could not find them in convents, they sought for them in brothels. What cared they for priestly benediction ? They married each other, and celebrated their nuptials in revelries, wherein both spouses seldom failed to lose their senses.

“Formerly,” adds our philosopher, “men left their wives for the sake of the Gospel ; now, the Gospel is said to flourish when a monk has the luck to marry a rich wife.² All, however, are not so happy as Æcolampadius, who, to mortify his flesh, has married a rich and pretty girl.”³

¹ “*Amant viaticum et uxorem, cætera pili non faciunt.*”—Ep. Erasmi, p. 637. Jean Paul styles them “*zweidrittels Mönche.*”

² “*Nunc floret Evangelium, si pauci ducant uxores benè dotatas,*” p. 768.

³ “*Nuper Æcolampadius duxit uxorem, puellam non inelegantem ; vult,*

These apostate monks generally married nuns. At first, modest young women, or those who belonged to respectable families, would not marry them. Where could mothers be found so devoid of shame as to give their daughters to those monks who, in Luther's own words, had abandoned celibacy merely from lustful impulses?¹ Besides, a great number of them had nothing to cover them except their monastic dress. The most of them entered into the service of printers or booksellers. Unhappily, there were many of them who could scarcely read, and who, after having for several days yielded to every temptation of the flesh, had no means of living, and were obliged to beg; this was too severe a profession, which would have ended by disgusting the renegades with a wandering life, and a spectacle which would have brought shame on the Reformation. Luther had foreseen this, and had divided the property of the monasteries into several parts, one of which was assigned for the support of the secularized religious.

We might fancy that the Reformation was no gainer by these shameful desertions;—we are mistaken: “Every apostasy,” says Plank, “carried off from Catholicism an instrument of proselytism which in its sphere of activity could impede the progress of the Reformation.”² Having renounced his faith, the apostate sought to avenge himself on his brethren, either by calumniating or driving them to perjury; he played among feeble minds the part of spy and tempter; the wicked monk transformed himself into a bad angel.

At that period, they were to be seen in bands attacking the convents, and afterwards walking arm-in-arm with the virgins whom they had dishonoured. Erasmus, more than once, met monks laden with spoils which they had stolen from the churches, reeling under the fumes of wine, and rushing shamelessly to brothels.³

opinor, affligere carnem. Quidam appellant Lutheranam tragediam, mihi videtur esse comœdia; semper enim in nuptias exeunt tumultus.—Ep. p. 632.

¹ “Viele dieser Menschen werden bloss vom Bauche und von Fleischaestlsten getrieben, und bringen grossen Gestank in den guten Geruch des Evangeliums.”—Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte*, &c. tom. i. p. 133.

² Plank, l. c. tom. iv. p. 83. Arnold, l. c. lib. xvi. ch. vi. *passim*.

³ “Sunt rursus qui invident opibus sacerdotum, et sunt, qui, ut sua fortiter profundunt, vino, scortis, et alea, ita rapinis alienorum inhiant.”—*Erasmi*, Ep. p. 766.

Some, yielding to the passion which tormented them, would mount a deserted pulpit, and preach to the people the doctrines which their master had taught in his treatise on monastic vows,—such as: “That as in the early ages of Christianity the Church required to elevate the state of virginity in the midst of a heathen society, so now, that the Lord had let the light of his Gospel shine, she required to exalt marriage and honour it at the cost of the papistic celibacy; and that, since Daniel and St. Paul represented Antichrist as the adversary of marriage, they were bound to fulfil the law imposed by God upon our first parents, unless they wished to be stamped on the brow with the mark of the beast.”¹

There were some who delivered long tirades extracted from the sermon upon marriage, and who, mounted on a bulk, exclaimed to their auditors: “Get married; the union of the sexes is as necessary as meat and drink.” Priests, still more shameless, like the curate of Strasburg, of whom we have spoken, drew from their cassock a general confession, and mentioned the day on which they had violated the sixth of God’s commandments.

There were Augustinians who made a business of diffusing in the country places the Lutheran pamphlets, poisoning the minds and living at the expense of the poor people whom they deprived of eternal life.* Cochläus represents these monks as standing at the church-doors, and, during divine service, exclaiming: “Buy, buy the ‘Prophecies against Antichrist;’ buy the ‘Pope-ass,’ the ‘Monk-calf;’ buy the ‘Pope and the Sow.’”³ The magistrates seldom ventured to turn them away; first, because they also expected that a portion of the treasures which the closing of the Catholic churches and the expulsion of the religious would be given to them as the price of their toleration;⁴ and, next, because these monks were protected by all the bad passions of the people, with whom they frequently divided the gains of their robbery. Besides, who knows whether such zeal on the

¹ Oper. Luth. tom. i. p. 526 et seq.

* “Infinitus jam erat numerus qui victum ex Lutheranis libris queritantes, in speciem bibliopolarum longè latèque per Germaniæ provincias vagabantur.”—Cochl. in Actis, &c. p. 58.

³ See chapter vi. of this volume, entitled The Pictures.

⁴ “Multos evehit et ditavit Lutherus, nonnullis profuit esse Lutheranis.”—Erasmii, Ep. p. 580.

part of the inferior authorities might not have been displeasing to the court, where the elector professed Lutheranism? It is true that the emperor's edicts prohibited the anti-catholic books; but, with the exception of Duke George, none of the great Christian princes of Germany cared to put them in force; their empty threats were laughed at by the innovators. The magistrates, who were ordered to search for the heterodox pamphlets, shut their eyes; how, then, should the people have shown themselves more ready than the magistrates to obey the imperial rescripts? The booksellers lent themselves to this propagation of Lutheran libels, by printing them in every sort of form, selling them at a nominal price in the fairs of Germany, and frequently embellishing them with false titles, to deceive the piety of the simple folk.¹ Froben, of Basle, realized a handsome fortune by this trade; for many years his presses were occupied solely in reprinting the writings of the Reformer. Erasmus himself was a long time afraid of being unable to find a printer to publish his treatise on free-will. He wrote to the king of England: "If your majesty and the learned men of your court desire to have my work, I shall finish it, and endeavour to publish a portion of it, for I cannot find a printer here who will venture to print a single line against Luther: as regards the pope, it is otherwise."² See with what mercantile exultation Froben mentions his success in a letter to Luther! "All your works move off," he says, "I have only ten copies left; never had books such a sale."³ If Cochläeus, Hochstraet, or some monk replied to the Reformer, they could scarcely find a publisher; they were obliged to resort to unskilful workmen, who spoiled their books with solecisms and barbarisms, which called forth the merriment of the learned, and consigned the author's name to the sarcasms of the Reformers. The monks who, after Luther's essay against the monastic life, had become journeymen printers for their bread, and lent their hands and learning to those masters whom the Reformation enriched, reproduced with inconceivable ardour the pamphlets of the innovators. If it happened that a Catholic had sufficient

¹ Cochl. in Actis, &c. p. 50.

² Ep. Erasmi, p. 752.

³ Oper. Luth. tom. i. pp. 388, 389.

money to tempt the cupidity of a printer, his text came forth from the hands of apostates disfigured with errors ; and, after a long effort, and irreparable loss of time, the unfortunate book appeared on the stalls of the booksellers of Frankfort, at the great Easter fair, with all its deformities of idiom, contemptible size, wretched type, and coarse paper, alongside of the Lutheran pamphlet in all its luxury of fine white leaves, beautiful and skilful typography, and careful revision : " Then," says Cochläus, " there was no end to the laughter of the Frankfort merchants at the ignorance of the Papists." ¹

Monks were to be seen who, after a few months' marriage, returned to their bachelor life, and answered to those who reproached them for deserting their wives, that Luther had found no text in the Scriptures forbidding divorces ; and others, who, the better to obey God's command to " increase and multiply," took two wives at a time. On the first example of bigamy given by a monk, the old morals of Germany were shocked ; they anxiously searched the Bible of the Wittemberg doctor for a text authorising polygamy. They consulted the translator, and this was his answer : " The prince ought to ask the bigamist, ' Have you obeyed your conscience directed by God's word ? ' If he replies : ' It is by Carlstadt,' or some other, the prince has nothing more to object ; for he has no right to disquiet or hush the inward voice of that man, or decide in a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of him who, according to Zacharias, is commissioned to explain the divine law. For my part, I confess that I do not see how I can prevent polygamy ; there is not in the sacred texts the least word against those who take several wives at one time ; but there are many things permissible that ought not becomingly to be done : of these is bigamy." ²

¹ " Ea tamen neglectim, ita festinantur ac vitiose imprimebant, ut majorem gratiam eo obsequio referrent Lutheranis quam Catholicis. Si qui eorum justiores Catholicis operam impenderent, hi à cæteris in publicis mercatibus Francofordiæ et alibi vexabantur ac ridebantur velut papistæ et sacerdotum servi."—Cochl. in Actis, pp. 58, 59. See *Die Ursachen der schnellen Verbreitung der Reformation zunächst in Deutschland*, by James Marx, in which the action of the press on the diffusion of the reformed opinions is admirably described in the 12th chapter, entitled *Die Buchdrucker und Buchhändler befördern die Reformation*, p. 152 et seq.

² " Ego sanè fateor me non posse prohibere si quis plures velit uxores ducere, nec repugnat sacris litteris. Egregio viro D. Gregorio Bruck, 13 Jan. 1524."—De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 459.

Carlstadt, whom we find wherever there is scandal, replied to Luther: "Since you have not, any more than myself, found any text in the Scriptures against bigamy, let us be bigamists, trigamists, or have as many wives as we can support. 'Increase and multiply,'—you understand? Let us, then, obey the command of Heaven!"

CHAPTER XIV.

PLUNDER OF THE CHURCH PROPERTY.

Luther, in order to win the princes over to his doctrines, offers them the spoils of the monasteries.—Feudal Germany had long aspired to burst the tutelage in which Rome held her, for the sake of the nations.—Effects of Luther's preaching on the great vassals of the empire.—Code drawn up by the Saxon monk for the use of the princes who coveted the property of the Church.—Invasion of the temporal on the rights of the spiritual power.—These attempts are justified and commended by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Bullinger, and all the leaders of the Reformation.—Doctrines of slavery taught by them.—Pillage of the Catholic churches and properties.—Tardy indignation of Luther.—Had he not preached robbery and murder?—Useless advances made by him to some of his adversaries.

JURIEU has acknowledged that Geneva, Switzerland, the republics and free cities, the electors and princes of Germany, England, Scotland, Sweden, and Denmark, drove out "popery," and established their religious revolution only by the assistance of the civil power.¹ In Saxony, Lutheranism, left to the popular instincts, to proselytism, and the action of the Reformer on men's minds, was but slowly developed; its advance would have been checked every instant.² It is enough to cast a glance at the court of Duke George of Saxony, where no one, while that prince lived, allowed himself to be seduced by the innovations, to comprehend the influence of the civil power on religious opinions. He was scarcely dead, when the Reformation entered the electoral

¹ Die Ursachen der schnellen Verbreitung der Reformation, von Jakob Marx, p. 64.

² "Es ist klar dass die fürstlichen Gewalten keineswegs günstig für die Reformation gesinnt waren, und wir wissen ja, dass ausser dem Ehurfürsten von Sachsen sich bis jetzt keiner für sie erklärte."—Karl Hagen, l. c. tom. I. p. 146.

palace, and from the palace soon gained Misnia and Thuringen. The human mind is seldom excited by opinions which give no advantage. Melancthon admits that, in the triumph of the Reformation, the princes had in view neither the purification of Christianity, the diffusion of learning, the exalting of a creed, nor the amelioration of morals, but wretched, profane, and earthly interests.¹ "They are worthy Lutherans," said the doctor, speaking of the Saxon princes, "who adjudge to themselves the treasures of the cloisters, and religiously keep the jewels of the churches!" Luther, to win them, offered them in perspective the property of the clergy and the monasteries. Duke George was the only one capable of resisting him; this prince stands out boldly among his contemporaries as an upright, ardent, and just man, whom no worldly ambition could move.

Germany, in the middle ages, extended from the lake of Constance, or sea of Suabia, to the confines of Poland. Christianity had softened the savage manners of its natives, cleared its forests, changed its solitudes into cities, and assisted it to throw off the yoke of the Romans. For all that it possessed of faith, science, and intellectual art at Luther's advent, it was indebted to its ancient bishops. The tree of feudalism had first flourished on its soil. It was one of the European states in which the influence of the papacy was most sensibly felt. Its great vassals had often striven to free themselves from ultramontane dependence; but their efforts had been vain, because they had not found a very zealous protector in the emperor. We have seen at the diet of Nuremberg the attempts of the Germanic body to establish its independence. The secular and ecclesiastic princes set forth, in the name of the nation, grievances which they communicated to the pope's legate, with the consent of Ferdinand, the brother and representative of Charles V. They demanded the redress of a hundred grievances, as indispensable for maintaining peace in the German Church. Pope Adrian VI. had anticipated their wishes, and was inclined to grant some of the immunities which they sought; but the bad feeling and constantly increasing

¹ "Sie bekümmerten sich gar nicht um die Lehre: es sei ihnen bloss um die Freiheit und die Herrschaft zu thun." Cobbett has developed the same idea in his work on the reformation of England.

² Luther, Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments: Witt. 1528.

exactions of the reformed princes, who wished to separate themselves from Rome at all cost, thwarted this work of conciliation.

For a long time Hutten laboured to destroy the spiritual authority of Rome in Germany. "His plan," says M. Alexander Weill, "may be summed up in a few words ;—to re-establish the unity of Germany in the name of the new Gospel religion, and to expel all the reigning princes and bishops ; to unite the petty aristocracy to the citizens, and even to the peasantry, and proclaim liberty and confraternity in the name of the emperor and the Gospel. As to his emperor, he was ready made ; and never was hero more worthy than Franz von Sickingen to wear an imperial crown."¹

Under the pretext of liberty, Hutten's partisans desired a schism. Then Rome might be unable to interfere, as she had so often done, in the quarrels between princes and their subjects, that is to say, between the oppressors and the oppressed. How often had the eye of the pope, fixed on the great German body, prevented the feudatories from trampling under foot the privileges and franchises of their vassals ! Protestants themselves have acknowledged the efficacy of that intervention in the struggles of the clergy with the empire.

The truth is, that frequently the lay prebendaries and secular princes, who had received from the pope palaces, fine estates, and rich abbeys, bore with impatience a foreign tutelage. They would have desired to levy taxes at their own will, trample on their subjects at pleasure, and live by plunder like their ancestors, sheltered from the dread of Rome. They preferred the highways to the palaces, and had not entirely stripped off that savage nature which they had inherited from their ancestors for the misfortune of mankind. They passionately loved to hunt the deer, sound the horn, and mount fiery steeds. Who has not heard of the exploits of Goëtz von Berlichingen, Wilhelm von Grumbach, or Franz von Sickingen, that hero of Hutten, who hunted monks as they do wild boars ? One historian describes Germany as being at this time changed into a very den of robbers, and the nobility contending among them-

¹ The peasants' war. *La Phalange*, January and February, 1845, p. 117.

selves in rapacity.¹ The Roman chancery made them pay large sums for the war with the Turks, the judicial proceedings of various tribunals, and dispensations for certain observances, under pain of interdict and excommunication.² Now, observe Luther assembling all these chiefs of clans, these highwaymen, these modern Nimrods, and saying to them : “ Your power emanates from God alone, you have no master on this earth, you owe nothing to the pope, mind your own affairs, and let him mind his ; he is the Antichrist predicted by the prophet Daniel ; he is the man of sin, the sovereign of Babylon the whore ; you princes and nobles owe him neither first-fruits nor services for the abbeys which he has bestowed upon you. These abbeys are as much your property as the beasts which run on your lands, the birds which fly over your fields, or the fishes which swim in your ponds. The monasteries in which these pious hypocrites live are dens of iniquity, which infest your possessions,—houses of abomination, which devour the food of your subjects,—barren briars, which you must root out, if you wish God to bless you in this life or the next. Make a crusade against Rome, put between her and you an eternal wall of separation, and embrace the new Gospel. Cast off your chains, and, like Hermann, deliver Germany from the Roman conquerors ; purge the earth from this vermin of monks, a theocracy a thousand times more shameful than the yoke of your ancient masters.”

Is it to be believed that such language—and Luther more than once made use of it—could fail to destroy all those whom the monk marked out to popular animadversion ? And when did Luther make it be heard ? When Charles V. was four hundred leagues from Wittemberg ; when all Germany was disorganised ; when the episcopal authority was violently attacked ; when the people believed in the advent of a new Messiah, announced by Phiffer and Munzer ; and when the Turk threatened Hungary.

To those who set themselves in rebellion against the spiritual authority, the monk decreed an earthly crown composed of the diamonds, precious stones, gold and silver, of the monasteries ;

¹ “ *Potentissima Germania et potentissima et nobilissima, sed ea tota nunc unum latrocinium est, et ille inter nobiles gloriosior qui rapacior.*”—Campanus, in Freher, Script. Germ. tom. ii. pp. 294, 295.

² Rotteck, Hist. Générale, tom. iii. p. 79.

and a heavenly one fashioned by the hand of God. One of these alone was enough to excite the cupidity of the princes. The treasures of the cloisters resembled the martyr's blood of Tertullian, and daily produced new disciples to the Reformation. There was in the religious houses wherewith to allure covetousness: wine, corn, gold, silver, and even nuns who formed part of the booty.¹ We have the testimony of Luther himself, who affirms that the *ostensoria* or monstrances of the Church had made many conversions.² In like manner it was that Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, apostatized, that he might with a safe conscience rob the Teutonic order of the country of Prussia, which he erected into a hereditary principality;³ and that Franz von Sickingen, at the head of twelve thousand bandits, recruited in the forests, invaded the archbishopric of Trèves, leaving on his march long tracts of blood.

Luther had drawn up, for the use of those who coveted their neighbour's goods, a code, consisting of eight articles, in which legalized theft became a commandment of God. The first and largest share of the plunder was for the evangelical curates and preachers; the second for the masters and mistresses who were to instruct children in the secularized religious houses; the third for those who from age were unable to work, and for the sick; the fourth for orphans; the fifth for the parochial poor; the sixth for destitute strangers and travellers; the seventh for maintaining buildings; and the eighth for forming granaries of corn in case of scarcity.⁴ The princes were not mentioned in this plan of division; but as Luther, in his *Argyrophylax*, had said to them, "In a short while you will see what tons of gold are concealed in the monasteries,"⁵ threatening them with the vengeance of heaven if they did not seize on them;⁶ the princes

¹ Unpartheiische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie, tom. ii. ch. xvi.

² "XII. Predigt von Luther. Viele sind noch gut evangelisch, weil es noch katholische Monstranzen und Klostergüter gibt."—Jak. Marx, p. 174. Menzel, tom. i. pp. 371—379.

³ Rotteck, l. c. p. 98.

⁴ De Fisco Communi, voy. Cochl. in Actis, p. 84.

⁵ "Experiemini intra paucos menses quot centum aureorum millia unius exiguæ dititionis vestræ monachi et id genus hominum possideant."—Cochl. p. 148.

⁶ "Gottlos seyen diejenigen die diese Güter nicht an sich zögen, und sie besser verwendeten, als die Mönche."

considered themselves authorized to regulate the partition of the booty. They thoroughly comprehended the lion's share; from compassion they gave to the obstinate monks some clothing, that they might beg on the highways;—a little money to those who had been obedient to Luther;—and, by a singular generosity, the sacred vessels of the secularised monastery to the curate of the parish who consented to embrace Lutheranism; all the rest went to their mistresses and courtiers; and when they were as greedy as the landgrave of Hesse, they kept to themselves the vestments, sacerdotal robes, tapestries, chased plate, and vessels of the sanctuaries. "To the devil!" soon exclaimed Luther, in his rage; "to the devil with senators, castellans, princes, and nobles, and mighty lords, who leave not to the preachers, the priests and servants of the Gospel, wherewith to support their wives and children."¹ This was the same landgrave who, not content with the property of the Church, which he had openly robbed, yet wished to meddle with the organization of its worship, and suppress the elevation of the chalice at the Mass.* Was it not a disgusting spectacle to witness those ducally, electorally, or princely crowned robbers, who, because they did not find, like Heliodorus, angels at the gates of the temples which they pillaged, presumed to regulate the forms of service in that old church from which they had torn down the image of Christ, expelled the priests, and transformed the vessels of the sanctuary into plate for their tables; to say how many grains of incense should be burnt in a thurible, which had somehow escaped the hunt which they made after everything that had the colour of gold or silver, and teach the bishops the use of the ciborium? Thus the Reformation which, by the mouth of its apostle, was proclaimed in Germany as coming to free the people from the priestly yoke, created a pagan monstrosity, hierophant and magistrate, with one arm seizing the exterior or political act, and the interior or religious one. Melancthon's eye had seen across the future the sacrifice of the people's liberties in those prerogatives which Luther conferred on the civil government. He would have preserved the episcopal jurisdiction, which the

¹ In his Tisch-Reden, quoted by J. Marx, p. 175.

² J. Marx, l. c. p. 177.

fiery reformer crushed to insure the success of his own doctrines.¹ It was natural, that once in possession of an authority so exorbitant, the princes should not wish again to sacrifice it; and, at the peace of Westphalia, they stipulated, as one of the prerogatives of the civil power, for the right of reformation, *jus reformandi*, in spiritual matters.²

But Melancthon does not tell us that, like his master, he voluntarily sacrificed the democratic principle of the Reformation, in counselling the landgrave of Hesse, who consulted him on the subject of the religious disputes so frequent among the Protestant ministers, to withdraw the word from those who did not preach the true gospel; thus constituting a secular prince judge in the last resort of a bible text.³

It was after the extermination of the peasants, for which Luther returned thanks to God, that the attempts of the Protestant princes against the civil and religious liberties of their subjects were everywhere openly made. The oppressed had lost the protector whom he believed had been sent to him by the Lord in the person of Luther; for the temporal prince, henceforward the Saxon evangelist's arm of flesh, the monk had digested a theory, which permitted him to dare all things, and to make use of the scourge and the ball against those who might seek to rebel. That theory of doing as they pleased was supported even by Melancthon. Bucer, on his part, preached slavery in terms still more precise. He taught that the civil authority is sole judge of its conduct: that to it exclusively belongs the decision whether it should act justly or capriciously, by blood or other punishments, as the living representative, in all that it does, of God who sits in the highest heavens. The civil power must be obeyed: where there is civil power there is the law; unless we rebel against God, we must obey the prince in everything which he prescribes, as the instrument of divine vengeance.⁴

¹ J. Marx, l. c. p. 478.

² Ibid.

³ Karl Hagen, l. c. tom. ii. p. 156.

⁴ It is a Protestant who has found, in one of Bucer's works, this apotheosis of despotism. The following are his words:—"Martin Bucer stellt ohne Weiteres den Grundsatz auf, dass jede Obrigkeit, mag sie nun ihre Gewalt erhalten haben, wie sie will, rechtlich oder unrechtlich, durch Mord oder sonstige Schandthaten, schon durch die Thatsache als eine von Gott einge-

That the civil power should be master of men's consciences, was a right which all the reformers conceded to it after the fall of the peasants. Bucer goes so far as to assert that the civil power may use fire and sword against all those who have embraced error, because a heretic is more guilty than a robber or a murderer. He desires that the civil power should have the right of putting to death both the child and the wife, and the flock of the guilty; and he appeals to the Old Testament in justification of his frightful doctrine. "Now," says he, "if the New Testament has made obedience to the pure word of God a commandment still more express than the old, does it not follow that disobedience to that word ought to be still more severely punished?" Do not speak to him of that law of love which Christ came to bring to men, and which in no case allows of confounding the innocent with the guilty; he replies, "that in Christ's time the men who held the reins of government had not yet embraced the Gospel, and that therefore to them the commandments of Christ were not addressed."¹

Old Erasmus, remembering Luther's profession of faith at Worms, wherein he insisted that no means but the Gospel should be used to convert the Christian who had erred, now smiled, and muttered, "Oppression!" But Bucer replied to him, "We must draw a distinction: it would be oppression to use violence to guide men into error; but not so if, to lead them to truth,

setzte zu betrachten sei; dann sonst hätte Gott die Gewalt nicht zugelassen: daher müsse man jeder Obrigkeit ohne Unterschied gehorchen, denn wo Gewalt, ist auch das Recht Ja, er geht so weit, dass er behauptet, auch wenn die Obrigkeit etwas wider das Gebot Gottes befähle, so müsse der Unterthan gehorchen; denn es sei anzunehmen, dass dann Gott denselben mit der Ruthe strafen wolle."—Karl Hagen, l. c. pp. 154, 155.

¹ "Er geht dann so weit, dass er der Obrigkeit das Recht einräumt, diejenigen, welche eine falsche Religion haben, mit Feuer und Schwert auszurotten, indem diese die Mutter aller Laster wäre, und solche Leute eine viel härtere Strafe verdienten, als Diebe, Rauber, Mörder. Ja, er erlaubt sogar, auch die unschuldigen Kinder und Weiber, selbst das Vieh solcher Menschen zu erwürgen, und beruft sich dabei auf das Alte Testament, wo es Gott schon geboten habe. Da nun aber das Neue Testament in der Gottesfurcht noch weiter gehen solle, müsste die Strafe für ein solches Vergehen mindestens eben so gross sein, wie im Alten, wo nicht grösser. Den Einwurf, dass Christus solche Grausamkeit doch nicht geboten habe, widerlegt er damit, dass er sagt, zu Christi Zeiten hätten die Obrigkeiten das Evangelium noch nicht angenommen gehabt: er habe es ihnen auch nicht gebieten können."—Karl Hagen, l. c. tom. ii. p. 157. See Dialogi, oder Gespräche von den gemeinsamen und den Kirchen-Übungen, und was jeder Obrigkeit von Amtswegen aus göttlichem Befehle, an denselben zu versehen und zu bessern gebüre: 1525.

we were to employ even the gibbet: against the dissenter intolerance is a duty."¹

The confiscation of the goods of the clergy, an attack on the rights of property, followed the common law of every revolutionary measure, and was accompanied by tumults, violent pillage, the fury of the victors and blood of the vanquished, when the latter, using their right of lawful defence, endeavoured to repel force by force, or when, indifferent to the perishable goods of this life, they contended with words alone, in name of their faith and their conscience. A great number of priests repeated the noble example of the Christians of the primitive Church, suffered the justice of men to take its course, and surrendered without a murmur all that excited their covetousness. We have the songs of triumph of some Protestant historians for our authorities.

At Bremen, in Lent, the citizens got up a masquerade, in which the pope, cardinals, and monks figured. They raised on the place of execution a pile whereon all these Catholic personifications were thrown and consumed amidst shouts of delight; the rest of the day was spent in celebrating with full libations the downfall of the papacy.²

At Zwickau, on Shrove-Tuesday, they drew across the market-place hare-nets, into which monks and nuns, hunted by the students, fell and were caught. At a short distance was the statue of St. Francis tarred and feathered. The historian glories in this insult as a victory, and concludes with these words his account of the day's proceedings: "Thus fell at Zwickau the papacy; thus at length shone forth the pure light of the Gospel."³ He adds that a band of citizens attacked a convent,

¹ "Zum falschen Glauben solle man allerdings Niemanden zwingen, und geschehe es, so dürfe man Widerstand leisten; aber gegen diejenigen, die selber den falschen Glauben haben, das heisse, einen andern als die orthodoxe Partei, soll man mit Strafen verfahren dürfen, selbst mit Todesstrafe. Die Unduldsamkeit gegen Andersgläubige ist eine Pflicht."—Buch wider die Täufer, p. 94. See also, for the development of this doctrine, Bucer's work, *Schutzschrift wider des Wiener Bischofs Johannis (Faber) Trostbüchlein*, welches er von dem wunderbarlichen, neu erlangten Siege herausgab. Füssli, Beiträge, tom. iv. p. 304.

² Arnold, tom. xvi. cap. vi.

³ "Also ist das Papetthum abgeschafft, und hingegen die reine evangelische Lehre fortgepflanzt worden."—§ 14, ch. vii. § 12.

the gates of which they broke, pillaged the chests and treasury, tossed the books out of the windows, and smashed all the glass. The authorities took no notice of it, and did not even exhibit a hypocritical indignation by denouncing these shocking outrages to the country.¹

At Stralsund, one day, some wretches took it into their heads to expel with stones the monks and nuns from their convents. The duke seized upon the goods which they had been forced to abandon, and confiscated them for the greater glory of God.²

Moreover, at Elemberg, the clergyman's house was given up to pillage for some hours, and one of the students, an actor in this drama which excited the laughter of the mob, clothed himself in the curate's vestments, and, seated upon an ass, rode into the church.³

Sometimes we imagine that we are reading one of Cicero's orations against Verres. The proconsul of Sicily was not more ingenious than duke John of Saxony, Frederick's successor, in pillaging a monastery. Some days before opening the campaign, he sent to demand the registers of the monastery, then he went with a strong company of soldiers, surrounded the house, summoned the abbot, and the prince, with the register in his hand, caused him to deliver up the treasures which he had marked.⁴ Such an example was not without imitation,—at Rostock, for example; there the senators in their official costume took possession of the convent in the name of the city, and put its seal on the stolen articles.

At Magdeburg, the council of the consular magistrates acted with clemency, put a stop to the pillage, and decreed that the monks during their lives should remain in their cells, and continue to be supported at the expense of the house, on condition that they would throw off their religious habit and embrace the Reformation.⁵ Hunger made numerous apostates; many monks

¹ Id. Arnold, l. c. tom. ii. lib. xvi. cap. vi.

² Arnold, tom. ii. lib. xv. cap. ix. § 14, cap. vi. p. 59. Dr. Gust. Ludw. Baden (*Geschichte des dänischen Reichs*), Plank, and other Protestant historians, have given very long details of the spoliation of the religious houses.

³ Das Resultat meiner Wanderungen, &c. von Julius Höninghaus, p. 339.

⁴ Arnold, l. c. tom. i. cap. 16, quoted by Höninghaus, p. 341.

⁵ Marheineke, *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation*, tom. ii. p. 41.

consented to exchange exile or misery for the gospel of Luther : and such were the victories recorded by the Reformers and boasted of afterwards. There is an old chronicle, printed at Torgau in 1524, in which Leonard Kœppe and some young students of the city narrate a nocturnal expedition against the Franciscan monastery, speak of the rebellious monks whom they threw out of the windows, and of the nuns whom they spared because they were silent.¹

Luther at last thundered against these disorders which compromised his cause in Germany ; one day he exclaimed : " Who knows whether, at the last day, one of these monks will not be our judge ? " ² As if he had not excited the passions of the people and the fury of the nobles against the religious houses ! He wished, now that he was sure of the support of the Reformed princes, that they should compassionate a monk who, according to him, was an incarnation of every sin ; that they should spare some of them, while he regretted that he could not toss the pope into the flames, as he had done his arms.³ He wished that they would spare a Franciscan, when he laughed at the mere idea of seeing the pope, the cardinals, and their associates tied to the pillory, with their tongues pulled out.⁴ He wished that the hands of undisciplined students would leave untouched the windows of the religious houses, while he had invoked on the monasteries the fires of heaven, the flames of hell, the leprosy of St. Anthony, and the plagues and boils of ancient Egypt, to punish in their inmates a reason fallen so low as to ignore itself.⁵ He wished that they should repress the violence of the populace,

¹ Hœninghaus, l. c.

² " Es möchte vielleicht unter ihnen einer seyn, der am jüngsten Gericht unser aller Richter seyn möchte. "—Seckendorf, lib. ii. p. 64. Hœninghaus, das Resultat, &c. p. 344.

³ " Dazu mögen wir seine Wappen, da er die Schlüssel führt und seine Krone darauf, mit gutem Gewissen, aufs heimliche Gemach führen, und zur Unterthodturft gebrauchen, darnach ins Feuer werfen ; besser wäre es, den Papst selbst. "—Luther wider das Papetthum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestiftet, tom. viii. : Jenæ, fol. 208—248.

⁴ " Darnach sollte man ihn selbst, den Papst, Kardinal, und was seiner Abgötterei und Heiligkeit Gesindlin ist, nehmen, und ihnen die Zungen hinten zum Hals herausreissen und an den Galgen annageln. "—Ibid.

⁵ " Es möchte wohl Jemand gern fluchen, dass sie der Blitz und Donner erschläge, höllisch Feuer verbrennte, Pestilenz, Franzosen, St. Velten, St. Antoni, Aussatz, Carbunkel und alle Plagen hätten. "—Ibid.

while he continued to exclaim to kings, princes, nobles, and people: "Rome, Urbino, Bologna, and all the lands of the Church are yours; take, in God's name, that which belongs to you."¹ Osiander, Ecolampadius, and many others have reproached him with the rebellion and death of the peasants of Thuringia; but we have no need of invoking the testimony of his disciples, since we find in almost every page of his writings a brutal appeal against the bishops, a furious outcry against the clergy, the sanctification of robbery, and the glorification of rapine. The texts are plain, we have not invented them.

As a deserter from the cause of the people, a renegade from the principle of free inquiry, an apologist and favourer of disputation, Luther required to forgive himself his voluntary apostasies. Thus we see him, at this time, wholly engaged in endeavouring, if possible, to be reconciled with his adversaries.

He writes to the king of England, who wavers in his faith, and is on the point of breaking with Rome, a letter of studied humility,² in which he implores the prince to forget the transports of a monk who repents of his unjust passion; but Henry, too deeply wounded in his literary vanity ever to pardon him, laughs with his courtiers at the interested repentance of the Saxon.

He promises the archbishop of Mayence³ to be silent henceforward, if his grace will only consent to marry;⁴ but the prelate has not the least inclination to break his vows.

He writes to George of Saxony, and beseeches him on his knees to cease his hostility to the doctrines of Wittenberg; but the prince rejects the doctor's prayers, and in a long letter

¹ "Und erstlich nehme man dem Papst Rom, Romandiol, Urbin, Bolonia, und Alles was er hat als ein Papst."—*Ibid.* See *Das Resultat meiner Wanderungen, &c., oder die Nothwendigkeit der Rückkehr zur katholischen Religion, ausschliesslich durch die eigenen Eingeständnisse protestantischer Theologen und Philosophen, dargethan von Dr. Julius Hönigshaus: Aschaffenburg, 1835.* This is a trustworthy book, in which the texts which lead to Catholic unity are extracted from the writings of the Reformers, and in which each of these texts is conscientiously indicated, in its order of chapter, page, line, and number. It has been translated into French, by the title of *La Réforme contre la Réforme*, to which I have added a Preface (2 vols. 8vo.).

² September, 1525. De Wette, tom. ii.

³ Luther an den Erzbischof Albrecht, 2 June, 1525. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 673.

⁴ 22 December, 1825. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 55.

reproaches Luther with the blood of the peasants, the churches profaned, the clergy reduced to beggary, the dishonoured virgins, the faithful monks exiled, the incest which stalks through the streets, the barefaced idolatry, the cities burned by the peasants, the infidelity taught in the professors' chairs, the impiety which prevails in the country districts, and asks him if it is possible to be reconciled to the man who has delivered over Germany to all these scourges.

"Keep your Gospel," says George, with a soldier's frankness : "I keep mine, which the Church of Christ has received and given to me."¹

CHAPTER XV.

ABOLITION OF THE CATHOLIC WORSHIP.

The Children in Germany were instructed by the religious.—After the secularization of the monks, the education of the people was entirely neglected.—Luther's complaints of the neglect of the reformed princes to instruct the rising generation.—Visitations of the communities recommended by the reformer.—The prince selects the visitors.—The clergyman now only an instrument in the hands of the civil power.—Disorganization of the Catholic worship effected by Luther, with consent of the princes.—The Gregorian chant abolished.—German songs appointed in place of our hymns and prose.—Is it true that Luther was the first in his laic strains to glorify the blood of Christ?

BEFORE the Reformation, there were attached to every religious house schools where Catholicism summoned the children of the poor for food and instruction; from these pious asylums proceeded all the great lights of the sixteenth century in Germany: Luther, Erasmus, Cœcolampadius, Zwinglius, Eck, Faber, Bucer. The first book in which children were taught to read was the Bible, which was not a sealed volume, although Luther has said so,² but of which the text was explained by an oral interpretation. This commentary was always the same; the dogmatic

¹ This letter of George of Saxony, admirable in all respects, is to be found in Luther's works, Leipsic, 1733, vol. xix. p. 361 et seq.

² Jakob Marx, l. c. p. 173. Tisch-Reden, p. 352, edit. Eisleben, 1566.

text, in all the Catholic latitude, had a uniform sense ; it was the same sentiment, only portrayed to the eyes by different signs.

Now it happened that, when the bishops were expelled from their sees, the priests from their presbyteries, and the monks and nuns from their convents, the children were deprived both of mental and bodily food. Luther denounced the desertion of the clergy by the nobility and citizens, who only cared for their own comforts, and had no regard for the glory of the Gospel. Strange astonishment of the Saxon apostle ! here observes a Protestant historian. Luther complains that they forget to pay tithes to his clergy, when he has incessantly preached that poverty is the lot of every Christian who has taken for his model Jesus and his apostles !¹

At the sight of all these princes who, under Luther's eye, permitted thus to die of hunger the very people whom they had robbed of their wealth, some electors were moved. But while supplying food for the body, they believed that it was their province to distribute the spiritual manna, to supply the place of bishop, priest, and monk ; to point out the aliment necessary for the soul, the form of worship, the order of the ceremonies, and the internal policy of the churches.² They wished also to regulate the teaching without the assistance of the priesthood. It was Luther who from the outset had encouraged this strange pretension of the civil power, by his complaints in an eloquently bitter diatribe on the neglect of the Gospel.

"I should not be astonished," he said, "if God were at last to open the doors and windows of hell, and snow and hail clouds of devils, or shower upon our heads sulphur and flames from heaven, and bury us in gulfs of fire, like Sodom and Gomorrha. Had Sodom and Gomorrha received the gifts which have been granted to us, if they had had our visions and heard our preachings, they would have been still standing : they were, however, a thousand times less guilty than Germany, for they had not received the word of God from their preachers. And we who have received and heard it, only seek to rise up against God. Undisciplined minds compromise the word of God, and the rich

¹ Menzel, l. c. tom. i. p. 231.

² Jak. Marx, *Die Ursachen*, &c. pp. 162—196.

and noble labour to deprive him of his glory, so that we have our deserts—the wrath of the Eternal! Others turn aside their hands and refuse to pay their clergy and their preachers, and even to support them. If Germany is to act thus, I blush to be one of her sons or speak her language; and if I might silence the voice of my conscience, I would call in the pope, and assist him and his minions to enchain and torture us again. Formerly, when we were in the service of Satan and profaned the blood of Christ, their purses were open; they had gold wherewith to endow churches, erect seminaries, and support superstition. Then nothing was spared to place children in convents and make them go to school; but now that we require to build religious schools, and endow the Church of Christ,—no, not endow, but assist in preserving it! for it is the Lord who has built that Church, and who watches over her,—now that we know the sacred word, and have learnt to honour the blood of our martyred God, their purses are closed with iron padlocks. Nobody will give anything! The children are neglected, and no one will let them be taught to serve God, or venerate the blood of Jesus, while they are cheerfully sacrificed to Mammon!¹ The blood of Jesus is trampled under foot! And these are Christians! No more schools, no more cloisters; the herb is withered and the flower fallen! (Isaiah vii.) Now that carnal men are sure that they will no longer see their sons or their daughters sent into cloisters, reft of their patrimony, there is no one to educate the young. ‘Why should they be taught,’ say they, ‘since they are neither to be priests nor monks?’ Were ten Moses’ to lift their hands and bend their knees for us, their voices would not be heard; and were I to supplicate Heaven for my beloved country, God would reject my prayer; it would not reach his throne. God will save Lot and destroy Sodom.

“Since the fall of the papacy, with its excommunications and spiritual punishments, the people despise the Scriptures; care for the churches no longer disquiets them; they have ceased to fear and honour God. It is therefore the duty of the

¹ An die Rathsherrn aller Städte Deutschlands, dass sie die christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen.—Menzel, l. c. tom. i. p. 281.

elector, as supreme head of the state, to watch over and protect the sacred work, which every one abandons ; it is his duty to compel the cities and towns which have the means of doing so, to found schools and chairs of theology, and support the clergy, in the same way as they are bound to make bridges, highways, and monuments. I should wish, if it were possible, to leave these men without pastors, and let them live like swine. There is no longer either fear or love of God ; the pope's yoke has been broken, and each lives as he likes. But it is the duty of us all, and chiefly of the prince, to train up children in the fear and love of the Lord, and to give them teachers and pastors : the old people, if they do not wish such, may go to the devil ! But it would be disgraceful for the civil power to leave the young to wallow in the mire." ¹

He added, that if the district was not rich enough to raise schools at its own cost, it would be necessary to take for that purpose what remained of the property of the monasteries, which had been intended originally for the sole purpose of advancing the Gospel and learning ; and that a cry of execration would be raised if the academies and presbyteries were allowed to fall, and the nobility appropriated the treasures of the monasteries to their own use exclusively. He wished that the elector would name a commission of four persons to visit the countries which had embraced the Reformation, two of whom should superintend the administration of the property of the religious houses, the tithes and dues, and the other two the instruction and selection of the masters.

This project was for a long time unapplied ; for the elector was not sufficiently powerful yet thus to play with the clerical prerogatives. At a later period, in 1527, the prince, who had nothing more to fear from Rome, and who could without risk brave the emperor, then in Italy, desired to free himself from the rule of the Catholic clergy, and his most effective mode was immediately to apply Luther's theories of reform in the organization of the parishes. A commission of clergy and laymen was accordingly appointed, the members of which were selected by

¹ Luther's Werke, edit. Altenburg, tom. iii. p. 519. Reinhard's sämtliche Reformationspredigten, tom. iii. p. 445.

the elector, for visiting the districts and attending to their spiritual administration. These visitors had for their mission to scrutinize the lives, the morals, and the doctrines of the clergy, with power, if necessary, to depose and excommunicate them. If a clergyman so degraded had to complain of the sentence of his judges, his appeal lay to his highness the elector, who, in this case, discharged the office of king and pope.

Thenceforward, the political power was charged with watching over the choice of the clergy, the preaching of the Gospel, oral and written instruction, the worship and the liturgy.¹

The lawyers encouraged the encroachments of the civil power, which was not slow in destroying the old Catholic franchises. Luther had to deplore the abasement of the evangelical minister, who could not move in his church except at the will of the magistrate, whom he had first chosen as his protector, and who ended by becoming his master, and an arbitrary one. He endeavoured to protest in the name of the Gospel; but the historian Menzel, who has carefully traced the progressive advances of these political usurpations, sagely observes that Luther's voice had then no longer its former influence, and remained without an echo.²

"Our Gospel," said he in 1536, "teaches the necessity of separating the two policies, civil and religious; they ought not to be mixed or combined; the Church and the city are two distinct administrations, and the magistrate and the priest exercise two independent powers which ought not to be confounded, according to the recommendation of St. Paul, who says that we ought not to be *allotrio episcopi*, that is to say, the curators or inspectors of others. Christ first established this division, and experience has taught us that there is no peace to be hoped for, when the magistrate or the state invades the priesthood, and when the priesthood desires to exercise the functions of the magistrate!"³ This was not what he at first taught.

He had not perceived that in the new Church the pastor's dependence was a consequence of the mode of his ordination,

¹ The same theories prevailed at Geneva under Calvin. See the second volume of my History of Calvin.

² Menzel, l. c. tom. i. p. 239.

³ Luther's Werke: Walch. Ausg. tom x. p. 1965.

such as the doctor had settled it. In 1523, the Bohemians consulted him on the form of clerical institution to be followed in the Church of Christ, and Luther replied to them: "Assemble and proceed, in the name of the Lord, to select him whom you shall deem worthy of your votes; impose your hands on him and confirm him, and acknowledge him as your bishop or pastor."¹ What ensued from this form of ordination established by Luther? That the civil power, who necessarily exercised the police of the districts, might, when it pleased, prevent such assemblies, and, if it permitted them, direct the election at its pleasure; and that the pastor was only considered by those who elected him, as the servant of the parish. In a case where the pastor had appealed from it to the bishop of the diocese to confirm his election, they threatened him with deposition.²

At the same time when he appealed against the intervention of the civil power in the internal government of the Church, Luther was labouring to disorganize all the original forms of the Catholic worship.

Throughout Saxony there was no more chanting, incense, or lights on the altar; the walls of the churches were stripped bare; the light no longer streamed through stained windows, for they had smashed them, under the pretext that they tended to idolatry. The Protestant church resembled everything but the house of God. This anti-symbolic spirit is at the present day severely censured by Protestants!

Yet Luther attempted occasionally to oppose the follies of the sectaries, and give some forms of life to his new Church. He preserved, at first, of the Catholic baptism the salt which the priest puts on the infant's lips, the oil with which he anoints its shoulders, and the cross with which he signs its head.³ Subsequently, of these rites he only retained exorcism and the sign

¹ "Convocatis et convenientibus liberè quorum corda Deus tetigerit, ut vobiscum unum sentiant et sapiant, procedatis in nomine Domini et eligite quem et quos volueritis, qui digni et idonei visi fuerint; confirmetis et commendetis, eos populo et ecclesiæ seu universitati, sicutque hoc ipso vestri episcopi, ministri, seu pastores."—Lutherus de instituendis Ministris Ecclesiæ, ad clarissimum Senatam Pragensem. Opera: Jenæ, tom. ii. p. 554.

² Dorfmaister und Gemeind zu Wendelstains Fürhalten den Amptleuten zu Schwobach iren newangeenden Pfarrherrn, gethan Mittw. nach Galli, 1524. Abgedruckt in Riederers Nachrichten zur Bürgergeschichte, tom. ii. p. 334.

³ Seckendorf, Comm. de Luther, lib. iii. p. 253.

of the cross.¹ He blamed the confidence placed in Mary ; and from the salutation he struck out the *Ora pro nobis*.²

In 1521, the chapter of Wittemberg, in Luther's absence, abolished the Mass ; but the people murmured. Luther replaced it, no longer as a private sign of oblation, but as an indifferent ceremony. He expunged from it both the offertory, the canon, and all the forms of the sacrifice, preserving the elevation of the bread and wine by the priest, the priest's salutation to the congregation, the mingling of water with the wine, and the use of the Latin language.

He was undecided whether to abolish or preserve auricular confession.³ He deprived it, however, of its Catholic character. The penitent approached the minister, and said: "I have sinned;" and that was sufficient. There was no enumeration of faults ; in Luther's eyes, there was no gradation in sin ; and falsehood and murder were offences equal in degree against God.

In the hands of the ministers whom he ordained, and whom he set at the head of his churches, confession, such as Wittemberg had even wished to retain it, was no more obligatory. They confessed who wished to do so. In a pastoral to his parishioners of Wittemberg, Bugenhagen maintains that there is something in the act of confession preferable to the *absolvo te*. This is the preaching of the Gospel: "To absolve is none other than to preach the Gospel."⁴

At one time Luther, in his character of "ecclesiastes" of Wittemberg, was stunned with projects of reformation. These reformers were thorough levellers. Hausmann devised an ordination by breathing, without any other ceremony. Justus Jonas denounced as devilish a mass wherein a single word of Latin was pronounced. Amsdorf retained excommunication, which he hurled at a poor barber, whose crime Luther could not divine.⁵ A preacher of Ollnitz wished to remodel the Liturgy after his own fashion, that is to say, wrote Luther, to throw his old

¹ Ibid. p. 234. Das Taufbüchlein. ² Kurze Auslegung des Ave-Maria.

³ De Ratione confitendi, Op. Luth. tom. iv. Alt. i. Jen.

⁴ "Aus diesen Worten ist klar, das Absolution sprechen ist nichts anders als das Evangelium verkündigen."

⁵ To Nic. Amsdorf, July, 1532.

shoes out of the window before he has purchased a pair of new ones.¹

Luther uplifted his voice in vain ; it was unheard. To please some infatuated people, he consented that they should mingle with the Latin chants songs in the German language.

He himself composed some to replace our hymns and proses, those precious remains of the poetry of the first ages of Christianity. In place of these melodies, so soft, so beautiful, sometimes grave and austere, by turns joyous and melancholy, according to the occasion, the Protestant churches had only a drawling medley. The reformed Church then lost a whole cycle of poems, inspirations, and symbols of the Catholic muse.

In 1525, Luther wrote to the Christians of Strasburg : " We can boast of being the first who have revealed Christ."² Our sacred hymns flatly contradict him.

In the prose, "*Veni sancte Spiritus*," the Church sings : " Without thee, there is nothing pure on this earth :"—

*" Sine tuo numine
Nihil est in homine,
Nihil est innoxium."*

In the hymn of St. Thomas, "*Adoro te devote latens deitas*," the sinner exclaims : " Let but a drop of thy blood fall, and the world will be saved :"—

*" Cujus una stilla saluum facere
Totum mundum quit ab omni scelere."*

Listen to the ancient choral which the Church intones on the grave of the dead, "*Dies iræ*," the strains of which made Mozart weep : " Terrible Majesty, thou freely savest :"—

*" Rex tremendæ majestatis
Qui salvando salvas gratis,
Salva me fons pietatis."*

Such were the songs of the Saxon Church before Luther ;³ magnificent testimony of its ancient faith ; admirable harmonies, heavenly poems, which the Reformer banished from his Liturgy,

¹ To Michel Van der Strassen, 1523.

² "*Christus à nobis primò vulgatum audemus gloriari.*"—Joh. Pappo, in der Widerlegung des Zweibrückischen Berichts, p. 427.

³ See also the following hymns : *Christe Redemptor omnium* ; *Conditor alme siderum* ; *Audi benigne conditor* ; *Ad ocnam agni* ; *Jesu nostra Redemptio* ; *Victimæ paschali laudes* ; *Lauda*, *Sion*, *Salvatorem* ; *Jesu dulcis memoria*, &c.

to substitute for them songs which have been constantly repatched, like old clothes, without regard for the monk's inspiration !

We remember his hymn on setting out, when the emperor summoned him to Worms ; before his time the Saxon nation sung in its own idiom songs full of simple grace. There is one which is still sung on Christmas-eve, the melody of which entrances the stranger's ear: "To us a little child is born."¹ Luther erred greatly in touching these sacred relics.

Listen for a moment to those songs of admiration which Protestant Germany raises in honour of the harmonies of our ancient worship.

"When a poor pilgrim, worn out by fatigue, but with cheerful heart, kneels on the altar steps to thank Him who has preserved him from the dangers of a long journey ; when an afflicted mother enters the empty church to pray for her beloved son, of whose recovery the physicians have despaired ; when, at evening, as the last rays of the setting sun shoot through the storied pane athwart the figure of a girl at prayer ; when the flickering light of the tapers gently dies away on two lines of white-robed priests singing the praises of the Eternal ; ah ! tell me if Catholicism then does not proclaim to us, in eloquent tones, that life should be but one constant prayer ; that art and imagination should unite in glorifying God, and that the church, in which so many hymns are simultaneously raised, and adoration assumes every possible human shape, has a right to our love and our respect."²

"Admirable ceremonial, full of harmony ! diamond, that

¹ "Ein Kindelein so löblich,
Ist uns geboren heute,
Von einer Jungfrau reiniglich
Zum Trost uns armen Leuten :
Wär uns das Kindelein nicht geboren,
So wären wir allzumahl verlohren,
Das Heil ist unser aller.
Ey du süßer Jesu Christ,
Weil für uns Mensch worden bist,
Behüt uns für die Hölle."

The antiquity of this canticle is acknowledged ; 1st, in the *Examen Des Heidelbergischen Berichts*, p. 388 ; 2ndly, in the *Christliches Gesangbuch*, p. 86.

² Clausen, quoted by Hœninghaus, *ch. x. tom. ii.* .

sparkles in the coronet of faith ! Whoever is of a poetic cast of mind, cannot fail to be attracted to Catholicism.”¹

“How charming is its music !² how it speaks to the soul and the senses ! Who can doubt that these vocal and instrumental melodies, these hymns which breathe of the spirit, these clouds of incense, these chimes which a disdainful philosophy affects to despise, must be pleasing to God. Architects and sculptors, you are right to ennoble your art in building churches and altars to the Divinity.”³

“The Catholic church, with its doors open at all hours of the day, with its ever-burning lamps, its voices of sorrow or rejoicing, its hosannas and lamentations, its hymns, its masses, its festivals, and its memories, resembles a mother who extends her arms to receive her prodigal child ; it is a fountain of sweet water, round which are assembled numbers to imbibe from it vigour, life, and health.”⁴

A Franciscan was kneeling before a fresco painting of Christ on the wall of his cloister, admirable for its truth and beauty of expression. He rose at the approach of a stranger.

“Brother, that is truly beautiful !” said the traveller to the monk. “Yes ; but the original is more so,” said the monk smiling. “Then why do you make use of a material image in prayer ?” said the traveller. “I see you are a Protestant,” replied the friar ; “but do you not perceive that the artist modulates and purifies the fancies of my imagination ? Have you never prayed without your fancy assuming a thousand different shapes ? I prefer infinitely, in such a matter, the work of a great master to that of my own fancy.” And the traveller was silent.⁵

“The custom of visiting the graves of the departed on the 1st and 2nd of November is as beautiful as it is ancient. The peasants in the country flock to the cemeteries ; they kneel

¹ Isidor (Count of Lœben), *Lotosblätter*, 1817, tom. i. quoted by Hœninghaus, ch. x. tom. ii.

² *Bemerkungen während meines Aufenthalts in Frankreich, im Winter 1815, 1816.*

³ *Leibn. Syst. Theol.* p. 205.

⁴ Von Lœben, *Lotosblätter*, 1817, tom. i.

⁵ Ch. Fr. D. Schubart, *Leben und Gesinnungen* : Stuttgart, 1791.

before a wooden cross, or other funereal emblems ; they think on the past, on the shortness of life ; then the dead are crowned with flowers, emblematical of the life that is eternal ; the lamp burns, to remind us of the light which shall never be extinguished.”¹

“ How blind were our reformers ! In destroying most of the allegories of the Catholic Church, they imagined that they were making war with superstition. It was the abuse that they ought to have proscribed.”² Luther mistook the spirit of Christianity. Protestants acknowledge this.

Descend from heaven, O Mary, ideal of maternal love ; listen to our hymns of love ; Fetzler wishes to restore your ancient festivals ! Arise, Ervin von Steinbach and Michael Angelo Buonarotti, and pile to the skies a new spire of Strasburg, a new dome of St. Peter's ; for, as De Wette has said, everything that is great elevates the soul to heaven, and places it in communion with God, and all which is exalted sings the glory of the Lord. Sculptors and painters, fill our churches with statues and pictures ! Are not images the illustrated Bible of the people ? says Wohlfart ; and what is a flower, a tree, a wave, a star, and the whole universe, but magnificent mirrors, in which the power and the goodness of the Creator shine ? Small village-bell, continue to call to matin and vesper prayer, because at thy gentle tinkling the labourer uncovers his head to give his heart to him who bestows on him his daily bread. Hail, simple wooden cross, which the pious hand of the peasant rears on the road-side ! M. Henry, author of the “ Life of Calvin,” deplotes that the iconoclasts of the sixteenth century have torn you down, under the false pretext of idolatry. Maiden, fear not to kneel before the image of your patron saint ; of this be certain, that you commit no sin in the eyes of your Maker by contemplating in one of these blessed creatures the power of faith and the empire of reason over the senses. Fear not to be present with your family at every festival of the Church : have the poor eaten their bread cheaper since Protestants abolished the feasts hallowed by Catholicism ? Catholic churches, preserve your splendid Liturgy, for, as Clausen has said, it is not the principle of

¹ C. Spindler, *Zeitspiegel*. L. 1791.

² Fetzler, *Theresia*, tom. ii. p. 101.

Christianity to break the ties which unite the soul to the body, matter to spirit. In the ages of faith the Gospel manifested itself in the domains of art, and was reflected in the sacred style of architecture, the harmonies of music, and the poetic creations of painting. No ! the Gospel desires not a worship that only recognises in the Christian a being purely intellectual and bodiless, and repels the wants of the material senses, instead of purifying and ennobling them. What then ! the omnipotent word of the Redeemer requires works to quicken the spirit, and shall we reject symbols, those truly external miracles ?¹

CHAPTER XVI.

MORAL AND LITERARY INFLUENCES OF THE REFORMATION.

Accusations of intolerance, suppression, and falsehood, brought against the reformers by Erasmus.—He has not told us all.—Fatal influences of the Reformation on morals and literature, admitted by Luther, Melancthon, Pirkheimer, and others.

THERE was a time in Germany when error, triumphant, might have loudly proclaimed, without fear of contradiction, that the Reformation had ennobled mankind, purified society, and revived learning ; that Luther deserved to be blessed as a messenger from Heaven, because he had regenerated the understanding, enlarged the sphere of knowledge, and destroyed superstition. Then no voice in Wittemberg would have dared, as Cochläus has told us, to repel these calumnies against Catholicism, which had not printing to refute them. Three centuries later, these identical falsehoods were openly crowned in the Institute, and the book in which they were printed, and which outraged truth and taste alike, was extolled as the work of a philosopher and genius.

At the present day, who would subscribe to the statements of M. Charles Villers ? A few years have done justice to his admirations and paradoxes !

¹ The original texts of these quotations are contained in the work of Hœninghaus, *Das Resultat*, &c. ch. x. of the translation, vol. ii.

So it was in Luther's time. After the death of Erasmus, when religious rancours began to be softened, the correspondence of the philosopher was published by Froben, of Baale, very indifferent to the Catholic dogmas, nevertheless, and justice, therefore, was done to the foolish pretensions of the Reformation. Coch-læus might have been suspected, Erasmus could not be : let us hear, then, what this princely intellect says :—

“ I love to hear Luther¹ say that he does not wish the priests and monks, who have no means of existence, to be stripped of their revenues. At Strasburg, perhaps ;² but anywhere else ? It is truly enough to make one laugh : they will support those who throw off the frock ; the devil may take those who would keep it ! It is still more ludicrous to hear them protest that they intend no harm to any one What do they mean ? Is it not doing harm to expel canons from their churches, monks from their cloisters, and rob bishops and abbots of their wealth ?³

“ We do not kill them ! Whose fault is that ?—of those who prudently make their escape ? Neither do pirates kill, if they are not resisted !

“ We suffer our enemies to live peaceably among us. Whom do you call your enemies ?—all the Catholics ? And our bishops and priests, do you believe them to be safe in the heart of your cities ? If you are so gentle, so tolerant, wherefore so much emigration ? why these general complaints that ascend to heaven ?

“ They are allowed to reside among us, protected by the law of nations. Yes, if you do not subscribe to our teaching, you shall receive nothing ; you wish that they should not go a pilgrimage on some day in the year ! you wish them not to hear mass, or communicate in a Catholic chapel, else they shall be fined ! If, at Eastertide, you do not approach our holy table, beware of the sentence of the magistrates !

“ None hate dissensions more than we do ; our whole desire is to maintain peace with the powers of the earth. Why, then, pull down the churches which they have built ?

¹ In *Pseud-Evangelicos*, lib. xxxi. ep. 47 : Lond. Fleisher.

² Erasmus was mistaken ; Capito, at Strasburg, occupied the presbyterium of St. Peter the Less, from which the curate had been expelled.

³ Another mistake ; Sickingen and the iron gauntlets mutilated and slew the monks and priests.

"When the princes command impiety, we content ourselves with paying no attention to their orders. Impiety! you mean to say, what is displeasing to you? But do you forget, then, that you have refused to Charles V. and Ferdinand the necessary subsidies for war against the Turks, following the advice of Luther, who now retracts it? Have the evangelists not uttered these strange opinions,—that they would prefer to fight rather for the infidel Turk than for the baptized one, that is to say, for the emperor? Is it not enough to make one die of laughter? You say: 'To him who smites you on the right cheek, turn the left; to him who takes your cloak, give your coat.' And I myself know a person who was thrown into prison for some word he let fall against your clergy, and another whom they were on the point of putting to death. I need not speak of the mildness of Zwinglius.¹ If you practise so well the precepts of the Gospel, why this shower of pamphlets with which you pelt each other?—Zwinglius against Emser; Luther against the king of England, Duke George, and the emperor; Jonas against Faber;² Hutten and Luther against Erasmus?

"These people disseminate calumnies profusely. One of them says he knew a canon who stated that not a single strumpet was to be found in Zurich, whilst before the advent of Zwinglius there were an immense number. I showed the letter to the canon in question, and he assured me, with a smile of contempt, that such a word had never proceeded from his lips. With similar candour, they charge another priest with keeping company with females, although I, who am his intimate friend, affirm, and all who know him will testify the same of him, that he is irreproachable in his words and actions. They say so of the canon, because he has a very bad opinion of these sectaries; and of the priest, because, having at first inclined to their doctrines, he soon renounced them.

"They calumniate me, because I constantly assert that their gospel has frozen the desire for learning; and they quote against me Nuremberg, where the professors are largely endowed. Be it so; but ask the inhabitants, and they will tell you that these

¹ The curate of Einsiedlen said, with respect to Felix Manz, the Anabaptist: "Qui iterum mergunt, mergantur."—Limborch. Int. p. 71.

² Faber is known by his book, *De Antilogiis Lutheri*.

professors have scarcely any scholars ; that the master is as reluctant to teach as the pupil is to attend the lecture ; so that it will be necessary to pension both scholar and teacher. I know not what all these schools in towns and cities will produce ; but, down to the present moment, can you point out a single one who has come forth from them with the slightest tinge of learning ?

“ How can one help being indignant, when we see these men of yesterday compare themselves to Christ and the apostles ; boasting proudly of announcing the Lord, proclaiming the truth, and diffusing a taste for learning, as if they had found among us neither Christianity, nor knowledge, nor Gospel ? You hear them speak of popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, and monks ; according to them, these are beings of infamous lives, and of devilish doctrines. They celebrate, in glowing terms, the moral purity, innocence, and piety of their disciples ! as if I could not instance many of their cities where libertinism and adultery openly strut ; as if Luther had not been compelled to send missionaries to reclaim a whole nation who had plunged into licentiousness ; as if the doctor had not confessed that he would infinitely prefer to return to the old yoke of the papists and monks, than make common cause with these dissolute men ; as if Melancthon had not made the same admission, and Ecolampadius also ! You hear them tell you that they walk in the light of the Holy Ghost. But that light, when it does illuminate, shines in the actions, the eye, and countenance of the person so inspired. If Zwinglius and Bucer are so filled with this breath from above, why do we not find among us Catholics these privileged individuals ? ”

Such is the elevated language which truth elicits from a writer who at first showed himself so favourable to Luther.

And the philosopher has not told us all. We finish the picture, making use almost invariably of the evidence of contemporary Protestants.

Luther and Melancthon set out from Wittemberg to visit the countries from which Catholicism had been expelled ; but what a sight was presented to their sorrowful gaze !—the majority of the parishes that had embraced the new doctrines had no pastors.¹ In the villages, the Protestant ministers had scarcely the means

¹ Melancthon Camerario, *Corpus Ref.* tom. i. p. 881.

of existence. On their return, Melancthon and Luther made bitter complaints ;¹ but the elector John paid no heed to them. "No persons in the world have less regard for the Gospel," wrote Melancthon sorrowfully to his friend Myconius, "than those princes who have so pompously declared themselves its protectors."² And he adds with tears: "How much we have been to blame in introducing theology to their courts! I never desired anything so ardently as to escape as soon as possible from their deadly dwellings."³

Internal dissensions disturbed the quiet of the communities ; everywhere in the new parsonages reigned pride, covetousness, and ambition. Every town of any small importance had its own Lutheran pope.⁴ At Nuremberg, Osiander made himself remarkable by his pomp and intolerance. For him and his friend the revenues of bishops were needed. Their allowance at first was a hundred crowns of gold, they demanded one hundred and fifty ; their residence was splendid, their table princely. They were not satisfied : they exacted two hundred crowns of gold per annum.⁵ One of the ministers of Nuremberg, Thomas Venatorius, was nearly losing his place for making some wise remonstrances on the scandalous exactions of his colleagues.⁶

Osiander was fond of show. He resembled a comedian in the

¹ Luther an den Churfürsten Johann, De Wette, tom. ii. p. 245.

² Melancthon Myconio, Corpus Reform. tom. ii. p. 259.

³ "Valde peccavimus quòd in aulam importavimus theologiam ; quare nihil in vitâ ardentius optavi ut me quamprimum ex his aulicis deliberationibus prorsus vel cum magno meo incommodo expediam."—To Dietrich Veit. Corp. Reform. tom. ii. p. 259.

⁴ "Allenthalben streben sie nach Einfluss und Macht : fast jede Stadt und jeder Ort hat seinen lutherischen Papst."—Karl Hagen, l. c. p. 187.

⁵ "Sunt apud nos concionatores bini qui sub initium centum aureorum stipendio ac victu lauto pro se et famulis sunt professi ; cæterum, quum viderent se jam populo persuasisse, centum quinquaginta exegerunt, ac paulò post ultra habitationem propriam et victum splendidum, ducentos petiere aureos, aut se abituros sunt minati."—Pirkheimer Phrygio, Strobel, Beiträge, tom. i. p. 495.

⁶ "Quibus vero cauponationem verbi hanc obscenam displicere sensere, in eos egregiè declamarunt. Venatorius noster nullo victu, sed centum aureorum stipendio tantum concionatur, vir profectò bonus et eruditus, cui quoque multa quum displicerent, nec is ob ingenii bonitatem dissimulare sciat, quibusdam admodum est exosus, et ni hucusque amici prohibuissent, jampridem ob multam causam esse exautoratus."—Ibid.

pulpit ; his clothes were of the finest cloth, and his fingers were covered with rings.¹

The majority of the new preachers ascended the pulpit without previous preparation, and gave forth whatever came to their lips ; when inspiration failed them, they amused themselves in decrying their colleagues or parishioners.² " Our ministers," said Melancthon, " only think of obeying their petty passions ; the triumph of their angry vanities is what they everywhere seek."³

What became of that literature of which Dalberg, Scultetus, Albert, and Langus took such pious care in their dioceses before the Reformation ?—it was either neglected or proscribed. Listen for an instant to the lamentations of some of Luther's disciples on the universal abandonment of the sciences, provoked by all those social and religious disputes which the new gospel occasioned in Germany. Eobanus Hessus deplores with his friends the fall of classical studies ;⁴ Glareanus reproaches the clergy of his school with abandoning pagan antiquity, and making a parade of their ignorance ;⁵ Cuspinian, afflicted by seeing that Nuremberg, once the city of artists, thinks of nothing but pepper and saffron,⁶ writes to Pirkheimer : " Mark my words ; I foresee that in a short while the culture of learning will be extinguished. I had hoped that your patricians would have some regard to the ancient sciences ; but I have been deceived. I shall go to sleep like Epimenides, and throw all my poetic inspirations into the fire. Your school which Melancthon raised will not be left standing long."⁷

¹ Bucer. Zwinglius, 13 Aug. 1527. Epist. Zwingl. tom. ii. p. 81. See Liter. Museum, tom. ii. part ii. pp. 184—195.

² " Kommen sie unvorbereitet auf die Kanzel, so sagen sie was ihnen in das Maul kommt ; und haben sie sonst keinen Stoff, so werfen sie sich aufs Schimpfen."—Luther an Balth. Thöring, 16 July, 1528. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 352. See Luther's curious accounts of the Protestant clergy, in his letters to Hausmann of Zwickau, 1529, De Wette, tom. iii. p. 482 ; to Justus Jonas, 1529, ib. p. 469 ; to Hausmann and Cordatus, 1529, ib. p. 439.

³ " Nostri sic indulgent iracundiæ, ut videantur gloriæ suæ inservire."—Melancth. Balth. Thöring, Corpus Reform. tom. i. p. 995.

⁴ Eoban Hess an Jakob Micyllus, Sept. 1525. Epist. Famil. Marb. p. 42. To the same, 1526, ibid. To John Groning, 1 Aug. 1532.

⁵ Glareanus to Pirkheimer, 5 Sept. 1525. Op. Pirk. pp. 316, 317.

⁶ Hess to Sturziades, p. 137 ; to Mycillus, ibid. p. 50. " Quid enim hinc agamus inter tantum mercatores !"

⁷ 25 Jan. 1527. Op. Pirkh. p. 227.

But it is poor Melancthon who suffers in his tenderest affections,—he who had devoted so much sympathy to literature, and who sees it banished from Wittenberg ! The religious quarrels have driven it away. In the eyes of the theologasters, who have the mastery of that disputatious city, the professor of humanity is only a pedant who serves as the butt of their ridicule.¹ Melancthon loses some of his pupils daily,—very different from former times, when his chair was surrounded by crowds of young men greedy to hear the lectures of this distinguished professor. The elector forgets to pay him his salary. “It is a sad time,” exclaims the rhetorician, “in which Homer himself would be constrained to beg for an audience ! I had hoped, my friend, to have attracted them to the deserted benches of the university by the sweet harmonies of the second Olynthian ; for what is more beautiful than that oration of Demosthenes ? But I only see too clearly that our times are deaf to his accents. I scarcely see around me a few pupils who have only from deference to their master not deserted me ; to whom for their good-will I feel indebted.”²

¹ “Hic enim et quidem à nostris amicis indignissimè tractor. Non libet eà de re scribere.”—Camerario, Nov. 1526.

² “Nunc tantus est contemptus optimarum rerum, ut nisi gratis offerantur et quidem prælegantur à paritis, mendicare Homerus auditores cogatur. . . . Speravi me suavitate secundæ Olynthiæ invitaturum esse auditores ad Demosthenem cognoscendum. Quid enim dulcius aut melius eà oratione cogitari potest ? Sed, ut vides, surda est hæc ætas ad hos auditores retinendos. Vix enim paucos retinui auditores qui mei honoris causâ deserere me noluerunt, quibus propter suum erga me officium habeo gratiam.”—Strobel, l. c. tom. ii. pp. 184, 187.

We recommend to our readers the fine literary picture of Germany before the Reformation, sketched by Carl Hagen, in his *Deutschlands litterarische und religiöse Verhältnisse im Reformations-Zeitalter*: Erlangen, 1851, tom. i. They will see what renown the German universities possessed at that time, with what success literature began to be cultivated, and what liberal efforts the Catholic clergy made to diffuse learning. Once more, be it remembered, M. Carl Hagen is not a Catholic.

CHAPTER XVII.

LUTHER'S MARRIAGE. 1525.

Luther's celibacy. — The Catholics foresaw his marriage. — His reply to Argula, who urges him to marry. — Motives which, perhaps, may have induced Luther not to listen to her. — His letter to the archbishop of Mayence. — How he revenges himself on the cardinal who refuses to marry. — Unexpected marriage of Luther. — Letter to Justus Jonas on the subject. — Melancthon's regret. — Rejoicing of the Catholic monks. — Emser's epithalamium. — Conrad Wimpina's caricature. — Erasmus's letters to Mauch of Ulm and Nicholas Everard, president of the high council of Holland, on Catherine's precocious maternity. — Evidence of other writers. — Controversy on Bora's confinement. — The retraction of Erasmus. — What we should think of it. — Henry VIII.'s opinion of Luther's marriage. — Influence of this marriage of the monk.

For those whom Luther had seduced, all hopes of a return to Catholicism were not lost. Carried away at first by that love of novelty to which the heart of man so readily abandons itself, they suddenly stopped, and, astonished at their fall, arose, and armed themselves with doubt as with a mirror. This was the case of Staupitz, Miltisch, Crotus, and so many others,¹ whose defections Luther carefully concealed, and who ended by acknowledging their errors, and becoming reconciled with Catholicism. That was a day of joy to the Church.

The priest was ever on the watch, and on the least sign of repentance or regret on the part of the fallen angel, hastened to reconcile him with God. His voice would have been powerless to reclaim the married monk; the wife was the bond which for ever fettered the apostate to Protestantism. We have in vain searched for an instance of a married priest who, in the religious revolution of the fifteenth century, returned to Catholicism; repentance never even sat by the pillow of the dying man. Erasmus, therefore, did wrong to laugh. Luther knew well that every marriage of a priest bound to the Reformation a

¹ "Ego soleo dissimulare et celare, quantum possum, ubi aliqui nostrum dissentiunt à nobis (quales multos jam agitat nescio quis spiritus)." — Lutherus, Fab. Capitoni, 25 May, 1524.

being who would beget others of his own stamp. We now understand the warfare against celibacy which he commenced at Wartburg, and continued through life. After the pope, Eck, Emser, and Erasmus, Luther had no enemies whom he handled more rudely than celibacy; and so to obtain victory over it, he made use of every weapon,—fury, contempt, sophistry, epigrams, puns, and jests. Sometimes you would fancy it was a guest from a supper of Petronius discoursing of marriage; and you must either extinguish the lights, or screen your face. The curious reader must therefore read the works of Luther in Latin or in German to understand their author; for the monk has not exhausted the subject in his sermon on marriage. There is at Naples a secret museum which in an hour will initiate the traveller in the morals of ancient Rome: Luther's museum very much resembles it; but we cannot venture to act as cicerone there.¹

It was impossible that so petulant a panegyrist of marriage could preserve his vows of chastity and die a bachelor. Luther, who said whatever he felt, never concealed his liking for the women of Saxony, Rhenish wine, and Embeck beer. At Eisenach he sang: "On earth there is nothing sweeter than a woman's love."

While young, he visited the house of a widow where lived a girl with whom he was captivated: full of his juvenile passion, he went to Spalatinus: "Brother," said he, "that girl has smitten my heart. I shall never be happy until I possess such a treasure." To which Spalatinus replied: "Brother, you are a monk; the girls do not care for you."² So Wolfgang Agricola informs us.

The Catholics foresaw that Luther must yield to the physical necessities which he has described so forcibly.³ "The people of

¹ "Hinc videmus homines alioqui mulieribus parum aptos procreando fieri, naturali inclinatione nihilominus esse plenissimos, et quò minus instructi sunt eis rō παιδοποιεῖν hoc magis sunt γυναικοφιλοι. Cujusmodi naturæ ingenium est ut ibi minimum est, hic omnium fortissimè expetamus. Quare ἀγαπᾷν velle volens, planè δδύρατα θηρεῖ, καὶ ὄλος θεωμαχεῖ."—Ep. ad Reissenbuch, Seckel dorf, lib. ii. p. 21.

² "O Spalatine, du kannst nicht glauben, wie mir diess schöne Mädgen in dem Herzen liegt; ich will nicht sterben bis ich so viel anrichte, dass ich auch ein schön Mädgen freyen darf." The discourse of Wolfgang Agricola, Lutheran minister, was reprinted at Ingolstadt in 1580.

³ "Carne meæ indomitæ uror magnis ignibus, carne, libidine." See our first volume.

Wittenberg, who give wives to all the monks, will not give one to me!" said the Saxon.¹ Some of them required, to quiet their consciences, that he should violate his vows of continence, and so they assailed him with their remonstrances. None of them at first dared openly to avow their shameless marriages. The people pointed at them, and to express their genesiactal fever, invented an expression which has become proverbial:—"se demoiner!" (to unmonk oneself). Argula, that female doctor, who was such a propagandist of the Lutheran creed, and wished to have a theological disputation with Eck, wrote to Spalatinus, in 1524, "that it was time for the modern Elias to ascend to heaven, trample under his feet the serpent of monachism, and take to himself a wife."—"Thanks for Argula's advice, my dear Spalatinus," replied Luther; "tell her that God holds in his hands the human heart, that he changes and rechanges, kills and vivifies at his own pleasure, and that this heart of mine, such as it is, has no inclination for marriage. Not that I do not feel the sting of the flesh and the imperious call of the senses, for I am made neither of stone nor of wood; but I have no time to think of marriage, when death threatens me, and the punishment of a heretic awaits me every moment!"²

And yet, some weeks had scarcely passed, when he wrote to Jerome Baumgärtner,³ who was enamoured of Catherine: "If you hold to your Ketha, come instantly; for she will become another's, if you do not make haste."

It is probable that he would have married sooner, if he had not been afraid to incur the disfavour of the elector Frederick, who had expressed his opinion freely, and just about that time again, in a letter to the bishop of Misnia, on the marriage of priests and monks, which he called "a disguised concubinage." Luther feared also the raillery of Erasmus, who had so smartly ridiculed Carlstadt, and of Schurf, who had written: "If ever

¹ Mayer, Ehren-Gedächtniss, p. 26.

² The following dialogue between Calvin and Luther was printed:—Calvin: When did you unmonk yourself? Luther: In 1525, when I began to look at the pretty girls, and married a noble abbess, Catherine Bora.

³ Luther, in his correspondence, oftener than once, mentions this passion of Ketha for Baumgärtner; he writes to this senator from Nuremberg: "*Salutat te reverenter ignis olim tuus, jam te ob præclaras virtutes tuas novo amore diligens, et nomini tuo ex animo benè volens.*"—De Wette, tom. iii. p. 402.

this monk takes a wife, the devil will laugh heartily!"¹ This Schurf would not receive communion from the hand of a chaplain who had married a second time. Besides, in a confidential letter to Ruhel, in 1525,² Luther expressed some doubts as to his virility, which were afterwards satisfactorily cleared up.³

But when the elector died, Luther took courage. He was then at Seeburg, which he left to return to Wittenberg. "I go," he writes to his beloved Ruhel; "I wish to marry my little Ketha before I die!"⁴ It is a bold act," said he, "for we monks and nuns have the imperial rescript before us: 'Whoever espouses a monk or nun deserves to be hanged.'" History, however, makes no mention of the punishment either of Carlsadt or the clergy or nuns who infringed the emperor's orders.

In a letter to the archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, Luther, as we have seen, had endeavoured to convert the prelate, and prove to him what a noble example Albert, who held such an exalted rank in the hierarchy, and on whom God had bestowed the gift of chastity, would give to the world by openly marrying. "Has not God said that man ought to have a companion? Unless by a miracle, God cannot transform a man into an angel. What will he reply at the day of judgment, when God shall say to him: 'I have created you man, not that you should be alone, but that you should take a companion; where is your wife, Albert?'"

The cardinal did not reply. Luther revenged himself in a torrent of insults that can scarcely be translated: "Begone, hangman of a cardinal, knavish lackey, blockhead, crazy monk, effeminate epicurean, papistical devil, mad dog, earthworm, that befouls with your excrement the emperor's council-chamber!—you merit suspension on a gibbet of thrice the ordinary height; you w—— hunter, you son of Cain, to whom Luther would give

¹ "Wann dieser Mönch heirathen sollte, so würde die ganze Welt, ja der Teufel selbst lachen."—Melchior Adam, in *Vitis Theol.* p. 150.

² Scultet, in *Annal.* ad ann. 1525.

³ "Warum auch ich nicht ein Weib nehme, sollet ihr antworten, dass ich immer noch fürchte, ich seye nicht tüchtig genug dazu."

⁴ *Op. Luth.* tom. i. Ep. p. 887.

⁵ *Tisch-Reden*, p. 328, a.

a jolly carnival. Learn to dance ; he will play the pipe to you !"¹

We do not require to search for the motives of a marriage so precipitate: Luther explains them. "It is the Lord who has so quickly decided the marriage. In marrying Bora, without acquainting my friends of it, I wished to make the angels laugh and the devils weep."² His Catholic cotemporaries do not seem quite satisfied with this pretence. They have alleged that the doctor had a double object in his sudden marriage,—first, to silence the gossip to which his frequent visits to the young woman gave rise ; next, by yielding to the pestering of Bora, who could wait no longer, to conceal the error of the woman, and the name of the seducer. Mayer³ is indignant at the evil tongues that would destroy the reputation of the nun of Nimptschen and the parson of Wittenberg: we tread upon delicate ground.

On the 13th of June, 1525, Luther married Catherine Bora, aged twenty-six years, a nun of the convent of Nimptschen, whence she had been carried off by Leonard Kœppe, a young councillor of Torgau.⁴

The intelligence of this event was like a clap of thunder to

¹ "Er nennet ihn den böllischen Cardinal, dessen Namen verspeit und verdarnt ist, einen cardinalischen Henker, schalkhaften Knecht, tollen Kopf, zornigen Heiligen, einen weiblichen Epicurum, römischen Teufel, Mörder und Bluthund, einen wüthigen und boshaften Tückler, von dem viel böse Thaten gebürt werden, einen unverschämten Wurm, den alle Welt für einen faulen Arschwisch halt, der dem Kaiser in sein Kammergericht scheisset, soll doch den Dreck selbst ausfegen. Man hätte ihn zehnmal zu Mainz an einen Galgen, der höher wäre, dann drei Giebihsteine, hencken sollen ; einen Huren-Jäger, Dieb, Räuber, Juncker Cain, dem der Luther eine Fastnacht bringen will, die lustig und gut sein wird. Er soll die Füsse sum Tanz wohl jucken lassen, Luther wollte der Pfeifer sein."—De Wette, l. c. tom. iv. pp. 676, 678.

We defy all the living or dead languages to translate the following passage of this letter :—"Weil denn E. K. F. G. dem Kaiser in sein Kammergericht scheisset, der Stadt Halle die Freyheit, und dem Schweit zu Sachsen sein Recht nimpt, dazu all Welt und Vernunft für faule Arschwische hält (so lauten fast die Reden), und alle Dinge sogar päpstlich, römisch und cardinalisch handelt ; so wirds, ob Gott will, unser Herr Gott durch in den Gibel schicken einmal dass E. K. F. G. den Dreck selbst wird müssen ausfegen."—De Wette, tom. iv. p. 677.

² "Dominus me subito aliaque cogitantem coniecit mire in conjugium cum Catharina Borensi, moniali illa."—Ad Wences. Linck, 20 Juna. "Sie me vilem et contemptum his nuptiis feci, ut angelos ridere et omnes demones flere sperem."—Ad Spalatinum, Seck. lib. ii. p. 16.

³ Ehren-Gedächtniss der Bora.

⁴ See the chapter entitled Catherine Bora.

Melancthon ; he did not recover from it. Luther, who had never concealed anything from his favourite disciple, had not mentioned a word to him about this marriage.

"Luther has unexpectedly married," writes Melancthon to Camerarius ; "I shall not venture to condemn these sudden nuptials as a fall and a scandal, although God points to us in the conduct of his elect faults which we cannot approve. Woe to him who shall reject the doctrines because of the sins of the teacher !"¹

"Health and peace !" wrote Justus Jonas to Spalatinus ; "my letter will surprise you. Our Luther has married Catherine Bora. I was present at the marriage yesterday, and saw him in bed. I could not refrain from tears at the sight. My soul is filled with fear and suffering ; I know not what God has in store for us ; I wish this good-hearted and sincere man, our brother in God, all manner of happiness. The Lord is wonderful in his counsels and his works. Adieu To-day we have a few friends ; we shall celebrate the marriage somewhat later, I think, and you shall be of the party. I send you an express to tell you these great news. Our witnesses were the painter Lucas Cranach and his wife, Doctor Pomer, and myself."²

Luther had only confided the secret to two of his friends, Amsdorf and Kœppe.³ "It is indeed true, Amsdorf, that I have married Catherine Bora. I shall live some years longer ; and I could not refuse my father this proof of filial obedience, in the hope of offspring. It is necessary to strengthen precept by example, there are so many weak minds who dare not look the Gospel in the face ! It is the order and will of God, for in truth, it is not love, but merely friendship, that I entertain for my wife !"

In a letter to Kœppe, who had carried off Catherine, of the

¹ Mel. Ep. ad Camerarium.

² "Heri adfui rei, et vidi sponsum jacentem in thalamo," etc.—Dr. Martin Luther's Leben, von G. Pfizer, p. 585.

³ Schelhorn, tom. iv. Amoenit. Lit. pp. 423, 424, et seq. See, on the subject of Luther's marriage, the letters of 15 June, to Ruhel, Thur, and Gaspar Muller ; of the 16th, to Spalatin ; of the 17th, to Leonard Kœppe and Mich. Stiefel ; of the 20th, to Wenceslaus Linck ; of the 21st, to J. Dolzig, Spalatin, and Amsdorf ; contained in the collection of Leberecht de Wette : Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, &c. vol. iii. Berlin, 1827.

17th June, the doctor slipped a small note to announce his marriage to him :—

“ You are aware what has happened to me : I am caught in the snares of a woman. It is a perfect miracle ; God must have pouted at the world and me. Embrace your Audi for me, and come on the day of the wedding, and endeavour to learn from the bride if I am a man.” . . .¹

The burgomaster of Wittemberg sent to the married pair a dozen of wine for the marriage-feast ; four bottles of Malmsey, four of Rhenish, and four of Franconian. The city presented them with a couple of rings.²

Now was the day of triumph for the monks.³ For fifteen years Luther had ridiculed them : they took their revenge, and it must be admitted that it was a severe one. Epithalamia, odes, hymns sacred and profane, distichs, heroic and comic poems, were poured forth by their muse in every measure and language. Should you ever meet with one of the numerous pamphlets called forth by the Reformation, and it bears the date of 1525, you are sure, if written by a monk, to find the name of Catherine Bora in it. From Horace the monk borrows his iambics, from Solomon his figurative style, from the ancient poets their free imagery, from the pupil of Albert Durer his pencil, to depict even the nocturnal amusements of the Protestant pair ; for they were much bolder than at the commencement of the Reformation. “ In sooth,” piteously exclaims Juncker, “ it is impossible to describe the merriment of the papists on the marriage ; they have even represented these holy nuptials as incestuous.”⁴ One monk, Conrad Collin, wrote a book entitled, “ On the Coupling of Martin Luther.”⁵ “ What is the difference between Luther and David ?” asked John Hasenberg. “ The latter played on his harp, and

¹ “ Dass ihr meiner Braut helft gut Zeugniß geben, wie ich ein Mann sey, tom. ii. Alt. 903. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 9. Seckendorf is annoyed that this letter has been printed in the collected works of Luther : “ *Epistola familiaris et jocosa, quam omitti satius fuisset.*”

² See in this volume the chapter entitled Relics of Luther.

³ Ulenberg, *Vita Lutheri*, p. 197.

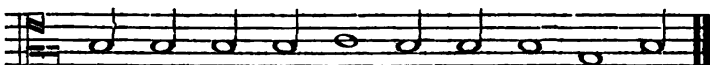
⁴ Melchior Adam, *Vita Theologor.*

⁵ *Wider nie Hunds-Hochzeit Martin Luthers* : Tübingen, 8.

the former on his nun." ¹ That old theologian Emser, who had given Luther such hearty blows, improvised an epithalamium, both words and music : ²—

"Farewell cow!" sang the poet, "farewell cope, prior, guardian, abbot; farewell vows, matins, prayers; fear and conscience, shame, adieu. Tol lol," &c.

The Reformers, to give popularity to their hatred of the monks, were not satisfied with rhyming: they set their words to music. There is an old Lutheran song still sung at Wittemberg, of which the words and the music have survived. The notes are :—



and the first verse :—

"Martinus hat gerathen,
Das Ri, Ra, Ritz,
Man soll die Pfaffen brathen,
Das Ri, Ra, Ritz,
Die Mönchen unterschiren,
Die Nonn' ins Frie-Haus führen."

"Martin wishes,
Das ri, ra, ritz,
To roast the priests,
Das ri, &c.
To toast the monks,
Das ri, &c.
To kiss the nuns, &c."

Now, if you go through Saxony, where Catholicism flourishes,

¹ "Quam Luther est similis Davidi? Hic carmina lusit
In cytharâ; in nonnâ ludit et ille suâ."

—See Cochleus, in *Luthero Septicipite*, p. 120.

² "I cuculla, vale capa,
Vale prior, custos, abba,
Cum obedientiâ,
Cum júbilo.

"Ite vota, preces, horæ,
Vale timor cum pudore,
Vale conscientia,
Cum júbilo.
Io, Io, Io, gaudeamus
Cum júbilo."

Cochl. in *Act. Luth.* fol. 118.

See, in *Confirmatory Evidence*, No. 1, the Epithalamium composed by John Hessus.

you will hear some old woman mutter, or beggar sing through the nose, other verses composed to a similar tune at the same period:—

“ Lucifer upon his throne,
Das ri, rum, ritz,
Was a lovely angel,
Das ri, &c.
He from it has fallen,
Das ri, &c.
With his fellow spirits,
Das ri, &c.”¹

Doctor Conrad Wimpina, the same who, if we are to believe Luther, wrote the theses of Tetzl, printed at Frankfort-on-the-Oder a collection of religious controversies, in which are several curious woodcuts. In one the marriage of Luther is represented: on the left the monk gives the marriage-ring to Bora; above the couple is the word “VOVETE;” on the right is the nuptial bed with the curtains drawn, and at the foot “REDDITE;” in the centre, the monk is dancing, holding the nun by the hand; a scroll over their heads bears the inscription:—

“ Discedat ab aris
Cui tulit hesternâ gaudia nocte Venus.”²

In the majority of the caricatures suggested by the marriage of Luther, the doctor is represented either dancing with Bora or seated at table with a glass in his hand; and these designs should be studied. The engraver does not lie; he seldom invents, only he does not care for the exact resemblance, and looks solely to the effect. Seckendorf would have us believe that Luther's countenance on the day of his marriage bore marks of care, the engraver shows the contrary: he would have found means, doubtless, had Luther been as serious as his panegyrist represents him, to ridicule that gravity; in place of a scene in a German alehouse, he would have given us a dance of devils, a banquet in hell.

Long after the marriage, the sound of the bantering hymns

¹ It is believed that this counterpart of the Lutheran song is the composition of F. Sylvius, a Dominican, who lived, in the time of Luther, in a monastery not far from Leipsic. Muller, in his book, *Defensio Lutheri defensi*: Hamburg, 1659, p. 6, has quoted this song. He thinks that the papist has conferred a great honour on Luther in comparing him to Lucifer.

² Luther never replied to Wimpina. “He grunts like a hog,” said he, speaking of the doctor: D. Wimpina krochzet wie ein bronzend Sau.”

with which it had been hailed still lasted ; some lovers of scandal have preserved these epithalamia in collections which may at the present day be considered truly bibliographical gems. We have gone through several of these hyperbolical poems, which nevertheless must be consulted if we wish to become acquainted with a mass of details, to which history cannot stoop. Had it not been for those poets, we should have represented to ourselves Luther at the time of his marriage, as his disciples describe him to have appeared at Leipsic, so thin that you might have counted his bones ; instead of which he was a rubicund monk, with a Rabelaisian paunch, walking with difficulty under the weight of his exuberant flesh. Hutten would have ridiculed the Catholic, who, with so lively a flush of health, should have spoken as Luther did of the dangers of death which threatened him, and still more perhaps that sexual infirmity of which he gives his friend Ruhel a hint. Thus we see how frequently the poet corrects the historian.

It appears that Catherine was a stout, fresh-looking woman, merry, and very active ; for Rempen describes her as skipping, leaping, capering, and exhibiting to the spectators of the dance more than is seemly ; a sort of wanton goat ; whilst Martin, impeded by his enormous stomach, cannot follow the movements of his partner, with difficulty raises his feet, and resembles a dromedary dancing to a harp.¹

During these festivals of Hymen, the cannon were thundering and the blood of the peasants flowing in streams.² Holbein has left us a portrait of Catherine, whom the painter has perhaps

¹ We quote here some verses of this ode, highly poetical and coloured, and consequently difficult to translate :—

“ Atque levi sura glomerabat ovantia crura,
 More capræ brutæ, vitulæque à fune solutæ,
 Multiplicans miros lascivo poplite gyros.
 Lutherus fessus, ventris pinguedine pressus,
 Non poterat tantas in saltum tollere plantas ;
 Quò se vertebat, pingui se mole movebat,
 Per tardos passus, gravitanti abdomine crassus,
 Subsultans duris ad stridula barbata suris
 Ut resonante chely salit hispida planta cameli.”

REMPEN.

Rempen, the author of the ode, afterwards renounced Catholicity, and became a Lutheran.

² See ch. xi. The Peasants' War.

flattered too much. If we are to credit Luther's evidence, the young woman had not the wantonness attributed to her by Rempen, the author of the ode. "He would have done better," says Cochläus, "to marry one of those nuns who were carried off from Nimptschen and placed at Wittenberg, in the monastery of the Augustinians; but they were too young."¹ . . .

Erasmus was at Basle when he heard of Luther's marriage; and on the 7th October he wrote to Daniel Mauch, of Ulm, then at Rome, in the household of Cardinal Campeggio:—

"This is a singular event; Luther has thrown off the philosopher's mantle, and married a young woman of twenty-six, handsome, well made, and of a good family, but penniless, and who for some time has ceased to be a vestal. The marriage has been celebrated under happy auspices; for in a few days after the ceremony, the bride was confined! Luther revels in blood, while a hundred thousand peasants descend to the tomb."²

This letter of Erasmus caused, when it was known, great scandal among Luther's disciples: several took up their pens in defence of their master's honour, and the chastity of his partner. Our part, in such a dispute, is not that of a judge, but a mere reporter.

Catholics, in inquiring into a material fact which their opponents were interested in concealing from them, have first to draw moral inferences. They inquire how, except by a miracle, we can believe in the virtue of a young woman who, at the very age when the passions are strongest, flies from her convent, and seeks an asylum in a city like Wittenberg, full of lecherous monks and libertine students; whom her parents refuse to receive, and who, when sought in marriage by Doctor Glaz, declares with tears that she will marry no one but Luther or Amadorf?³ "What warranty," says Wimpina, "will you give us also for the continence or chastity of a monk who delights to paint with such a coarse pencil the joys of marriage, and to describe all its mysteries; who understands and speaks so well the language of love; who

¹ [Luther assigns a reason for his preference, which may be found by the curious in his collected works. Coll. Lat. tom. ii. p. 95.—T.]

² Daniel Mauchio Ulmano. Roma, in familiâ R. D. Card. Campegii. See the philosopher's letter, in No. 2 of Confirmatory Evidence.

³ "Vellet Lutherus, vellet Amadorfius, se paratam cum alterutro honestum inire matrimonium: cum Glacio, nullo modo."—Relat. Amadorfii Scul.

is assaulted by such strong temptations, and revels in such carnal imagery ; and who writes to his friend in the grossest manner ? ' How,' he adds, " could Luther be chaste, when his language is so indecent ? an angel, with passions so ardent ? and how should nature, who, in his own words, ' impels us as irresistibly to the opposite sex as to meat or drink,' have been silent to him ? "

Besides this positive letter of Erasmus in regard to Bora, there is another from the same writer to Nicolas Everard, president of the high council of Holland, at the Hague, in almost similar terms.

But the date of the safe delivery of Catherine is determined with a painful precision. The nun was confined fifteen days after her marriage with Luther.² And the letter which records this fact is not apocryphal ; it was seen, touched, and perused by Bayle. The original document is in a perfect state of preservation,³ with the seal of Erasmus, bearing as a device the god Terminus, and " NULLI CEDO." Wimpina and his partisans also refer to the sermon of Agricola, which we have previously quoted : the " Defence of the Catholic Faith," by John Faber, bishop of Vienna, in which we read that in a month after her marriage the bride became a mother ;⁴ the testimony of Odorico Rinaldi, of Graveson,⁵ and many more ; and the common report of all Germany.

They continue: Has not Luther said in his " Table-Talk : " " On 13th June, 1525, during the time of the peasants' war, I married ; on 6th June, 1526, my first child John was born ; in 1527, my

¹ " Saluta tuam conjugem suavissimè, verum ut id tum facias, cùm in thoro suavissimis amplexibus et oculis Catharinam tenueris, ac sic cogitaveris : En hunc hominem, optimam creaturarum Dei mei donavit mihi Christus meus, sit illi laus et gloria."—Luther's Briefe : De Wette, tom. iii. p. 53.

² " Duxit uxorem monacha monacham, et ut scias nuptias prosperis avibus initas, diebus à decantato hymenæo fermè quatuordecim enim enixa est nova nupta."

³ " I have seen the original, which is in very good condition ; the seal of Erasmus, with the *deus Terminus* and *Nulli cedo* upon it, is quite perfect. M. von Wilhem, counsellor of the court of Brabant, had the kindness to show me this letter, and gave me a copy of it. The letter of Erasmus follows."—Diet. art. Bore, tom. ii.

⁴ " Quæ illi altero mense à nuptiis, partum edidit."—Defensio Orth. Fidei Cath. contra Balthasar. Pacimontanum, lib. ix. fol. 62.

⁵ " Jam gravidam Lutherus sibi optavit."—Ann. Eccl. No. 52, ad ann. 1525. " Formâ venustiore ex illis, jam gravidam sibi copulavit."—Hist. Eccl. tract. vii. ad ann. 1525.

second child, my daughter Elizabeth, was born ; in 1529, Magdalene ; in 1531, on the 7th November, Martin ; in 1536, on the 28th January, Paul ; lastly, in 1534, Margaret ?”

And in the same work is there not a letter of condolence from the doctor to Jerome Weller, in which are these words :—“ If I had not punished my son Andrew with the rod ?”¹ Who, then, is this Andrew, of whom Luther here speaks for the first time, and who has no place in the preceding genealogical statement ?

Catholic writers unhesitatingly reply : this is the child whom Erasmus mentions as born so felicitously fifteen days after the marriage with Bora. But who was his father ? This question is more direct, and more difficult of solution. Some say Baumgærtner, with whom the young woman was captivated ; others Amsdorf, who loved her passionately ; others the young councillor Kœppe, who carried her off ; and others, Luther himself.

But Catherine has had zealous defenders ; among others Malsh, who is furious against those who presume to doubt the purity which she brought to her husband. “ Then explain to us,” ask the Catholic critics, “ the meaning of, ‘ *If I had not whipped my son Andrew ?*’ ” “ Nothing easier,” says Malsh ; who makes the printer responsible for the child by a process which we could never have guessed. For *filium*, in the original text, he substitutes the word *famulum* ; we must therefore read : “ *If I had not whipped my servant Andrew.* ” “ But people do not flog their servants.” “ I know that as well as you,” replies the Lutheran Aristarchus ; “ instead of *virgis punivissem*, read *castigâssem*. The sentence is then perfect, ‘ *If I had not chastised my servant Andrew.*’ ”²

The Catholics do not admit that they are beaten : they follow up the inquiry.

In the “ Table-Talk,” but in German : “ Tisch-Reden,” page 20, part ii. of the edition of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1569, we find this sentence : “ My pregnant wife gives suck to an adulterine child : it is rather hard to have two guests

¹ “ *Consolatio ad moestum Hier. Wellerum : si Andream filium meum virgis non punivissem.*”—Col. Lat. tom. ii. tit. De Morbis Lutheri, p. 226. Consult a curious book, by Eusebius Engelhard, published at Augsburg, in 1749, entitled, *Lucifer Wittenbergensis, or, Vollständiger Lebens-Lauf Catharinâ von Bora.*

² Engelhard, l. c. pp. 179, 180, part ii.

to support, one in the house and one out of doors."¹ Now who was this adulterine child whom Catherine so tenderly nursed, to the doctor's great dissatisfaction? The question becomes more and more insidious. We must confess that in the very numerous pamphlets relating to Catherine we have met with no satisfactory reply. We mistake; Engelhard proposes another reading, and for *adulterum infantem* substitutes *adultum infantem*: but Engelhard is a Catholic, and, what is worse, a monk.

The Protestants have their way of explaining matters. "I was mistaken," writes Erasmus to Francis Sylvius. "Luther is indeed married, but the rapid confinement of Catherine is a mere fable; she is only said to be in the family way. You know it is a common saying that Antichrist is to be born of a monk and a nun; but if that is correct, what thousands of Antichrists must be in the world by this time!"²

This letter is dated 13th March, 1526, and is to be seen in the collection of the philosopher's letters printed at Basle, by Froben, in 1558.

See how the Catholics dispose of this formal disclaimer.

In the letter to Daniel Mauch, of Ulm, wherein the philosopher announced so gaily the impromptu maternity of Catherine Bora, it may be remembered were these words: "Atque ut scias auspicatas fuisse nuptias, pauculis diebus post decantatum hymenæum, nova nupta peperit. Jocatur ille in crisin sanguinis." Now, in Froben's collection, there is not a word of the event. Why has the text been altered? We have not forgotten these lines in Erasmus' letter to Everard, president of the high council of Holland: "Et ut scias nuptias prosperis avibus initas, diebus a decantato hymenæo ferme quatuordecim enixa est nova nupta." Now this letter, which Bayle has copied entire, is not to be found in the collection by Froben: why has it been suppressed? If Froben took the liberty of altering the letter to Mauch and of suppressing that to Everard, might he not have interpolated in the text of one of the philosopher's

¹ "Uxor gravida adulterum adhuc lactabat infantem: Es ist schwer zwei Gäste zu ernähren, den einen im Haus, den andern vor der Thür."

² "De conjugio Lutheri certum est, de partu maturo sponsæ vanus erat rumor; nunc tamen gravida esse dicitur. Si vera est vulgi fabula: Antichristum nasciturum ex monacho et monachâ, quemadmodum illi jactitant, quot antichristorum millia jam olim habet mundus!"

epistles a retraction of which he was innocent, especially when we know that in 1538, when the collection of Erasmus' letters appeared, the philosopher had been two years in his grave ; that at this time Basle had embraced Protestantism ; that Froben was interested in promoting the new gospel ; and that the majority of his friends were the principal leaders of the Protestant party ?

Such is the summary of a warm controversy between Catholics and Protestants. The lovers of scandal will find numerous pamphlets in which this question is considered in all its phases. We have read them, and, in truth, find it difficult to pronounce an opinion : besides, being Catholic, we decline to do so. But instead of Catherine Bora put a bishop's servant, and how Luther—who seriously narrates that one day the skulls of six thousand newly-born infants were found in the fishpond of a convent—would have enjoyed himself at the expense of the poor girl's reputation !

There was one person who did not laugh at Luther's marriage, and this was not a theologian, but a crowned head, Henry VIII. Peace was not yet concluded between these two potentates. From his palace of St. James, the king could not now find invectives enough to hurl at his adversary. Erasmus had for a time believed that the warlike ardour of Luther would exhaust itself in the arms of Catherine Bora ; he was mistaken : marriage had not mollified the recent bridegroom, who on the very next day steeped his pen again in that black and corrosive ink with which he bespattered every papist right and left, and one of Henry's ministers had received some spots of it.

" You may well be ashamed," said the king to Luther, " to raise your eyes to me ; but I wonder how you can raise them to God, or look at any honest man, when you, an Augustinian monk, at the instigation of the devil, the suggestions of the flesh, and the emptiness of your understanding, have not been ashamed to violate with your sacrilegious embraces a virgin devoted to the Lord. Such an act, in Pagan Rome, would have caused the vestal to be buried alive, and you to be stoned to death. But this is a greater offence : you have contracted an incestuous marriage with this nun, whom you parade publicly, to the confusion of morality, in contempt of the holy laws of

marriage, and those vows of continence at which you laugh with so much effrontery. Abomination! when you ought to be sinking with shame, and endeavouring to make reparation, you, wretched man, glory in your crime; and, instead of asking pardon, carry your head high, and excite other monks to imitate your infamous conduct.”¹

Neither Erasmus, Cochläus, the Olympus of the poets, nor Henry VIII. understood Luther. He had not recourse to marriage for the gratification of sensual pleasures, which he could easily have procured otherwise, as swarms of nuns disturbed his solitude, and he tells us that he had three marriageable virgins residing in his house!² Had he only sought to allay too violent temptations, he had the most efficacious remedies, and much more secret than marriage. His marriage, even if you will have it to proceed from physical causes, was, in truth, a political step for diffusing his doctrines. Till then public opinion had stigmatized as infamous all the marriages of the monks. We may remember the excitement when Archdeacon Carlstadt led to the altar pretty Anna Mocha. These marriages between priests and nuns caused at first great scandal: the people murmured when they saw the faces of men and women peeping from under the same cowl. Wolfgang remained concealed a long while, in order not to provoke the people in the streets of Wittemberg. Luther, in his retirement at Wartburg, in the pulpit, and in his cell, was for several months engaged in connecting passages of the Scriptures, which he cast as a sort of cloak over all these nudities; but his labour was in vain, the cloak was transparent. For a time the Reformer's preaching was unfruitful; no one being found bold enough to exchange Luther's benedictions for the scourge of public opinion. But as he preached by example, there was in Germany something stronger than public opinion,—lechery, which with unblushing face stalked openly through the streets; for in case of violence, it had for its concealment the robe of a married priest.

An old semi-French historian, nearly cotemporary with Luther, has happily expressed the effect produced by the marriage of the

¹ Cochläus, fol. 157 et seq. Op. Fisheri, episc. Roff. Wirzburgi, ann. 1597.

² “Tres in domo meâ habeo virgines nubiles, et omnes viris optime nubere possint.”—Colloq. Mens. tom. ii. 95.

monks ; only we must recollect that he is Catholic in his creed and pagan in his style, which is full of ideas drawn from the mythological school.

"Do you hear," says Florimond de Remond, "the trumpets of Cupid ? Ladders are placed against the walls of the convents, the foundations of which are shaken and begin to fall ; a regiment of monks rushes through the breach, breathless with passion, and pursues the young nuns, especially those who, roused by the sound of the Lutheran flourishes, have burst their gratings, torn off their veils, and are spread through the neighbouring camp, leaving some of their old companions as pledges for the convent."

This is what Florimond de Remond calls "the fruits of the union of Luther and Catherine !" The monk knew well what he was about : his marriage was scarcely celebrated, when the most of the religious houses opened their portals, and foolish nuns and libertine monks came forth, seeking each other in open day, and publicly making Germany the witness of connections which the Church regards as incestuous, but which Luther's example caused to be considered works of merit. Among those who fell were churchmen, who in the eyes of men wore the priestly robe, but from whom God had long previously withdrawn : men who loved pleasure, and spent their lives in the luxurious enjoyments of the table or the field. They were thankful to Luther for permitting them to transform a concubine into a lawful wife, and accepted the shame, making religion subservient to their own ends, provided they were not obliged to blush in public.

There were monasteries, particularly near Wittemberg, in which not a single monk remained ; and others which were only partially abandoned. Sometimes, as at Orlamünde, or where the Anabaptists prevailed, the people, roused by some fanatical preacher, attacked the monasteries and presbyteries, and expelled every inmate, down to the very cook. Next day Glaz ascended the pulpit, and said : "I, the illustrious rector of the academy of Wittemberg, proclaim myself pastor of Orlamünde."¹ When order was restored and the popular tempest allayed, the civil authorities took possession of the deserted monastery, made

¹ "Ich Rector magnificus der hohen Schule ernenne mich Caspar Glaz selbst zu einem Pfarrer in Orlamünde."

an inventory of its contents, confiscated for their own behoof the conventual or ecclesiastical booty, and bestowed a few expressions of pity or hypocritical concern upon the individuals whom they had expelled so inhumanly. "God will not abandon you," they would say, "marry, and fulfil the injunction of Scripture." Then also Catholic Germany had another scandal to deplore, as we have said, in the robbery committed by the authorities, in contempt of the law of nations and chartered rights, some of which ascended to remote antiquity. The sacred vessels, which had been used at the celebration of the divine mysteries, were to be seen used as drinking-cups at the tables of certain electors; and latterly, when they began to be ashamed, transferred to the shelves of public museums. Those marvellous manuscripts, those old crucifixes in wood and ivory; those episcopal rings, the gifts of popes or emperors; those embroideries, that stained glass, those ciboria of gold and silver; all these mediæval relics which are to be seen in the rich collections of Germany, belonged to the religious houses and the churches. So that after the lapse of three centuries nothing better has been found to give us an idea of German art at that period, than the display of the spoils of those whom they robbed when living, and calumniated when they were dead.¹

¹ Consult *Lucifer Wittenbergensis, oder der Morgenstern von Wittenberg*, das ist: Vollständiger Lebenslauf Catharinä von Bora, des vermeynten Eheweibs Dr. Martin Lutheri: Augsburg, 1749, 8vo. Michael Kuhn, dean of the Augustinian monastery at Ulm, under the pseudonyme of Eusebius, is the author of this curious book. *Wahrhafte Geschichte der seligen Frau Catharina von Bora, Dr. Martin Luther's Ehegattin, wider Eusebii Engelhard's Morgenstern*, zu Wittenberg: Halle, 1734, 2 vols. 8vo. *Eversio Lutherani Epithalamii*, per R. P. Conradum Kollin, Ulmensem sacre theologiæ professorem: Coloniz, 1521, 4to. *Taillepiep, Life of Luther*.

The following are some of the tracts for or against clerical celibacy, which Luther's marriage called forth:—

Von dem ebelichen Stand der Bischöffe und Diaken, an Herrn Wolfgang Reissenbusch, der Rechte Doktor und Präceptor zu Lichtenberg, S. Antonius Ordens. Johann Bugenhagen Pommer, gedeutcht durch Stephanum Rodt von Zwickau: Wittenberg, 1529.

Von den Gelübden der Geistlichen, ein kurzer Unterricht über das Wort im Psalm: *Vovete et reddite*. Joh. Bugenhagen Pomer, gedeutcht durch Stephanum Rodt: Wittenberg, 1525.

Libellus F. Bartholomæi de Usingen, Augustiniani, De Falsis Prophetis, tam in personâ quam doctrinâ vitandis à fidelibus. De Rectâ et Mundâ Prædicatione Evangelii, et quibus conformiter illud debeat prædicari. De Coelibatu Sacerdotum Novæ Legis, et de Matrimonio eorum, necnon Monachorum exitiosorum. Responsio ad Sermonem Længii de Matrimonio Sacerdotali, quem

These civil disturbances were of service to Protestantism. In the midst of these outrages on Catholic authority, the Lutherans held public meetings, at which they excited themselves to rebellion. Luther, from Wittemberg, commended the courage of those whom he called the children of light. The children of darkness were Duke George, the duke of Bavaria, and the other princes who obeyed the emperor's orders: obedience being treated as rebellion by the Protestants, and rebellion exalted as an inspiration from heaven. There were rewards ready for felony and apostasy, and contempt and hatred for loyalty to God and the sovereign. The events of the time favoured Luther. War was declared between the emperor and Pope Clement VII., who had embraced the cause of Francis I.; Pavia saw an end of that monarch's glory in Italy, where the arms of his rival were victorious: Rome had been taken and sacked by the constable of Bourbon. His army, partly composed of Lutherans, had filled the holy city with abominations: the menials of that prince had converted St. Peter's into a stable, littered their horses with the papal bulls, and, dressed in the cardinals' copes, had proclaimed Luther pope in a chapel of the Vatican.¹ Clement having declared for France, Charles V. revenged himself by

fecit in nuptiis Culsameri sacerdotis. Contra factionem Lutheranam: Erphurdie, 1525.

Anti-Lutherus Jodoci Clichtovei Neoportuensis, doctoris theologi Academicæ Parisiensis, tres libros complectens: Primus contra effrenam vivendi licentiam, quam falso libertatem Christianam ac evangelicam nominat Lutherus, ostendit, Ecclesiam sanctam et ejus præsides, constituendarum sanctionum (quæ obligent populum Christianum et transgressores peccati mortalis reos esse definiant), potestatem habere. Secundus contra abrogationem missæ, quam inducere molitur Lutherus, demonstrat, distinctos officiorum gradus, ac ordines esse in Ecclesiâ. Non omnes itidem Christianos esse sacerdotes, et sanctissimum Eucharistiæ sacramentum, quod in missâ consecratur, esse verè sacrificium. Tertius, contra enervationem votorum monasticorum, quam invellere contendit Lutherus, declarat, religiosorum vota etiam perpetua atque pro toto vitæ curriculo rectè fieri, idque vivendi in monasticâ disciplinâ institutum summo opere esse commendandum. Insunt et primo hujus operis libro dissolutiones quedam contra Erasmus Roterodamum, de uno aut tribus Dionysiis minus benè sentientem. Ad Carolum Guillardum, Parisiensis senatûs præsidem: Colon. 1525.

Ein Send-Brieff und Erinnerung des ehrenfesten Caspar von Schwenckfeld, von Ossig, an die Closter-Jungfrauen zu Naumburg, wie sie sich jetziger Zeit halten sollen, und wie sie des Closterlebens, nach Freyheit des Geistes, nützlich gebrauchen möchten.

¹ Guicciardini, Sacco di Roma. Cochlæus. De Marillac, Vie du Connétable de Bourbon. Maimbourg, Hist. du Luthéranisme, lib. i.

pouring into Italy the swarms of Lutherans whom he wished to exterminate from Germany: these docile instruments of his wrath burned up even the grass of the fields, and sold for their weight in gold the ears of their prisoners. All was over with the eternal city, if God had not cast upon it a look of pity. He employed to drive them from Italy the pestilence which these hordes had spread on their way. At the same time, Soliman threatened Hungary, and sooner or later would compel Charles V. to recross the Alps in aid of the Archduke Frederick. When peace was restored to Italy, the emperor turned his eyes to Germany. A new diet was summoned to Spires in 1528, where the Catholics were in a majority. The presidents and commissioners, were King Ferdinand, Frederick, the count palatine, William, duke of Bavaria, and the bishops of Trent and Hildesheim.¹ A new sect,—that of the Sacramentarians, had resolved to oppose the Lutherans there. The imperial cities were almost all infected with the doctrines of Zwinglius: the sectarians were divided among themselves. The landgrave of Hesse, perceiving the danger of such a schism, laboured to stifle it, but his efforts were ineffectual. The Catholic party prevailed in the end. After long debates, the assembly decreed, that wherever the edict of Worms had been received, change of religion should be prohibited; that those cities which had embraced the new doctrines might possess them until the council was held, but without either abolishing the mass, or depriving the Catholics of the free exercise of their worship; that the Sacramentarians should be banished the empire, and the Anabaptists punished with death.

The Lutheran princes, John, elector of Saxony, George, marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Lunen-

¹ Sleidan, l. c. lib. vi. Pallavicini, lib. ii.

Sebastian Schertlin, who was present at the sack of Rome, writes: "On 6th May, we carried the city by storm; 6,000 men were slain in it. The whole city has been delivered over to pillage; we have taken all that could be found in the churches and other buildings, and have destroyed or torn all the registers, letters, charters, &c.; part of the city has been burnt."—*Lebensbeschreibung Seb. Schertlins*, p. 19.

We possess an account of the sack of Rome, published in Germany, with the title of *Warhafftige neue Zeitung aus Rom geschrieben, wie Herr Jeorgen von Fronsbehrasohn den Papet mit 18 Cardinalen gefangen hat* (1527, 4 pp.). Here are a few lines of it: "25,000 Man darynne erschlagen alle Mönch, Pfaffen und Nonnen erstochen und yun die Tiber geworffen; onn welche iung und hübsch gewest seyn."

burg, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt; the deputies of fourteen imperial cities, of Strasburg, among others, who desired to abolish the mass, assembled two days afterwards, and in a public protest declared in the name of God and man, that they could not obey a decree so inimical to the truths of the Gospel, and that they appealed from the general council to the emperor and to all impartial judges. On that day the Reformers received the name of PROTESTANTS, which they adopted as a glorious appellation.¹

The diet had demanded and voted subsidies for the war against the Turks; the Catholics paid, the Protestants refused the supplies; but the money of the Catholics was not sufficient to repel Soliman. His 200,000 soldiers accordingly advanced into Hungary, and on 26th September, 1529, planted their scaling-ladders against the walls of Vienna. The shameful desertion of their brethren fixes an indelible stain on the Protestants. In presence of a peril which threatened the cross of Jesus, all differences should have ceased. The country was in danger, the Christian name might have been effaced and Islamism triumphant, if these battered and breached walls had not been defended by noble and stout hearts. Honour to these valiant leaders, Philip, count palatine, Nicholas of Salm, William of Regendorf, and that population of old men, women, and children who, a prey to famine, sickness, and pestilence, for all were united to crush them, lost not their confidence in heaven, and pursued, even to Constantinople, the army of Soliman! After God, they were indebted for their success to their own arms; for the emperor, the empire, and its princes had abandoned them. One voice, that of Luther, had cried: "*Peace with the Turks!*" which was more powerful than the voice of their weeping country and the cross of Christ. Let the reader pronounce between the Protestants and Catholics, and say in which veins ran the Christian blood!

On the very day when Soliman reckoned on converting the church of St. Stephen into a mosque, the deputies of the minority entered the camp of Charles V., then at Boulogne, and presented to him their protest.²

"God will be your judge," said the emperor; "you have

¹ Sleidan, lib. vi.

² Hist. Hung. lib. x.

refused the support of your arms and money to your besieged princes, and have violated a fundamental law of the empire."¹

And he dismissed them, promising soon to go with all his army to settle the affairs of Germany.²

There are inconsistencies in the character of Luther which Catholic historians carefully state, without fathoming the causes of them. Thus, on the subject of the war against the Turks, they endeavour to decry his fickle opinions, so as to bring to trial that Holy Spirit whose organ he called himself: a scholastic argument, excellent on the benches of a monastery! But these contradictions speak something beyond the misery or despair of a mind.

In 1520, Luther posts on the walls of the church of All Saints that the Turks are the instruments of God's vengeance, and that to oppose them is to fly in the face of Providence.³ He persists in expressing these opinions, which his adversaries treat as absurd.

In 1521, he does not wish a farthing to be given for repelling these enemies of our faith, who, in his view, are of infinitely greater worth than the papists, and it is not his fault that the Danube is not covered with Catholic carcasses as far as Pesth.

But in 1528, he dedicates his treatise "*De Bello Turcico*"⁴ to the landgrave of Hesse, whom he praises as the scourge of "those wretched puppets, half-men half-devils, who go about dissuading the people from taking arms against the Turks, and who publicly teach, that a Christian must not wear the sword or exercise the functions of a civil magistrate!"—precisely what he himself had recently inculcated in his book on secular magistracy!⁵

All this may be easily explained.⁶

¹ Guicc. lib. xix.

² Ibid.

³ "*Præliari adversus Turcas est repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras.*"

⁴ *De Bello Turcico*, Landg. Hess. tom. iv. Jenæ, p. 430 ad 431, a. b.

⁵ *De Magistratu Seculari*, tom. ii. Jenæ, 189.

⁶ "Quòd in Germaniâ quosdam audiat inveniri fuites et ineptos concionatores qui populum ab armis contra Turcam capiendis debortentur: quosdam verò ad eam insaniam provecos, ut dicant, non licere portare gladium Christianis, vel politicum gerere magistratum: quin Germaniâ populum aded ferum et agrestem esse, semidæmones et semihomines ut non desint qui Turcarum adventum desiderare videantur."—Op. Luth. Jenæ, tom. iv. pp. 430, 431. Ulenberg, Vita, etc. p. 350.

Until 1528, Luther required to keep his implacable enemy, the house of Austria, engaged. The disturbances are a piece of good luck for Luther. The peasants' war will impede the execution of the edict of Worms, and serve him in diffusing his doctrines, in exciting the people, altering the liturgy, breaking up the convents, exciting the concupiscence of the monks, and making "the devil of the flesh" speak.

While the emperor is in Italy, Luther can work without fear; when Charles returns to Germany, Luther is disturbed. Then is the time for him to frame his political code, in which we shall read: "That no Christian can, without sin, wear the sword, or exercise a secular magistracy." If the prince has recourse to force to cause his edicts to be observed, the Reformer sees before him only executioners and martyrs: the judges are the executioners; the martyrs, the rebellious subjects.

His doctrines gain ground. They pervade cities, duchies, electorates, kingdoms. For the new religion a police is necessary; that is to say, a sword. We have seen that he wished no Christian to wield it; with that weapon now he arms his magistrates. The Scriptures are pliant to his caprices. As they had by turns denied and admitted purgatory, prayers for the dead, confession, and the mass, so they will restore to him the sword which they have taken away. Thus his society is constituted, and his sword is raised, with which he threatens at once both the Turk and the wicked Christian who will not war with the infidel.

In 1521, it is a crime to contribute to the war against the Turks: he then had need of them.

In 1528, he denounces those tap-room orators who dissuade the people from arming against the infidels: he was then afraid of the Turks.

In 1522, to carry a sword or make use of it, is to upset

"Ne ullâ ratione sequamur eos principes Catholicos vel ad pugnandum, vel ad contribuendum contra Turcam. Quandoquidem Turca decuplò prudentior est et justior quàm nostri principes:" Wittenb. tom. ix. fol. 197.

"Quemadmodum et gladii jurisve civilis præsidio nemo Christianus uti, vel politicii judicis officium ad justitiam administrandam implorare possit aut debeat: imò quisquis id facit, quisquis litigat in judicio, sive de bonis temporalibus controversia sit, sive de honore, eum (asserit) non Christianum, sed sub Christi nomine gentilem esse vel infidelem:" Jenæ, tom. ii. fol. 189. De Magistratu Seculari.

the fundamental laws of a Christian society : he was then afraid of the sword.

In 1528, the sword is a Christian attribute of the civil authorities : he then had need of it.¹

CHAPTER XVIII.

CATHERINE BORA.

Catherine Bora's extraction.—Her portrait, as drawn by Werner and Kraus.—Was Luther happy in his domestic state?—Bora's character.—Scenes of their private life.

CATHERINE BORA, or Bore,² descended on the mother's side from the noble family of Haubitz, was born on the 29th of January, 1499. Her parents were poor ; at twenty-two years of age, she was placed in the convent of Nimptschen, of the order of St. Bernard, near Grimma, on the Mulde, on the 4th of April, 1521. It seems that a conventual life was not agreeable to the young woman, who having in vain besought her parents to let her leave the convent, bethought of interesting the doctor of Wittenberg in her behalf. Catherine gained over eight other nuns, weary like herself of the austerities of the community.³ At Luther's instigation, Leonard Kœppe, assisted by a youth of his own age, introduced himself over-night to the cloister, the

¹ He said of the Turks : "The Turk will go to Rome, as the prophecy of Daniel shows us ; but he will not reign above two hundred years."—Tisch-Reden, translated by M. Brunet, p. 60.

"I should rather prefer to have the Turks for enemies than the Spaniards for protectors."—Ibid. p. 68.

"Some one exclaimed, 'May God preserve us from the Turks!' 'No,' said Luther, 'they must come to chastise us, and they will assist us materially.'"—Ibid. p. 68.

² The name is spelt in the Dictionary of Nobility (Adels-Lexicon), Bora, Borra, Borna, and Borne, p. 196. The old German poet, Nicolas Menk, a shoemaker by trade, sings of the young woman by the name of Bora :—

"Cathrin von Bora bin ich genannt,
Geböhren in dem Meissner Land." . . .

³ "In dieser Absicht wandten sie sich an ihre Eltern, konnten aber die Einwilligung derselben nicht erhalten. Nun suchten sie Hülfe bei Luthern."—Effner, Luther und seine Genossen, tom. i. p. 187.

doors of which he had forced.¹ Nine nuns were in readiness waiting for their liberator. At the gate of the convent there stood a close carriage, in which Kœppe packed the young women "like so many herrings," as the chronicle of Torgau says.² They had to pass through the territory of Duke George, and a populous city like Torgau, and travel forty leagues. They escaped all dangers. Bora had at Wittemberg a chamber previously bespoken, in the house of the former town-clerk, Philip Reichenbach.³

In his tragedy of Luther, Werner has drawn a poetical character of Catherine, who has visions and ecstasies, and in her sleep sees the being to whom she is one day to be united. She is a virgin, whose mortal body alone belongs to this earth, but whose soul inhabits the starry heavens, and dwells with the pure spirits there. This ideal picture is destroyed by history, which represents the nun of Nimptschen, after her marriage, occupied with all the ordinary household details, with all the prosaic habits of a German wife; loving wine, if we may believe Kraus, much better than beer, distributing it with sparing hand to her husband and his companions, and frequenting her cellar as often as the chapel of the convent. We are informed by Aurifaber, that one day when she visited the cellar, which the elector of Saxony had just enriched with a butt of malmsey, a frightful noise was heard like the knell of a church-bell, or the scream of a bird of prey. The servant was alarmed, and fell back, and the husband and wife nearly lost their senses, so much were they frightened! Luther considered this unaccountable noise as a warning from Heaven. Ten years after, at table, when he remembered the circumstance, he said to his friends: "The hardened heart is moved by the promises, disturbed by the benefits, terrified by the threats, and corrected by the blows of Heaven."⁴

¹ "Vigilia resurrectionis dominicæ, horis nocturnis, novem, imo duodecim sanctimoniales ordinis sancti Bernardi in cœnobio Nymptschen ad oppidum Grimmas, in Misnia, in ripâ fluvii Muldæ egressæ simul abierunt: omnes nupturæ."—Chr. Spalatini. Catharina de Borâ, nobili prognata stirpe, claustris cœnobii Nimptsch effractis ope certè cujusdam Torgaviensis Leonardi Koppii libertati suæ restituta anno 1523.—Juncker, Vita Lutheri.

² Wie Häringstonnen.

³ Concilia Wittenbergensis, tom. iv. p. 19. These registers are not of the sixteenth century; they were digested and arranged in 1629.

⁴ Eisleben, 1566, folio, p. 620.

Art has not always drawn Catherine in the colours of poetry. If the portrait by Lucas Cranach is a faithful likeness, Luther cannot have been tempted by the external charms of the young woman, with her great bony cheeks, her large, dull, and inexpressive eye, her stretched-out nostrils, and rustic and coarse features. This vulgar face Bora sometimes endeavoured to set off by a plate of brass on the forehead, at others by having her hair rolled round the ear, and falling over the temples, in the style of La belle Ferronnière, or drawn over the back of the head, and inclosed in a silken net; for contemporary pictures represent her with these different head-dresses. The younger Cranach painted her in 1526, and the picture is at present in the library of Weimar. Lucas Cranach took her likeness in oil in 1528: it now belongs to the duke of Saxe-Gotha.

This portrait must have been like her. "This is good," said Luther to the artist who brought it; "there is room enough on the canvas for painting another face, that of a man called Luther; we shall send this picture to the fathers of the council, where it will create a sensation."¹

Ketha was of a fair and ruddy complexion, infallible signs of piety and ignorance of cookery, according to the doctor, who has observed, that women with rosy cheeks and *cruribus albis* are pious, but bad cooks and companions.² She had fine hair, which she carelessly tucked under her nightcap, perhaps out of coquetry, and which on waking the doctor loved to see rolling in long tresses on the pillow.³

Whether Luther was happy in his private life is a question which has been raised and discussed by Protestant historians, and received various solutions. Bredow⁴ describes Catherine as a cross, haughty, and jealous woman, who tormented her husband. Bredow's opinion is borrowed from that of Nas, a contemporary writer, who knew and visited Catherine, whom he represents as infatuated with the renown of her husband, dis-

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 514.

² "Die Weiber mit rothen Wangen und weissen Beinen, dieselben seind die frömbsten; aber sie kochen nicht wohl, und betten übel."—Tisch-Reden, p. 432.

³ "Im Bette, wenn er erwacht, sieht er ein Paar Zöpfe neben ihm liegen."—Ibid.

⁴ Minerva, Taschenbuch für 1813, p. 335.

dainful to her neighbours, puffed up with pride, and bad-tempered.¹ Bugenhagen and Justus Jonas give her a very different character. The doctor himself returns thanks to God, in his "Tisch-Reden," "for having sent him a pious and wise companion, upon whom the heart of a man may repose, in the words of Solomon, ch. xxxi. ver. 11." Mayer has collected from Luther's writings all the testimonies which he can find in favour of Catherine, "that angel upon earth, sent by God for the happiness of the Saxon monk." He quotes especially this passage from one of the Reformer's letters: "My master Ketha salutes you, my Ketha goes to Zolsdorf to-morrow;"² and the superscription of a letter from Marburg, in 1529: "To my dear and much-beloved lord, Catherine Lutherine, doctorine, and predicatorine at Wittemberg."³

But it is to be observed that these expressions of love only last for a short while. Luther ceased to make use of them in 1530; and then, when he writes to his friends, "my Ketha" becomes only "my wife Ketha." It was probably at this time that George Pontanus (Bruck), chancellor of the elector John of Saxony, drew such an unflattering portrait of his friend's companion, who, according to him, "wishes to have the mastery at home, and rule the roast, is stingy and mean, and grudges the victuals." Pontanus was the friend of the family and guest of the doctor.⁴

After his marriage, Luther must have regretted the silence of the cloister, so favourable to meditation. Catherine interrupted his studies. On more than one occasion, when the doctor required all his temper to reply to some papist, she troubled him with foolish questions. Then, to avoid Ketha's prating, he had no other recourse than to take some bread, cheese, and beer, and lock himself in his closet; but this peaceful asylum was not always impenetrable, and frequently the troublesome face of his

¹ "Bora war hochtragenden Geistes, eigensinnig und stolz," &c.—*Reformations-Almanach*, 1817, p. 69.

² "Salutat te dominus meus Ketha, cras meus Ketha proficiscetur ad Zolsdorf."

³ "Meinem freundlichen lieben Herrn, Catharina Lutherin, Doctorin, Predigerin, zu Wittenberg."—Haseus, *Bibl. Brem.* cap. iv. p. 934.

⁴ "Hochmüthig und regierstüchtig, darbei aber karg und geizig im Essen und Trinken gewesen."—*Critisches Lexicon*: Bore.

wife would come between that of the pope or some monk whom he was engaged in buffeting.

Mayer, Catherine's encomiast, narrates that "one day, when he was shut in with his ordinary viaticum, turning a deaf ear to Ketha's voice, and continuing, in spite of a horrid noise which she was making at the door of the room, to labour at his translation of the 22nd Psalm, he suddenly heard these words through a small window: 'If you don't open the door, I shall go for the locksmith.' The doctor, absorbed with the Psalmist, rousing as if from a sound sleep, entreated his wife not to interrupt him in this blessed work. 'Open, open,' repeated Catherine. The doctor obeyed. 'I was afraid,' said Ketha, 'that something annoying had happened to you, since you have been shut up in this closet for three days.' To which Luther replied, like a Socrates: 'There is nothing annoying but that which I see before me.'"¹

The best wish which the doctor had for a friend was that he might have an obedient wife.²

* * * * *

During the first years of her married life, Ketha frequently looked back with regret to the quiet hours of the cloister; for the world in which she found herself was unkind. The wives of the Catholic citizens of Wittemberg turned their heads aside when they saw her, to avoid saluting her; and this hurt Catherine's pride, and she wept. The doctor would try to console her, embrace her, and say: "You are my wife, my honourable partner; be sure that our marriage is quite lawful. Heed not the evil tongues of an ignorant world, but mind the words of Christ and follow them; they will support you against the devil and hisimps. God has created you a woman and me a man; and what God has willed cannot be prohibited by St. Peter."³

Catherine was fond of reading the Scriptures, especially the Psalms, in which she found great comfort; but often also many obscure passages which puzzled her, and which the doctor en-

¹ Ehren-Gedächtniss, p. 304.

² Nicolao Amsdorf. De Wette, Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, tom. iii. p. 625.

³ Op. Luth. Jenæ, tom. ii. p. 275.

deavoured to explain, frequently admitting that "there were some which he could no more comprehend than a goose."¹

But it was especially after his work, when he walked with Catherine in the little conventual garden, by the borders of the pond wherein coloured fishes were disporting, that he loved to explain to his wife the wonders of creation and the goodness of the Creator. One evening, the stars blazed with extraordinary lustre; the heavens seemed on fire. "Do you see what splendour these luminous points emit?" said Catherine. Luther looked up. "What a glorious light," he said; "it shines not for us!"—"And wherefore?" returned Bora; "have we lost our right to the kingdom of heaven?" Luther sighed. "Perhaps so," said he, "as a punishment for having left our convents."—"Should we not, then, return to them?" said Catherine. "It is too late, the car is sunk too deeply," replied the doctor; and the conversation dropped.²

One day the doctor asked Catherine if she thought herself a saint? "How," replied Catherine, "a saint, I who am so great a sinner!"—"Oh, that abominable doctrine of the Papists," said Luther, "how it has wounded consciences! Now-a-days we must have works, and outward ones." And turning to Bora, he said: "Do you believe that you have been baptized, and are a Christian? You ought also to believe that you are a saint, for baptism destroys sin,—not that it has not been committed, but in that it ceases to be a cause of reprobation."³

We might infer, from some passages of his writings, that the Reformer had frequently to exercise his patience in his own house, for he boasts of that virtue, and makes a glory of it before God and his friends. "Patience with the pope,—patience with the fanatics,—patience with my disciples,—patience with Catherine Bora; my life is one continual exercise of patience."⁴ I am like the man spoken of by the prophet Isaias, whose strength lies in patience and hope!"

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 6.

² Georg. Joaneck, *Norma Vitæ*. Kraus, *Ovicul.* part xi. p. 39.

³ *Table-Talk*, translated by M. Gustave Brunet, pp. 209—210.

⁴ Tisch-Reden: *Eisleben*, p. 204.

"We must learn to bear," said he; "the tree endures a bad branch, the body a sore seat."¹

We sometimes perceive in his writings a desire for liberty which necessity compelled him to suppress. "To be free," said he, "I would require to dig up a stone and make a woman of it; she would be docile then! Without such a step there would be no obedience."²

Bora very often made him sensible that the poor sculptor had not yet found the block out of which he might make his model-wife. One day, when she wished by all means to be mistress, the doctor assumed a high tone, and said to her: "Mistress, mistress! this may do in affairs of the house; but otherwise I will not have it. The wives have been mistresses since the time of Adam, and what good have they done? When Adam commanded, before his fall, all went well; but then came the wife, and farewell all peace and concord; such are your wonders, Ketha! Therefore it is that I resist."³

His yoke did not always press on him; he admitted her mastery, and even glorified in it during the first year of his marriage, when Ketha was his "dear doctor."

Ketha took pleasure in tormenting him in his learned retreat by asking him silly questions. Sometimes she would ask him if the king of France was richer than his cousin the emperor of Germany? sometimes, if the women of Italy were finer than those of Germany? if Rome was as large as Wittenberg? or if the pope had diamonds more valuable than those of the late elector of Saxony, Frederick?

"Master," she said to him one day, "how is it that when we were Papists we prayed with so much zeal and faith, and that now our prayers are so cold and tepid?"⁴ At other times, when, after Luther had risen from the couch where he had been admiring her fair tresses, he sat down to study, Ketha would steal gently to the table and, approaching his ear, say: "Doctor, is not the grand master of the Teutonic order of Prussia the brother of the margrave?"⁵ They were one and the same person.

¹ Einen schweren Dreck um Leib's Willen.

² Tisch-Reden: Eisleben, 1569, p. 443.

³ Nicol. Ericus, Sylvula Sententiarum Lutheri, p. 190.

⁴ Tisch-Reden, p. 218, b.

⁵ Ibid. p. 422, a.

CHAPTER XIX.

LUTHER IN PRIVATE LIFE.

Luther the father of a family.—Elizabeth and John, his children.—Luther at Coburg and the toy-merchant.—His letter to his son.—Luther a gardener.—In his own house.—Luther's residence.—The monastery of Erfurt in 1538.—Luther at table.—His opinion of music.—Account of the expences of the city of Wittemberg for the doctor.—Luther's opinion as to dancing and usury.—A case of conscience.—The nuns of Nimptschen.—Luther an insolvent debtor.—Hans Lufft and Amsdorf.—The reformer's courage in adversity.—His charities.—His pride in poverty.—His devotion to the Muse.—Eobanus Hessus.

REVOLUTIONS have frequently produced men who conquer every obstacle to the accomplishment of one idea which they have determined to realize. Their mission being finished, we are astonished to see them fall back into obscurity. Such a man was Luther. Rather than bend the knee before the pope or the emperor, he would have preferred to die; but when descended from the high position which he had so long occupied, he forgets himself and his past elevation, and, after having ruled men's minds, becomes obedient as a child to the humours of a woman of thirty, plays with his children as he had played with crowned heads, and cultivates his little garden at Wittemberg with the same patience which we have seen him display in his endeavours to convert Eck or Carlstadt. He must be seen in his private life. It must be a curious spectacle to observe the monk, whom Charles V. had been unable to subdue, losing, in the bosom of his family, all the memories of his past renown, and concealing himself from the world to surrender himself to the effusions of friendship, the pleasures of the table, and the culture of his garden.

Let us for awhile leave the Reformer, to study the private individual; the pulpit of the sectary, to penetrate into the domestic life of a family-man; and look at the monk transformed into a citizen of Wittemberg. But let us remember, those modest virtues which we are now to exhibit—for we have no interest in concealing them—are like the flowers in the solitude of that cloister in which the obedient son of the Church dwelt

so long, and which the evil passions of the heresiarch have been unable entirely to stifle.

"Many children are a mark of God's blessing," said Luther, "and thus you see that Duke George of Saxony had none!"¹ He himself had no cause of complaint, for Providence had sent him six. He exulted when Ketha felt that she was to become a mother, and immediately wrote to Briesger: "My chain salutes your chain; she perceives the motion of the infant.² God be thanked!" When John, his first-born, came into the world, his heart overflowed with joy; he was obliged to communicate his happiness to all his correspondents. His old friend Spalatinus was the first to receive the intelligence. "Joy and benediction! I thank you, my dear Spalatinus, for all your kind wishes; may the Lord grant them! I am a father; Catherine, my darling wife, has presented me with a son, a gift from Heaven: thank God, I am a father! I wish with all my heart that Heaven may send you the same and more abundant blessings, for you are much better than I am. Pray to God, my dear friend, that he may preserve this child from Satan, who will neglect no means, as I know well, to break my heart in the person of this my beloved son. He already bears, wherefore I know not, all the marks of suffering. When will you come to see us, to renew our former intimacy? I have planted a garden, and constructed a fountain; with what taste you shall see. Come, then, that I may crown you with lilies and roses."³

In 1526 Elizabeth was born; she lived only a few months, and died in her father's arms. "Poor child!" said Luther, "her death lacerates my heart. Alas! I should never have believed that a father's heart was so weak! Pray to God for

¹ Reformatio-Almanach, 1817, p. 64.

² "Salutat te et tuam catenam mea, cujus fœtus se præbuit sentiendum jam fere sex hebdomadibus. Deo gratias."—Eberhardo Briesger. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 92. 1526.

³ Spalatinus was married in December, 1525. Luther wrote to him: "Saluta tuam conjugem, et cum in thoro suavissimis amplexibus et oculis Catharinam teneris. . . ."—De Wette, l. c. tom. iii. p. 53.

Another letter, to Jonas: "Salutabis tuum Dictative multis basiis vice meâ et Jonanelli mei qui hodie didicit flexis poplitibus solus in omnem angulum cacare, imo cacavit verè in omnem angulum miro negotio. Salutat te mea Ketha et orare pro se rogat, puerpera propediem futura; Christus assit. 19 Oct. 1527." To Briesger: "Filiolam aliam habeo in utero, 8 Apr. 1528."

me." He caused to be engraved upon her tomb : "Hic dormit Elizabetha, filiola Lutheri."

John grew apace ; but as he increased in years, the germs of disease which he had brought with him into the world became developed, so that all the doctor's happiness was poisoned. He forgot the world to speak of his child. "My little one cannot embrace you," he writes, "but he earnestly commends himself to your prayers. For twelve days he has taken neither meat nor drink until yesterday, when he was a degree better. Poor little fellow, he is so playful, but so weak !"

There is a charming picture in Luther's life. At the diet of Augsburg, presided over by Charles V. in person, King Ferdinand, the landgrave of Hesse, the pope's nuncio, the electors of Saxony, and all the most illustrious warriors and learned men of Germany were assembled. Melancthon was to present to that assembly the Protestants' confession of faith. In consequence of the emperor's anger, Luther was obliged to conceal himself at Coburg. While walking through that town, he stopped before a toyshop, and suddenly remembered his son John, and returning to the citadel, he left the magnificent psalm, "*Quare fremuerunt gentes?*" which he was translating into German with all the poetic fire of the original, to write to this child of four years' old the following letter, so adapted to the infant's comprehension :—

"Grace and peace in the Lord, my dear child ! I hear with delight that you learn your lessons well, and say your prayers to our good God. Continue to do so, my dear child, and when I return I shall bring you a pretty toy.

"I have seen a pretty little garden where there were many children dressed in golden robes, who were heaping up under the trees pears, apples, cherries, and plums. They were singing and dancing with joy ; they were also riding on pretty ponies with bridles of gold and saddles of silver. I asked the owner of the garden : 'Whose children are these ?'—'Oh !' he replied, 'these are good children, who say their prayers, and learn their lessons well, and love the good God.' And I said to him : 'My good friend, I also have a son named Hans, might I bring him to this garden, where he could eat these nice apples and pears, and ride upon these pretty ponies, and play with these children ?' And

the man replied : ' If he says his prayers, and learns his lesson well, and is very good, he shall come with Lippus and Jost, and when they are together they shall ride about, play on the fife and the drum, and dance, and shoot with little cross-bows.' And the man showed me in the middle of the garden a fine green-sward for dancing, where were golden fifes, and silver drums, and cross-bows. But it was too early, the children had not dined, and I had not time to wait to see them dance. And I said to the man : ' Ah, my dear sir, I shall write immediately to my little John to learn his lessons, and say his prayers, and be very good, that he may come to this garden ; he has an aunt whom he will bring with him.' And the man replied : ' Go and write to your little John.'

" My dear child, learn your lessons, say your prayers, and tell Lippus and Jost (Philip and James) to be very good, and you shall all come to the garden. Salute your aunt, and give her a kiss for me."¹

One can hardly believe that this playful effusion was written by the same hand as that which penned the letters to Henry VIII. and Leo X. And if you see him digging in his garden, pulling up the weeds, drawing water from the fountain for sprinkling his borders, and as proud of his flower-pots as of his translation of the New Testament, you will not recognise the pilgrim who at sight of Worms exclaimed : " Were there as many devils there as there are tiles on the housetops, I shall advance ! " Do you know why he is so fond of his garden ? It is because, when he is tempted by the devil, he takes his spade, laughing in his sleeve at his adversary, from whom he escapes by taking refuge among the flowers.²

" Send me the seeds which you promised me for the spring ; I look for them with impatience," he writes to his friend Lincke ; and when the seeds have germinated, he despatches another letter to inform him of the good news. " My melons grow, my gourds are swelling ; what a blessing ! " ³

He was passionately fond of flowers, and often knelt down to admire them more closely. " Poor violet," he would say, " what

¹ Gust. Pfizer, *Dr. Martin Luther's Leben*, p. 590.

² Gust. Pfizer, *l. c.*

³ 5 Juillet, 1527.

a perfume you exhale ; but how much sweeter it would be if Adam had not sinned ! How I admire your tints, oh, rose, which would be more brilliant, but for the fault of the first man ! Lily, whose splendour exceeds that of the princes of the world, what now would it be if our first father had not been disobedient to his Creator ?” He believed that after Adam’s fall the hand of God had taken away from the material world a portion of the gifts which He had bestowed on it ; but, at least, he thought, “ nature does not show its ingratitude like man ; for the murmur of the streams, the perfume of the gardens, the breath of the winds, the rustling of the leaves, are so many hymns chanted to the Creator ; whilst man, made after the image of God, forgets Him entirely since his sin. Oh, man, how great were thy destinies, if Adam had not fallen ! Thou wouldst have studied and admired God in each of His works, and the smallest plant would have formed an inexhaustible source of meditation on the goodness and magnificence of him who created worlds ! And if God causes to spring from the rocks such a variety of flowers, with colours so brilliant and perfumes so sweet, that no painter or chemist can equal them, what still greater number of flowers of every hue,—blue, yellow, and red, could He have caused the earth to produce !”

One day, when at table, his children were admiring the colour of a peach, a fruit then very dear, and of which Luther had received a present : “ My children,” said he, “ this is but a feeble image of what one day you may see on high ! Adam and Eve, before their fall, had peaches far finer than that, compared with which our peaches are but wild pears.” He believed that after the day of judgment, in the world beyond the grave, of which we have only a dim idea, creation would resume its primitive beauty ; that the sun, the light of which he compared to that of an ordinary lamp, would advance in glory, like the giant of the Scriptures, and shine with new brilliancy, and blaze unbearable by mortal eyes. The stars would be so many suns, whose splendour would nevertheless be obscured by the moon. Then other heavens would open up, and an earth, of which ours is but a shadow, would appear decked with all the beauty which it had lost by Adam’s fall. And after having discoursed at length on these imaginary worlds, which the eye of man would one day see :

"Poor Erasmus," said he, without considering that this reflection laid bare the misery of his nature, "you have no anxiety for this future creation; what matters it to you how the fruit is formed, matured, and developed? You know nothing of the dignity, the grandeur, of sexual union. But we, thank God! admire the power of the Creator in the works of his hands. What magnificence a single blade of grass conceals! and how the might of his word is seen in His creatures: let them be, and they were made! See this kernel of the peach, its taste is bitter, but it will open, and another wonder will issue from it. Tell Erasmus to admire these wonders, they are beyond his comprehension; he contemplates creation as a cow does a new door."¹ Had Luther, then, not read the philosopher's works?

In 1524, the monks in a body left the Augustinian monastery; none but the prior and Luther remained. The prior lived at his ease; but Luther was for a long time obliged to attend to the applications of the monks who, as a means of subsistence, required the revenues of the house. He handed them over to the elector Frederick, in order to get rid of an administration which subjected him often to the complaints and anger of his former brethren. He laid aside the cowl, which he had only continued to wear for the purpose of ridiculing the pope.² On the 9th of October, he preached for the first time in his new dress; it was a gown with wide sleeves, shaped like a cassock, buttoned up to the middle of the breast, where it was turned over on each side, and displayed a black vest, with a small collar or *rabat* of white linen. Thus he appears in the painting by his friend Lucas Cranach. A few days before he assumed his new costume, the elector had sent him a large piece of Prussian cloth with this note: "This will make you a preacher's cassock, a monk's gown, or a Spanish cape."³ This was all the wardrobe of the period. Eck wore the cassock at Leipsic, Prierias the monk's gown, and Erasmus the Spanish cape. Luther did not wish to leave the cloister; a superstitious feeling kept him there, as he believed that he was to die in it. It was there

¹ Siehet er die Creaturen an wie die Rülhe ein neues Thor.

² "Nam et incipiam tandem cucullum abjicere quem ad ludibrium papæ hactenus retinui."—Fab. Capitoni, 25 Maii, 1524.

³ G. Pfizer, Martin Luther's Leben, p. 185.

that he received the envoy of King Ferdinand, who came to Wittemberg to inquire into the truth of the rumour that the doctor had a strong guard of armed men. The envoy found him all alone with his books, and did not see even the legion of devils which the Anabaptists alleged to attend him, or that familiar spirit which daily dined with him, if we are to believe Luther's own tale.¹

After the monks left, Luther removed to an apartment much larger than that which he first occupied, and where the devil had tempted him so violently, that in order to drive him away he was obliged to pitch the inkstand at his head; the door all stained with ink still remains in evidence of the apparition. This was no longer a little cell of some few square feet, but a complete suite of rooms, in three divisions,—one for a bed-chamber, another for study and reception, and a third for dining. The walls of his bedroom were daubed with texts from the Scriptures, written in charcoal, such as: “*Verbum Dei manet in æternum*,” which he had worked even on his servants’ sleeves; or quotations from the classic poets, Homer especially: “He who watches over the destiny of a nation, ought not to sleep all night.”² The selection of Bible texts was made by Staupitz. The study, which was plastered and whitewashed, was adorned with portraits in oil of Melancthon and the elector Frederick, by Lucas Cranach, and some caricatures against the pope. Luther had suggested the subjects of these in his conversations at table. Some itinerant artist, as they all were, had collected them and carried them to Nuremberg, that great emporium of wood engravings. They were, as usual, sorry devices,—the pope on a sow, the pope carried off by devils, or his holiness in the shape of a calf, an elephant, or a naked woman. These caricatures were encased in maple-wood frames, whence were suspended scrolls containing prophetic sentences in German; such as, “The day of the Lord approaches;”—“Pope, I shall be to thee the bear on the highway;”—“I passed, and he was no more.”³ Farther, the eye was disagreeably affected by a

¹ Tisch-Reden.

² Reformationen-Almanach, 1817. p. 38.

³ Prophecies of the approaching fall of the papacy were long in fashion among Protestants. There was no theologian, however petty, who did not foretell the precise day and hour on which the Holy See was to perish. See

clumsy wooden case, on which lay or stood a few books, which he called his library; among these the Bible, as the word of God in his mind, occupied the first place; it was there in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; there were Melancthon's "Psalms," and Erasmus' "New Testament;" beside them, in confusion, lay the theses on indulgences, treatises on abrogation of the Mass, on the "Captivity in Babylon," the "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum," several works of John Huss, the editions of Virgil and Columella, printed by Froben, of Basle, and some ascetic books published at Mayence, which had been presented to him by his friends. The chamber was of an irregular figure, the lateral lines of which terminated in a large bay-window, from five to six feet in height. Coloured panes, of a round shape, soldered together with lead, threw the light in variegated hues upon the table. This table, which has been carefully preserved as a relic, resembles a sort of desk *à la Tronchin*; and on its centre is the ivory crucifix, the work of a Nuremberg artist, which constitutes its greatest ornament. The head of the Redeemer is admirably expressive. The artist must certainly have visited Italy, and been familiar with the works of Michael Angelo. It is believed to have been the gift of the elector, who probably found it in a monastery. It is this representation of Christ, but coarsely copied, which forms the frontispiece to the edition of Luther's works, published a few years after his death. The old arm-chair in which he sat, and in which he probably translated a part of the Bible, still exists; this is a monastic piece of furniture, also presented to him by the prince; perhaps it may have been the chair of some bishop, some disciple of Scotus or Durandus. On his return from Wartburg, Luther brought with him a dog, which the keeper of the castle had given to him, and which died of old age, after having passed fifteen years of his life with the doctor, at whose feet it lay while he worked. Hence Luther, alluding to the theologians who boasted of having seen many books, contemptuously said: "And my dog also has seen many books, more perhaps than Faber, who

on this subject a curious volume, published in 1527, *Eine wunderliche Weissagung von dem Papstthumb, in Figuren oder Gemälden begriffen*. Oslander wrote the preface, Hans Sachs the verses, and Hans Gildemund printed it. See *Hist. dipl. Magaz.* tom. i. p. 344.

talks of nothing but the fathers and councils. I know that Faber has seen many books, it is a glory which I do not envy him."¹ Near the door was a turner's lathe, which he got from Nuremberg, that he might earn his bread by his hands, if ever the word of God should be insufficient to support him. "My dear Lincke," he writes to his friend, "we have none but barbarians here, who know nothing of the arts; Wolfgang and I have taken it into our heads to learn turning; he is to act as my master. I send you, therefore, a florin, and request you will purchase with it the necessary tools for boring and turning, a pair of screws, and all that is required for the trade we wish to learn; we have some tools, but those of Nuremberg are better: your workmen are better than ours. If the florin is not enough, add what is needful, and I shall repay you."

At the door were hung up, in place of those pipes which you now find in the room of every German student, a flute and a guitar, on both of which instruments he performed. When he felt fatigued by long composition, his brain weary, and that his ideas did not keep pace with his pen,—or that the devil, as he tells us, played him some trick, and came to tempt him,—he would take his flute, and play a tune, when his ideas became fresh, like a flower dipped in water, and the exorcised demon would take flight, and the writer return to his work with renewed energy. He considered music, like language, a divine revelation, of heavenly origin, and that without God man would not have discovered it. In his eyes no remedy was more efficacious than music for driving away the evil thoughts, angry desires, ambitious aspirations, and carnal suggestions, which we inherit from our first parent. It was the most certain voice by which man could convey to the throne of God his pains, his cares, his tears, his miseries, his love, and his gratitude; it was the language of the angels in heaven, and on earth that of the old prophets. Next to theology he loved music, and often said: "The man who does not love music, cannot be loved by Luther."² What a charming science is music! its notes impart life to speech, it expels the cares, inquietudes, and sorrows of the heart.

¹ An Justus Jonas: 1523.

² "Wer die Musikanten verachtet, wie denn alle Schwärmer thun, mit dem bin ich nicht zufrieden, denn die Musika ist eine Gabe und Geschenk Gottes."

Every instructor of youth, every clergyman should be a musician. A musician is a truly happy man: he has no bitter cares; by the aid of a few notes he banishes *ennui*: "*pacis tempore regnat musica*." ¹ He had retained and loved to sing, while digging in his garden, some old hymns of the Church: "*A solis ortus sidere, Patris sapientia*," and especially, "*Rex Christe factor omnium*," of which both the words and the music delighted him much. When he entered Worms, he sung a hymn, of which he is said to have composed both the words and the music. This choral is one of the oldest musical relics which Germany has preserved, but it is not certain that the music is the same that Luther extemporized, for the music of Worms does not resemble that of Wittemberg; in neither of them have we found but the imperfect element of Meyerbeer's choral. The song in German resembled greatly the melopœia of the Greeks or the Gregorian chant; and Luther was right in saying that music was a gift which man received, like a grace, into his system. In Italy alone has man made it an art.

Were Luther to return to the world, he would recognise neither his gospel nor his residence. The Augustinian monastery at Erfurt has undergone the fate of its doctrines: it has fallen to the ground, and nothing remains of it but the monk's cell, which is religiously preserved, and shown to the inquisitive traveller. It is, in truth, the great wonder of that city. Imagine a room of a few feet square, sufficiently large to contain a bed, one or two chairs, and a table. The window, excessively high, as in the monasteries of the sixteenth century, commands a view of the high towers of the neighbouring church. Their tall spires, ornamented with infinite labour, were the only external sight that could distract his attention. They no longer exist. Enclosed by thick walls, isolated from all other habitations, no sound could reach its occupant save the wind, which whistled through the fret-work of the pinnacles of the church, or the monotonous drip of the water that fell from the conventual fountain into a vast stone basin.

Martin Gœrlitz was his regular purveyor of Torgau beer. "Your Ceres," Luther writes to him, "goes off jollily; it was reserved for me and my guests, who could not praise it enough,

¹ Tisch-Reden, pp. 577, 578.

and preferred it to any that they had ever tasted. And I, clown that I am, who have not yet thanked you for it, or your Emilius either, am so *oikodespotes*, so negligent, that I forgot it at the bottom of my cellar, where it would have remained unknown had my servant not reminded me of it. Thanks, then, for that acceptable gift, the magnificent gift of a *Cresus* in your own way. Health to your brothers, especially to Emilius and his son, the graceful hind and charming fawn. May God bless you, and make you abundantly rich in grace and the world's goods!"¹

It is certain that Luther loved the pleasures of the table; beer and good wine especially, but taken in moderation. "The elector's wine is excellent, and we do not spare it," he writes to Spalatinus.² Frederick had presented him with some Rhenish wine, and at the secularisation of the Augustinian monastery the entire cellar was given to him by the elector. These monastic cellars were abundantly stored with the wines of Italy, which the popes frequently sent to the religious houses that had rendered service to the court of Rome. Besides, the German princes, who, by means of Luther, had become proprietors of the rich cellars of the reformed abbeys, seldom failed to send a few hogsheads as an acknowledgment to the doctor of Wittemberg. It must be granted that Luther, when drinking the monks' Malmsey, ought to have been more sparing of those who had provided him with such a gratification. They were nearly all apostate monks whom he regaled at the expense of those who remained faithful to their ancient religion: Justus Jonas, Amsdorf, and Spalatinus. Melancthon, one of his favorite guests, might have made himself elevated without ingratitude, for he had never worn the monastic habit.

The townhall of Wittemberg contains registers of expenditure from the fifteenth century. The following is extracted from that of the year 1525:—

"XX. Grosch. for a small barrel of Malmsey, at 5 gros. the quarter.

"VI. Grosch. for a small barrel of Rhenish wine.

"VII. Grosch. for six cans of Franconian wine, at XIV. the quarter, for Dr. Martin, on Wednesday after Trinity.

¹ 15 Jan. 1529. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 417.

² D. G. Spalatinus, 8 Mart. 1528.

"XVI. Grosch. VI. Stüb. for a hogshead of Eimbeck beer, for the use of Dr. Martin, on Tuesday after St. John.

"I. Stüb. VII. Grosch. III. Hell. for a Suabian hood, as a new year's gift to Dame Catherine Bora, wife of Dr. Martin.

"II. Stüb. XVI. Grosch. for wine taken by Dr. Martin from the cellars of the city.

"XLII. Grosch. paid for Dr. Martin when, at the request of the council of the district, he returned to Wittemberg from his Isle of Patmos.

"VII. Stüb. XX. Grosch. for Dr. Martin, on the occasion of his marriage, taken from the treasury of the hospital."¹

The Reformer was temperate ; he drank little, and brought to table agreeable conversation, expansive gaiety, sarcastic sallies, and the treasures of his exhaustless memory. Every subject was discussed there, especially the monks, whom they would not have spared, even though their wine had been better than it was ; then the pope, whose horoscope was drawn, and whose rule, both spiritual and temporal, was to be buried long before Luther ; women, the devil, the emperor, and even dancing. "Is dancing sinful ?" he was asked ; and he replied : "Did not the Jews dance ? I cannot tell you ; but we dance now-a-days ; dancing is a necessary, like dress with women, dinner, or supper ; and indeed I do not see why it should be forbidden ; if people sin, that is not the fault of the dance, which does not offend against faith or charity. Dance then, my children." The theatre did not appear to him to be more dangerous than dancing, and he did not condemn those who witnessed, acted, or composed scenic representations. "We must not," said he, "condemn the theatre because improprieties are said there, for, on the same principle, we must condemn the Bible."² After dinner, in summer, he would take off his coat, and play at skittles with Dietrich, or one of his friends. He said merrily : "Melancthon is a better Greek scholar than I am, but I beat him at skittles."

The greatest men of his time, with whom Luther formerly took counsel, kept up a regular correspondence with him : he

¹ Ausgabe von den Raths-Geschenken.

² See the chapter entitled, Luther at Table. Seckendorf asserts that Capnio (Reuchlin) caused the first German comedy to be performed, in honour of Dalberg, bishop of Worms.—Comm. de Luth. sect. xxvii. § 70, p. 104.

is the universal casuist, the father of the Saxon Church; and he answers every letter. "Doctor," he is asked, "what do you think of usury?" "You have only to open my treatise '*De Usuris*.' He who lends at five or six per cent. is an usurer. When I lend you my vase, what do you return to me? only my vase; you rob me by gaining on your exchange. There are neither Sacraments nor paradise for usurers."¹

At one time a poor monk, peculiarly tormented, informs Spalatinus of the circumstance, who, treating it as a case of conscience, immediately writes to Wittenberg. Luther's decision savours alike of the casuist and the physician.²

Another time it is a young woman of Torgau in search of her betrothed, the prince's barber, and exhibiting the ring and medal which she had received from him as pledges of their approaching marriage. The betrothed has promised in presence of Dr. Schwerteger and Christian: but has forgotten his vows. Luther engages to make him be reminded of them by the prince himself. "This is a good lesson," he says to Spalatinus, "for a class of worthless fellows who constantly trifle with youthful affections."³

A nun of Freyberg wrote to him: "My beloved doctor, take me from my convent, and bring me to Saxony."⁴

For several years the door of his cell was besieged by religious of both sexes who came to ask him for a husband or a wife. Luther endeavoured to satisfy them; and he had plenty of subjects on hand. Some of them, however, lost patience, and gave themselves up to all the disorders of libertinism; such as John P——, who was found in a brothel drunk, in a lay dress, and who had received a disgraceful blow.⁵ At the sight

¹ Op. Luth. Wittenb. tom. vii. pp. 419—437. *

² "Seminiſſus ille de quo mihi ſcribis, ſi tamen fuit verum ſemen, hoc eſt cum ſummâ voluptate et concuſſione, qualis fluxus eſſe ſi mulieri miſceatur, nam ſunt quibus fluxus ejusmodi tam tenuis eſt, ac penè ſine voluptate, ut tantum humor quidam ſuperfluous exiſtimetur, cui nec mulier, nec ulla viſ medebitur: hic ſi in otio vivit ac in ſecuritate, tentare poterit, primo ut corporali labore et inedia exerceat carnem, tum ſpes erit ſanitatis: ſin autem laborare vel non vult, vel non poteſt, mandato Dei debet mulieri copulari, alioqui tentabit Deum et manebit in peccato."—Spalatinus, 6 Nov. 1523.

³ Spalatinus, 4 April.

⁴ Luther's Briefe, 29 June, 1528.

⁵ "Inventus à lictoribus in lupanari potatus probè et laicâ veſte, atque etiam percuffus aliqua parte, ut audio."—Wenceal. Linck, 19 Dec. 1522.

of the scandals given by the apostate monks, Luther exclaimed : "Truly, we are encompassed with shame!"¹ Some violated at the same time both their vows and the Christian conditions of marriage, by marrying decrepid women, whose riches attracted their covetousness. "Like this court-preacher who," Luther says, "has just married an old fool, laden with years and money; a marriage more worthy of Mammon than the Gospel. It would have been different had he married a young woman who could have brought him children."²

One day, nine nuns came to him at once : Luther was at his wit's end.

"Nine apostate nuns, poor lambs, have been brought to me by Leonard Kœppe and Wolf Tomitzch. I am truly sorry for them, and others like them, who pine away in continence; an infirm sex, so fitted for man by their nature and the command of God, and yet treated so inhumanly. O paternal tyranny! Who can sufficiently execrate the pope and cardinals!

"What am I to do with them? I shall first write to their parents; if they will not receive them I shall take charge of them, and marry them as well as I can. Their names are: Magdalen Staupitz, Elsa von Canitz, Ave Grossin, Ave Schœnfeldin³ and her sister Margaret, Lanete von Goles, Margaret Zeschau and her sister Catherine, and Catherine Bora. Their escape is wonderful; they must be relieved. I entreat you then to do a work of charity, and procure for me some money from the rich lords of your court, to enable me to support them for fifteen days until I can send them back to their families; for my Capharnaïtes profit so much by the treasures of the word which I preach to them, that I have not been able to obtain the loan of ten florins for a poor creature, of which I had great need. The poor have nothing or they would have lent to me. The rich either refuse, or lend so unwillingly, that they lose all the merits of charity in God's sight. You know that my whole

¹ Wencesl. Linck, 19 Dec. 1522.

² "Vehementer displicent nuptiæ Wolfgangi quas tu significas cum annosâ et nummosâ vetulâ : opprobrium est Evangelii sic querere Mammon."—Spalatio, 19 Sept. 1523.

³ Luther married her to a physician, Basilius.

income is only five hundred and thirty florins ; I have not a penny more for myself or my brethren." ¹

Luther did not tell the true motive for the refusal of his co-religionists. When the time for payment came he was not always ready to discharge the debt, and his creditors lost their temper. At length he entirely lost credit in Wittemberg. Luther had then recourse to his mantel-piece, which was always adorned with silver goblets, his customary gifts from the electors. He sold, or pledged, or alienated them in perpetuity, for he was certain that he could never redeem them from the mortgagees. In 1527, he became surety for more than a hundred florins. He had the simplicity to ask fifty on a pledge of three goblets of exquisite workmanship, which were worth two hundred ; the lender, who knew Luther, was well pleased with his advantage over him ; but he was mistaken, and "the Lord, who ought to have punished the doctor's imprudence, afforded him the means of redeeming them."

His printer, Hans Lufft, who had become a Lutheran because he gained much money by selling the doctor's works, was not more charitable than others. He would lend him nothing ; and yet Luther did not receive a farthing from his works.² He merely reserved some five or six copies of each edition, to give one to the first poor person that asked for alms, when his purse was empty,—which was generally the case.

It was not the first time that he had to complain of Lufft, who sent him proofs full of errors, overlooked the revises very carelessly, and frequently omitted to attend to the author's corrections. "My printer is called John," said the doctor piteously, "and John he will remain. The paper, type, all that he has done for me is detestable. . . . They are all like him ; provided they make money, that is sufficient : if the authors be content, why should they trouble themselves ?" ³ But what would Luther have said had he walked into one of those German printing-houses where the majority of the compositors, Lutherans of their

¹ Spalatino, 10 April, 1523. De Wette, l. c. tom. ii. p. 319.

² Wencesl. Linck, 5 Jul. 1527. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 186.

³ Spalatino, 15 Aug. Luther's Briefe, tom. ii. p. 42.

trade, amused themselves by clouding with errors the Catholic writings which the monks published ?¹

Amsdorf was one of Luther's best friends, obliging, and serviceable, with an ever-open purse of which the doctor did not fail to make frequent use. Amsdorf was his good star. One day there was nothing in the house, when unexpectedly a poor pregnant woman came there to be confined : Luther writes to his friend : "Gersa will soon lie in here ; should that happen at the same time when Ketha is confined, you will require to be still more liberal, and to arm yourself, not with sword or mail, but with gold and silver, and a well-stocked purse to meet the emergency, for we will not let you off scot free."² Amsdorf came immediately, with his wallet on his back and his pockets well filled ; Luther went down to the cellar, drew from the cask some bottles of Rhenish wine, and the companions spent a few pleasant hours at table. In the evening they went to converse at the tavern near the church of All Saints.

We have seen with what philosophic calmness Luther speaks of his poverty. Amidst all those vain triumphs which might have puffed up a mind less worldly than his, he is always the same as we have seen him at the beginning of his contest with the pope. Then he asked a few florins from the elector to purchase a new cassock, his own being old and out at elbow. Now he who had opposed the emperor and the Orders of Germany at Worms ; who had roused with his anger all the princes of Saxony against the peasants ; and had bandied controversies with crowned heads, cannot find any one to lend him ten florins. It is certain that had he wished to sell his silence, he would have found more than one monarch to be its purchaser. This poverty is noble, and Luther bears it with courage. He never speaks of it, except to laugh at it with his friends, or express his vexation when any poor person comes to solicit alms. He sends them to the elector ; but it does not appear that this prince's charity was always very warm, if we may judge of it by Luther's murmurs.

¹ We have before us a small work, beautifully printed at Nuremberg, by Balthasar Schleiffer, 1501 : *Theodorici Kysichei Germani Oratio*, in which, for want of types, the Greek words are left blank.

² Nicol. Amsdorf, 29 March, 1529. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 432.

One evening a poor man knocks at his door : Luther has no money. "Take this," he says, "here is an offering made at a baptism." And when his wife looks displeased, he says to her, "God is rich, he will send us something more beautiful."

Another time, a student comes to ask something to assist his journey. "You come at an unfortunate time," says the doctor. The young man weeps. "Stop, stop," says Luther, as he casts his eyes on the mantelpiece, where shines a silver-gilt cup. "Take this ; I wish you a good journey : God be with you !" The student stares with surprise, while Ketha grumbles in a corner. Luther takes the cup and squeezes its sides together with his hands as if it had been in a vice : "carry this," he adds, "to the goldsmith ; a pewter mug will serve me."¹

His letters of recommendation are short and animated.

"The poor fellow who conveys this is going a journey ; he is a worthy man who must be assisted. You are well aware that I have very little, and have daily calls upon me. Endeavour to give him thirty groschen ; should that be too much, give him twenty, and I shall give him ten ; if that is still too much, give him the half, and I shall try to make up the difference. God will repay you."

The elector Frederick generally paid attention to Luther's recommendations, but his successor, John, sometimes allowed them to remain unnoticed. He thought he did enough, in sending the doctor regularly every year a piece of cloth. Luther was in no haste to thank him, for he was poor, and proud as a mighty baron. He suffered some weeks to elapse before he wrote to the prince :—

"I have long delayed to thank your highness for the robe and piece of cloth which you have had the extreme kindness to send me. I hope your highness does not believe those who say that I am in distress. Thank God, you have never let me want for anything ; I have even more than is necessary for me in conscience ; and I neither wish nor require superfluities. To tell you the truth, I receive your highness' gifts with as much fear as gratitude, for I would not wish to be of the number of those of whom Christ has said : 'Woe to you, ye rich, you have received

¹ Dr. Franz Volkmar Reinhard's *sämmtliche Reformations-Predigten*, vol. ii. p. 110.

your reward in your treasures.' I speak frankly to you. I do not wish to be a burden to you ; your highness has so many to support that I fear you will have nothing left : there are too many drafts on your purse. I had enough, and even more than enough of that fine brown stuff, for which I thank you heartily. But I wish to show my respect for you ; I shall accordingly wear the brown dress, although it is much too fine for me : had I not received it from you, I should never have put it on. I beg and entreat your highness not to be so liberal, but wait until I ask you, so that another time, when occasion offers, I shall not feel ashamed to beg for others who are more deserving of your bounty than I am : otherwise your gifts would embarrass me. I pray, from the bottom of my heart, that Christ may reward you according to your merits. Amen."¹

He was as much at his ease with the electors, great people, and lords of the ducal court as with his immediate friends. We have seen letters addressed to Frederick, written upon the covers of books, of which the two leaves had been pasted together by Luther.

Justus Jonas was even more regardless of the customs of society, as Luther informs us in the following untranslatable letter :—

*"Gratia et pax. Non de cloaca papyrum sumo, quemadmodum Jonas noster qui te nihil pluris æstimat quam ut dignus sis qui schedas natales, hoc est de natibus purgatis legas."*²

For upwards of two years he and the prior had not been paid their moderate salary, so that they had to live on the charity of the faithful : but this did not prevent the tax-gatherers of Wittemberg from constantly insisting on payment of the seignorial impost. "Must we always hold out the hand," said Luther, "and receive nothing ? When is this to end ? Christ, I hope, will put things in order." But his complaint never assumes a bitter tone ; he only raises his voice a little when a poor person comes to the monastery for Luther, who has frequently nothing to give him by way of alms but a recommendation to one of his friends at court. That done, the monk betakes him-

¹ An den Ehurfürsten Johannes, 17 August, 1579.

² Epist. Luth. edit. of Aurifaber : Eisleb. fol. 271.

self to his books, to the Bible especially, which he prefers to all others. Sometimes he returns to the muses, whom he had deserted, and who could charm and console him so well. These daughters of Heaven bear him no spite; on the contrary, they receive and feast him as the prodigal son, they inspire him, and procure him some hours of delightful relaxation. We cannot, then, imagine how the language of Luther becomes rich and florid, or tell that he had ever been familiar with any but the classical Latin, so sweet does it flow, and exhale such a perfume of antiquity. He is again a poet. Erasmus has not a more beautiful page than that which the Saxon addresses to his friend Eobanus Hessus, on a Latin poem :—

“Without the study of the languages, there is no theology: we have seen theology and literature perish in the same shipwreck. Never did the great voice of God reveal itself to man until intelligence had prepared the way for it, like the precursor of the Messiah. It is, therefore, my most ardent wish that youth should cultivate the muses. Poets and orators come in crowds to initiate man in the mysteries of the Scriptures, and give him the understanding of the divine word. Wisdom can make the lips of childhood eloquent. Let us not despise the gift of tongues. My learned friend, make use of your own name and of mine, if you wish to invoke it, to give our youth a taste for poetry. All my regret is, that our age and my occupations prevent me from cultivating the ancient poets and orators, and thus learn Greek at my ease.”¹

¹ Eobanus Hesso, 29 March, 1523. J. Crotus Rubeanus, the intimate friend of Luther, before his return to Catholicism, had sent him the poem of Eobanus Hessus, entitled *The Captive*. See Jac. Burckard. *Comm. de Ling. Lat.* in *Germ. fatis*, part. i. p. 170; part. ii. p. 433 et seq.

Eobanus Hessus, author of the treatise, *De Amantium Infelicitate contra Venerem, de Cupidinis Impotentia*, and of whom we have made mention previously, composed various poems in praise of Luther: In *Evangelici Doctoris Martini Lutheri laudem Defensionemque*; and a letter to him, entitled, *Ecclesiæ Afflictæ Epistola ad Lutherum, &c.* In each of these he abuses the gluttony of the monks :—

“Ignavi monachi, pepones et inertia terræ
Pondera, degeneri dedita turba gulæ.”

Now, we have seen that Eobanus Hessus was the greatest drunkard of his age.

CHAPTER XX.

LUTHER AT TABLE.—THE TISCH REDEN.

Luther at the Black Eagle tavern in Wittemberg.—Evening conversations.—Why we collect them.—The object of these nocturnal gossipings.—The devil.—Sorcery.—The pope.—The decretals.—The bishops.—The papists.—On the death of some papists.—The monks.

THE people of Germany are fond of evening-meetings at the tavern, in one of those large halls, so well warmed in winter and so cool in summer, always so well kept and lighted, and where the guests may spend whole hours at table imbibing glasses of sparkling beer. The Black Eagle tavern at Wittemberg, for fifteen years, from 1525 to 1540, had no more regular customer than Luther, the Beer pope, as the Sacramentarians called him.¹ At nightfall the doctor would walk to his favourite resort. There he took his accustomed seat, and soon would be joined by his intimate and confidential friends or disciples; such as Veit Dietrich, Mathesius, and Aurifaber, who placed themselves beside him and talked together until the castle clock struck ten. They then parted, to meet again on the next and every succeeding evening, except on Sundays and festivals, which they spent in their own houses. Each paid his own reckoning, but Luther was not always able to pay his. There, on an oaken bench, were held those conversations which have since been collected in Latin under the title of "*Convivia Mensalia*;" and in German by that of "*Tisch-Reden*:" familiar discourses, in which they talked after the fashion of Pico di Mirandola, *de omni re scibili*;—of philosophy and witchcraft, criticism and poetry, morals and astrology;—of the kingdom of Antichrist, to wit, the pope, bishops, and priests;—of the Catholic superstitions, that is to say, of the sacraments of orders, extreme unction, works, celibacy, and communion under one species;—of the future prospects of the Reformation, in other words, of the downfall of the modern

¹ Der sächsische Bier-Papst. Erasmus Albertus, in his work entitled, *Wider die Karlstädter*.

Babylon, the extinction of popery, the shipwreck of the bark of St. Peter, or of Sodom, as they were pleased to call it;—of the triumph of God's word, exemplified in the closing of some monastery, the violation of some nun, the apostasy of some friar, who had thrown his cord and cowl at the head of his superior; or the marriage of some apostle of the new gospel. The monks were frequently the subject of these conversations, and the companions were never at a loss for sarcasm, irony, and jokes against these unfortunate individuals, each guest having always a ready store. They spoke of the other sex in a manner that would shock the ear; but in those days they were less refined than they are now, or perhaps were not afraid of being overheard.

Our reader need not be astonished at the space which we shall devote to these alehouse scenes. It was in the tavern that this modern Salmoneus defied the thunders of the Vatican; the tavern was his chair, his tribune, the ark of his sanctuary. There, amongst his jovial companions, hearty and ever-thirsty, before the foaming glass, he discovered the sense of many a passage which he had vainly looked for at home beside Bora. It was with a pewter mug before him, constantly replenished by a coarse Suabian servant, that he extemporised his most eccentric arguments against the celibacy of the clergy. The tavern was productive of more than one victory to the doctor. Had it been, instead of Luther, a theologian of Calvin's stamp, morose and atrabilious, who could neither eat nor drink, with an incessant cough, subject to headaches and dyspepsia, the Reformation would not have been so easily established among the people of Wittemberg. To have influence with the thorough German, it required a Reformer who could empty at a single draught a large glass of fermented liquor, caress the child of the landlady or her dog, joke with the waitress, believe in witches, tell broad stories, and drink and sing without being pressed. Luther has acknowledged the power of the tavern in the work of the Reformation. "My desultory conversation in the tavern when drinking with Amsdorf shook the papacy more effectually than the princes and the emperor could have done with all their iron-mailed knights." If of an evening the weary foot-traveller, after a long tramp across the mountains, goes into one of these taverns, redolent of

tobacco, to quench his thirst, he is sure to hear the assembled guests singing over their cups the ordinary tavern ditty,—Luther's song upon women and wine.

In all the writings of the Reformation, nothing is more curious than those scenes, enacted at night without spectators and with closed doors, among friends, who talked of all that they had in their hearts or came into their heads; in which none had a secret from his neighbour; where the conversation flowed like the contents of the goblet; where no language was studied, or speech was previously prepared; where no one thought of posterity, which was not there to impose silence on their tongues; whispered confidences, unreserved communications, frank conversations that they never thought would be carried across the threshold, to be dressed up and tricked out for publication.¹

Let us enter, then, the "Black Eagle" tavern at Wittenberg.² This evening the liquor in demand is Eimbeck beer, which Martin prefers to all the beers of Germany, probably because Eimbeck was one of the first places where the Reformation was adopted. The guests rise, the doctor has arrived. "Master, of what shall we speak first?" says Veit Dietrich. "Honour to whom honour is due,—of the devil," replies Luther.

THE DEVIL.³

"Beyond the heavens, there is only God; but below, there are angels who watch over us by order of the Creator, and who protect and defend us against the ambushes and wicked designs of the demon. They see God, and stand before his throne. When, therefore, the devil lays snares for us, the angel from heaven, for our good, covers us with his wing, and drives away the evil

¹ See, in the Confirmatory Evidence, No. 8, our dissertation on the Tisch-Reden, or Table-Talk, which after three centuries some would wish to consider apocryphal.

² See G. H. Geize, *De Domesticis Lutheri Singularia*: Lubeck, 1807, 4to.

³ The quotations are nearly all taken from the Tisch-Reden, oder Colloquia Dr. Martin Luther's, so er in vielen Jahren, gegen gelärten Leuten, auch frembden Gesten und seinen Tischgesellen geführt, nach den Heubstücken unserer christlichen Lere, zusammen getragen.

Johann 6 Cap.:

Samlet die übrigen Brocken, auff dass nichts umkomme.

Gedruckt zu Eisleben, bei Urban Gaubisch. 1566, fol.

spirit, for he has great power; he sees God face to face, and places himself before the sun, ever ready to assist us in obeying the commands of the Lord. The demons also watch us, are engaged in spying us, and incessantly tempting us, to trouble us here and hereafter. Happily the good angels come to our relief, and succour us. There are demons in the forests, in the waters, in the deserts, in the marshes,—wherever they can find a creature to torment. Some dwell in the sides of black clouds, others excite tempests, rouse storms, dart lightnings and hurl thunderbolts, infect the air and the fields. Philosophers and physicians attribute these phenomena to the influence of the stars.¹

“One day, in winter, not far from Zwickau, a poor child lost his way in a forest, and was obliged to pass the night there. The snow fell heavily, so that the poor child was quite covered with it. He spent three whole days in the midst of the snow, and every morning a man came who brought him some food, and then went away. On the third day the stranger came with the usual supply of food, and then set the child on his proper way home. The child told his parents what had happened to him. I think that the preserver of the poor creature was an angel from heaven.²

“The devil knows the thoughts of the wicked, for it is he who suggests them, who holds and governs their hearts, who surrounds them and catches them in his toils, so that they cannot think or act but according to his good pleasure; but he knows not what passes in the minds of the just; for, as he did not know what was in the mind of Christ, so he cannot know the thoughts of the just in whom Christ dwells.³

“The apostle, Heb. 2, assigns the power of death to the devil, and Christ calls him the man of death. And, indeed, he is a skilful murderer, who could kill you with a tap of a switch, and who has in his pocket more deadly poisons than all the chemists in the world. If one fails, he immediately applies another. The devil is more powerful than we can believe or imagine; nothing but the finger of God can overcome him.⁴ It is the devil who lets loose tempests, and the angels who bring favourable winds.

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 277.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. p. 280.

"I believe that Satan is the author of all the maladies which afflict man, for Satan is the prince of death. Pestilence, disease, and wars, are the work of the demon, and not of God. Whatever Osiander may say, there are hobgoblins whose business it is to torment us in our sleep, and beat us till they make us sick. In 1521, after I left Worms, I was confined in Wartburg, my Patmos, far from all observation, and where nobody could approach me but two young noblemen, who brought me food twice a day. One day they left in my chamber a bag of nuts, which I eat occasionally. At night, after I had extinguished my candle, and was going to bed, I heard a great noise; it seemed as if my nuts were battering against each other; I composed myself to sleep, but had scarcely shut my eyes, when the noise was repeated; I thought that the stairs were falling down; I rose, and adjured the hobgoblin in the name of him of whom it is written: '*Omnia subjecisti pedibus ejus*,' and went to bed again.³

"But the spirit of darkness is not always exorcised by texts of Scripture; I have proof that pleasantries and jokes can drive him off effectually.² I know a lady in Magdeburg who put the devil to flight by the effects of a carminative: '*Sathanam crepitu ventris fugavit*.'

"The devil loves to change himself, to torment us, into a serpent or an ape.

"There are in various countries of the world places of which the evil spirits are fond; Prussia is a country in which they take much delight. In Switzerland, not far from Lucerne, on the top of a high mountain, is a lake called Pilate's Lake; the devil often plays his pranks there. In the country, on Poltersberg, there is also a lake, into which if you throw a stone you are sure to raise a great storm; the whole neighbourhood becomes excited and troubled.³

"The devil frequently changes children, in order to torment their parents; he drags the nurse into the water, and gets her in the family-way; she is confined, and the father puts the baby into the cradle, steals the real infant, and flies away. The changeling never lives longer than eighteen or nineteen years.⁴

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 290.

³ Ibid.

² Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. p. 296.

"There was at Wittemberg a student named Valerius, very disorderly and disobedient to his master, George Mayer. When I reproved him for his conduct, he told me that he had sold himself to the devil five years before, in these words: 'Christ, I renounce thee, and wish to take another master.' I was horrified, and asked him if he did not wish to repent and return to God? On his answering in the affirmative, I knelt with the others then present, and prayed thus: 'God of heaven, who has ordered us by thy beloved Son to pray, and hast established and regulated the ministry of thy word in the Gospel, we implore thee for thy servant, forgive his sins, and recall him to the bosom of the holy Church, of thy beloved Son, Christ our Lord. Amen.' I then ordered the young man to say the following prayer: 'I Valerius, confess, in the presence of God and of his holy angels, and of his holy Church, that I have renounced my Saviour, and given myself to the devil; that I now sincerely repent, and wish henceforward to be the enemy of Satan, to take God for my guide and protector, and to amend my life. Amen.'

"The devil is like a fly: when he sees a fine book, the fly goes over its white pages, leaving its unmistakeable marks behind it, as if it wished to say: 'I have been here.' So the devil, when he has found a pure and innocent heart, settles on it, sullies and corrupts it.¹

"I have always been better treated by the devil than by man, and I would rather die by the hand of the devil than by that of the emperor; I should, at least, die by the hand of a great man.²

"The devil sleeps oftener with me than Ketha; he has given me more pain than pleasure.³

"The devil is a moody spirit, who only wishes to annoy, and whom joy afflicts. Music drives him away; as soon as he hears us sing, especially spiritual hymns, he flies off. David soothed the mental sufferings of Saul with his harp. Music is a gift from heaven, a present from the Divinity, whom the devil hates, and which has the power of keeping off temptations and evil thoughts.⁴

"One day I found a caterpillar on my path: 'Look,' said I,

¹ Tisch-Reden, edit. Francf. p. 365.

² Ibid. p. 286.

³ Tisch-Reden, Eisleben, p. 173.

⁴ Ibid. p. 266.

‘ this represents the devil’s walk, his changeable appearance and allurements.’

“ Madmen, the lame, the blind, and the dumb are possessed by the devil. The physicians, who treat them by rules of art, know nothing of the matter.”¹

SORCERY.

There was a considerable interval of silence.

“ Doctor,” said Veit Dietrich, “ can those who believe in God be enchanted ?”

“ Doubtless, for the soul can be seduced and deceived ; but the illusion does not last long ; my maladies have never been natural, I believe, but the work of Satan, who by sorcery showed his hatred of me ; but God watched over me.

“ There are servants possessed by the devil who steal milk, butter, and eggs from the nests ; I have no mercy for these sorceresses, and should be inclined to burn them. It is said that their butter has a bad smell, and falls to the ground when any one eats of it. Whoever maltreats a witch is himself tormented by the devil ; certain schoolmasters and ecclesiastics can attest this. If our sins irritate and offend God, much more will sorcery, which has been properly called a crime of base iniquity against God, and rebellion against his infinite power. The jurists, who have so accurately discussed and reasoned upon rebellion, consider that the rebellion of a subject against his sovereign should be punished with death. Should not sorcery, then, which is an act of insurrection of the creature who refuses his faith to God and gives it to the devil, be visited with a like punishment ?”

THE POPE.

One of his disciples mentioned the pope. At the word Luther suddenly stopped, as it furnished the theme of a long discourse.

“ Every animal,” said he, “ is composed of a body and a soul ; the soul or spirit of Antichrist is the pope ; the Turk is his body

¹ Calvin, like Luther, believed that some incurable diseases, such as epilepsy for example, could only be explained by demoniacal possession.—Harm. Evang. p. 127. Comm. ad Math. 23.

or flesh. The Turk troubles, torments, and lays waste the Church of Christ bodily or materially ; but the pope does so at once, both bodily and spiritually, by his satellites, his executioners, and murderers. But the Church, which in the days of the apostles triumphed over the spiritual power of the Jews and the sword of the Romans, will in our time become victorious over the superstitions and the idolatry of Rome, and the tyranny of the Turks.

"The cuckoo, as we all know, is naturally fond of the tomtit's eggs. It lays its eggs in the nest of the bird, who hatches them as if they were her own. When the cuckoos have burst the shell and grown big, it is all over with the tomtit : the cuckoos devour their mother. The cuckoo cannot bear the nightingale's song. The pope is a cuckoo, who eats the eggs of the Church, and then lays cardinals.¹ Hardly is he born, when he attacks his mother, the Church of Christ, to eat her up. The songs of the Church, that is preaching and teaching, are insupportable to him.

"Wherever there is a lark, you will find a cuckoo, who fancies that his song is a thousand times more harmonious than that of his rival. So does the pope in his church, singing incessantly, and striving to drown the voice of the other churches. But the cuckoo is serviceable in one respect, for it announces to us that the summer is at hand ; and so the pope tells us that the day of judgment is not far off.²

"Thirty years ago the Bible was unknown,³ and the prophets not understood ; it was thought that they could not be translated. At twenty, I had read nothing of the Scriptures, and thought that there were no other gospel or epistles than those

¹ Er frisst der Kirchen ihre Eyer, und scheisst dagegen Cardinele aus. Tisch-Reden, p. 342.

² Tisch-Reden, p. 342.

³ This conceit of Luther was long believed by Protestants. "In 1471, Italy had the Italian translation of the Bible by Nicol. di Mallermi, which was several times reprinted in the course of the sixteenth century. A Limousine translation was published at Valencia in 1478 ; at Nuremberg, the Bible, in German, was published in 1477 ; at Prague, in Bohemian, in 1488 ; at Kutenberg, another Bohemian version, in 1489 ; and the Old Testament, in Dutch, was printed at Delf in 1477."—M. Gustave Brunet, *Propos de Table*, p. 285, note. See a lengthened reply to this assertion by M. Carl Hagen, *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse*, Erlangen, 1841, tom. i. Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, tom. i. Stuttgart, 1826, gives a list of the translations of the Bible in every language which had appeared before that of Luther.

which are contained in the postils. At least, I found in the little town of Erfurt a Bible, which I read with the greatest astonishment.¹ The Papists do not know a word of it.

"A curate was severely reprimanded by his bishop, who reproached him with not knowing how to baptize. As the priest grew warm, the bishop took a doll, and said to him: 'Come, then, baptize.' The priest, pretending to pour the water, said: 'Ego te baptiste in nomine Christe.'² Then the bishop, in a rage, scolded the priest for his ignorance of the baptismal words; the curate, letting the doll fall: 'On my word,' said he, 'the words are like the baby and the baptism.'³

"May the name of the pope be damned; may his kingdom be abolished; may his will be restrained! If I thought that God did not hear my prayer, I would address myself to the devil.⁴

"Cursed be the pope, who has done more harm to the kingdom of Christ and the Church than Mahomet! The Turk kills the body, devastates and pillages the goods of Christians; but the pope, more cruel than the Turk with his Alcoran, forces them to deny Christ. Both are enemies of the Church, and servants of Satan; but the pope wishes to compel us to adore his canons and decretals, in order to oppress and extinguish the light of the Gospel. May the monster, then, perish eternally! May he and his decretals be eternally execrated by the angels and saints!

"There were three popes who succeeded each other at short intervals. The first being dead, the second declared null the decretals of his predecessor, whom he caused to be disinterred, and his fingers cut off; when the second died, the third ordered his body to be exhumed and thrown into the Tiber, after cutting off his head.⁵

THE DECRETALS.

"Do you wish to know what a decretal is? It is the excrement of his holiness⁶

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 352.

² Ibid. p. 313.

³ Ibid. p. 352.

⁴ Ibid. p. 213.

⁵ Luther has not given us the names of these three popes.

⁶ Eisleben, fol. 380, a, 562, a, b, 569, a, b. Nicht anders denn Eselsfürst Scheisserei, ja Bübersi, Papst-Dreck und Fürtz; Papst-Misst unk Drecke, Drecke und Drecketal.

"Courteous reader," says Peter von Ludwig, "do not be too much scan-

BISHOPS.

Some students, who had been admitted by favour to Luther's table—for it was a compliment much sought after—were seized with a fit of laughter. Melancthon, who was silent, looked to his master, when their merriment ceased, and said: "God is great; he has already brought back some bishops in the fold." Luther shook his head

"The bishops follow the instinct of their nature in all that they do; they are dogs who love to bathe their feet in blood. They resemble Cain, and will have no rest until they have killed Abel. They seek war, and will lose themselves. I have announced and foretold it to them. We must now prepare ourselves for the battle, and seek arms in prayer.¹

"A princess once asked me if there was any hope that the bishop of X—— would be converted? and she added: 'You will see; I shall soon bring you the good news.'—'I do not believe it,' I replied; 'although I should greatly rejoice if he repented and did penance; but I have not the least hope of it, and should as soon expect the conversion of Pilate, Herod, Diocletian, and other great sinners.'—'But,' returned the princess, 'God is omnipotent, his mercy is infinite; he would have pardoned Judas, had he repented.'—'That is very true; God would receive Satan into favour, if it were possible for the devil ever to say: 'Pardon me, for I have sinned.' There is, alas! no hope of your bishop returning to God, for he opposes the truth wittingly, because it is the truth. It is only a few days since he shamefully allowed some poor Christians to die of hunger, who had taken communion in both kinds.'²

"That bishop³ often wrote to me friendly letters; his lips were so honied, that I advised him to take a wife. He deceived me by specious appearances, and laughed at me. It was only at Augsburg that I learned to know him.⁴

"One day he thus addressed a large assembly: 'My brethren,

dalized by this imagery which our honest Luther employed to depict the Roman See. 'Decreten drecketen,' is a picturesque expression: the others are not behind it."—Johannes Petrus von Ludwig, privy counsellor to his majesty the king of Prussia, 1730, in a panegyric on the Saxon reformer.

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 375.

² Ibid. pp. 375, 376.

³ Albert of Mayence.

⁴ Tisch-Reden, p. 376.

be submissive, and communicate only under one kind. If you do as I bid you, I shall be to you a good master, your father, brother, and friend ; I shall obtain graces and great privileges from his majesty for you. If, on the other hand, you are disobedient, I proclaim myself your enemy, and I shall do all the injury in my power to this city.' Such language is worthy of the emperor of the Turks or the devil in hell.¹

"Bishop NN., although he has married, is a cursed Papist, who ridicules the Gospel, and only looks after his own interest. As a general rule, the bishops are the pest and poison of the Church and of the government ; they create disturbances everywhere.²

"There was formerly on the banks of the Rhine, near its falls, a bishop who imprisoned the poor who came to beg alms from him. He closed the doors, and set fire to the prison. When the poor wretches cried out piteously : 'Do you hear,' he said, 'how these rats squeak ?' The same bishop was ever after tormented by rats. As he could not get rid of these troublesome guests, he built a house of dressed stone in the middle of the Rhine ; but the rats crossed the river, followed the master of the house, and ate him.³

"When the Papists make a bishop, the devil runs and takes possession of them ; they make him swear homage and obedience to the pope, and vow opposition to the Lutheran doctrine. He promises to serve the devil, who immediately takes possession of him.⁴

"The archbishop of Salzburg said to Melancthon, in a conversation at Augsburg : 'My dear Philip, we know very well that your doctrines are good ; but we priests never mend our lives.'⁵

THE PAPISTS.

"I maintain that the pope, the emperor (Charles V.), and the bishop of Mayence are impious wretches, who have aban-

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 376. Luther gives neither the evidence of this speech nor its source. See what M. Alexander Weill (an authority beyond suspicion in the eyes of a Protestant) says of this prelate : "Albrecht, crown prince of Brandenburg, as pious as he was liberal, played a great, although passive, part in the history of the Reformation. He was the German Medicis."—*La Phalange*, 1845, p. 144.

² Tisch-Reden, p. 377.

⁴ Ibid.

³ Ibid. p. 378.

⁵ Ibid. p. 374.

doned the ways of the Gospel, who have no just notion of the Divinity, and who never think of God.¹ May God quiet this sanguinary demon (Charles V.) ; how it pains me when I see him persecuting the truth !² Our princes do nothing but works of malediction.³ What is a prince in the kingdom of heaven, but small game ? Pilate is worth them all.⁴

“ Do you wish me to define the Popish kingdom ? The pope and his court are idolaters and servants of the devil ; his doctrines are those of Satan ; the Catholic Church is the Church of Satan ! Wretches ! you will all go to hell ; Papists ! you are nothing but asses.⁵

“ Whoever does not hate the pope from the bottom of his heart, will not gain the kingdom of heaven ; it is a sin not to hate the pope. They are blockheads who say to you : ‘ Beware of hating the pope ! ’⁶

“ I, doctor of doctors, wish to instruct and try the Papists, and cry to them : ‘ You are asses ; I glory in the hatred of such ignorant fools as you. You say that you are doctors ! So am I ! I can interpret the Psalms and the prophets ; you cannot. I can translate the Sacred Scriptures ; that you are forbidden to do. I can read them ; you cannot. I am a thousand times better than you. Papist and ass are synonymous terms.

“ The Papists are lost. Where will they find priests and monks now ? There are many students here, but not one of them, that I know, would consent to open their mouths to swallow what the pope would put into them ; except it be Mathesius and Plato, my old scholars.⁷

“ The pope would willingly receive into favour the Lutherans and their wives, but on condition that they should only preach and teach what pleased him, and that they should regard their wives as mistresses or cooks. Fie, fie ! to despise or condemn marriage is to offend God. If Witzel does so with his companion, I shall never advise a pious woman to live with him.⁸

¹ Tisch-Reden, Nuremb. p. 508.

² Ibid. pp. 482, 484.

³ Ibid. p. 77.

⁴ Tisch-Reden, Nuremb. pp. 160, 470. Pistorius, in his *Zweiter böser Geist Lutheri*, &c. tom. i. ii., has collected a large number of Luther's invectives against the princes.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 51, 342, 353.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 480, 344.

⁷ Ibid. p. 375.

⁸ Ibid. p. 354.

"Two fools were one day disputing on the soul at the pope's table; the one maintained that it was mortal; the other, that it was immortal. 'Well argued,' said the pope to the first; 'you are right.' And turning to the other: 'Well said; you have gained.' Such are the Epicureans to whom the kingdom of the Church is given! You remember that at Basle the fathers of the council ordered the priests to wear a cassock which should reach the heels, with close shoes, and forbade them to dispute on the question of the soul's immortality.¹

"Pope Paul III. had a sister, whom he gave as a mistress to his predecessor, by which means he obtained the Roman purple.² A priest, who had a child by his cook, was bound to pay the pope a coin called a 'milchpfenning' (milkpenny). The mother had to pay a like sum. Thus the priests might keep mistresses at their will, without shame or scandal, and in all security of conscience."³

ON THE DEATHS OF SOME PAPISTS.

"People pay no regard to the miracles which God daily works. Witness the bishop of Trèves, who suddenly expired at the coronation of Charles V., as he was putting the glass to his lips; and Count N. de W., who was in a moment called out of life, as he was preparing to attack me; and also that doctor who, before saying his first mass, maintained that the papistical juggleries were virtues, how miserably he died! Do you not observe what a tragic end has been made this year by all those who persecuted with their hatred, their ridicule, their acts and deeds, and preachings, the word of God? You have a terrible instance of God's wrath in the death of that celebrated Papist A. L., who, just before expiring, and in the last throes of death, exclaimed: 'Devil, you are my friend!' and of that Italian who, when dying, said: 'I give my property to the world, my body to the worms, and my soul to the devil.' You know how severely God

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 354.

² Alexander Farnese was elected pope in 1534, and assumed the name of Paul III. He was then about seventy. Calvin said that he was a half-rotten carcase.—Brief Exposition, Works, p. 450. Crespin, *Estat de l'Eglise*, p. 471, says that he kept 45,000 mistresses. Yet Ranke has celebrated the virtues and worth of this pope! In the end truth always prevails: although halting, she is sure to reach her point.

³ Tisch-Reden, p. 357.

has punished that Papist who thought fit to preach against me ; as also what happened to that curate of F., near Frankfort, who preached the Gospel for eleven years. When the 'black death' ravaged the land, he proclaimed that God afflicted the world with a new plague, because it had received a new faith and erroneous teaching, and advised his parishioners to remain faithful to their mother the holy Church, telling them that on a certain day he would form a procession and pilgrimage to drive away the pestilence. On that very day he died, and was buried. The finger of God was here ; let it not be forgotten. On Trinity Sunday, the pastor of Kunwald said : ' If the Gospel announced by Luther be true, may I be struck by thunder ! ' and he was killed on the spot by lightning. A certain unprincipled Papist doctor was one day disputing at the university of R., and argued thus : ' If we must not alter a testament made by man's hands, much less can we alter the testament made by God ; the supper under both species is the testament of our Lord Jesus, which no power can alter. '—' Well,' said the doctor, on leaving the room, ' how do you think I spoke ? '—' Admirably,' replied the person whom he had addressed ; then, tapping him on the shoulder, he said : ' Doctor, the servant who knows the truth and does not practise it, will be severely punished : ' and next day the doctor suddenly died. Thus the Lord strikes ; he does not permit his word to be trifled with, but insists on its being observed. This is an awful example for all Christians.¹

" Every time that Clement VII. dined or supped, his holiness's cook was sent to prison ; if the pope experienced no symptoms of poison, the cook was liberated, and restored to his place. Oh ! what a miserable state of life ! Moses speaks of it in the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy : ' In the morning thou shalt say, Who will grant me evening ? and at evening, Who will grant me morning ? ' This Clement VII. knew how to compound poisons, and yet he died by poison."²

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 368, recto et verso.

² Brueys, the Protestant, who believes that the pope is Antichrist, has not ventured to admit Luther's story. In our history of Henry VIII. we have given an account of the last moments of this pope, one of the most amiable that ever sat in the chair of St. Peter.

THE MONKS.

"With the Papists all observances are easy ; it is easier for them to fast than for us to eat ; for one day of fasting they have three of feasting. At the evening collation each monk receives two jugs of excellent beer and a small cup of wine, spiced cakes or slices of bread with salt butter. The poor monks, like flaming cherubim, then go to their offices with a look of misery, and as if they were like to drop from inanition.¹

"That audacious and headstrong priest, that devil incarnate, Pope Julius II., took it into his head to reform the Franciscans, and subject them to one common rule. The monks had recourse to the kings and princes, entreating them to appeal for them against the resolution of the holy father ; but Julius paid no attention to it. Then the monks addressed a pressing supplication to the pope, which they backed with thirty thousand crowns. 'How is it possible,' said the pope, pointing to the images of the princes engraved on the coins, 'to resist so many mailed knights?' The pope altered his mind, and left the Franciscans undisturbed.²

"The monks are the pillars of the papacy ; they defend the pope as some rats do their king. I am the quicksilver of the Lord diffused through the puddle, that is, monachism. The Franciscans are the lice which the devil stuck to the skin of Adam ; the Dominicans, the fleas that incessantly bite. A monk is essentially wicked, virtue cannot abide in him either within or without the cloister. Like the fire mentioned by Aristotle, which burns in Ethiopia as well as in Germany, the circumstances of time or place cannot change their nature.³

"In the cloister they do not study but observe the Scriptures. A monk knows not what study is ; at certain hours, he mutters certain prayers called 'canonical ;' but as for the gift of reading the Scriptures, which has been conferred on me, not one monk has received it."⁴

The clock struck ten, and Luther rose to depart. As he left

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 367. Luther spoke at great length of his macerations in the monastery. See vol. i. of this work.

² Tisch-Reden, p. 370.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. p. 371. See what Carl Hagen says of the monasteries before Luther's time, l. c. tom. i. passim.

the tavern, a poor man touched his sleeve requesting alms. "There," said the doctor, giving him a few groschen. "Thanks," said the beggar; "may God repay you." Jonas smiled and whispered to Martin: "Who knows whether God will repay us?" "Has he not already done it?" said Luther; "let us give unconditionally; ¹ brother *dats* is always followed by brother *dabitur*."

How deeply it is to be regretted that a being so splendidly gifted should have voluntarily closed his eyes to the light!

CHAPTER XXI.

THE TISCH-REDEN CONTINUED.

Diseases.—A jurist.—The Jews.—The ancient Church.—The Scriptures.—Heretics.—The Sacramentarians.—St. Gregory.—St. John.—St. Augustine.—The Fathers.—Ecker, Faber.—Sadoletus.—Paradise.—God.

LUTHER had one day some sparrows at table; he took up one of the birds, and thus apostrophised it: "Franciscan, with your black cowl, you are of all birds the most rascally. The following fable may be useful: Two monks, a Franciscan and Dominican, were travelling together in quest of alms. It happened that envy insinuated itself into their hearts. One day the Franciscan ascended the pulpit, and addressing the audience, said: 'Dear brethren, dear country-folks, beware of the swallows, which are white beneath and black above; it is a vile and mischievous bird, which when it is vexed pinches and bites the cattle, and blinds with its excrement, as in the case of Tobias.' Next day it was the Dominican's turn to preach. 'I will say nothing,' said he, 'of the swallow; but I would advise you to beware of the sparrow, a malicious and thieving bird, which pecks pears, plums, cheese, and cherries, and has only one cry: *Scrip! scrip!*' He alluded to his brother the Franciscan.²

"In one word, the most pious monk is an impious scoundrel;

¹ M. Michelet, *Memoirs of Luther*, tom. ii. p. 350.

² *Tisch-Reden*, p. 361.

the monks are lineal descendants of Satan. When you wish to paint the devil, muffle him up in a monk's habit. The monks are the ministers of Satan ; what a roar of laughter there must be in the infernal regions when a monk goes down there !¹ They are the lice and fleas which the Almighty stuck on the skin of our father Adam.²

"In this century," continued Luther, "they removed the nuns from the convent of Neuburg, in Austria, to give it to the Franciscan monks. The friars wished to build ; the workmen, while excavating the ground, found twelve cases, which they broke open, and found each contained the body of an infant."³

DISEASES.

" 'Have faith, son,' said Jesus Christ to the paralytic man, 'thy sins are forgiven thee.' What does that signify, unless it be that our sins are the causes of paralysis and all diseases ? See, in the ninth chapter of St. John, where Jesus says that neither the man born blind nor his parents had sinned. The man's blindness did not proceed from original sin ; actual sin is the cause of diseases : the paralytic man had offended God, and he was punished ; the man blind from his birth had not sinned, and his blindness did not result from Adam's sin. If this malady were a necessary consequence, every man would be born paralytic or blind. By taking away sin, Christ removed the bodily infirmity. God sends diseases into the world by the intervention of the devil ; every pain and affliction of the body proceeds from the devil, and not from God. The Lord permits us to be stricken when we condemn and offend him. Whatever brings us to death is from the devil ; it is his work : whatever leads to life comes from God ; it is his gift, his mercy, his grace : the devil is the Lord's enemy. In time of pestilence, the devil pounces on a house, and woe to him whom he seizes in his fangs !⁴

"One day a man came to me, complaining piteously of the itch, which gave him no rest by day or by night. 'You are very fortunate,' said I to him, 'and I would willingly exchange

¹ Coll. Mens. p. 109.

² Tisch-Reden, Francf. pp. 264, 265, 266 ; Dresden, pp. 572, 579, 587, 593 ; Eisl. p. 371.

³ Tisch-Reden, Eisl. p. 464.

⁴ Tisch-Reden, p. 492.

with you, and give you my dizziness for your itch, and ten guilders to boot. You do not know what a malady mine is, and how it fatigues and hammers my poor head, and does not permit it to read a letter all through, or two or three verses of a psalm, or meditate for any length of time, or engage on any serious matter! When my dizziness comes on, if my ears tingle, I frequently fall from my chair. Why complain of the itch? it is a very useful thing, which purifies and strengthens the body, and prevents you neither from walking about, nor thinking, nor working. I wish I had the itch to cure me!¹

"Physicians assign only natural causes to diseases. Whence comes that disease? what has produced it? how shall it be cured? That is all they trouble themselves about, and they are right. They do not see that it is the devil who afflicts the sick, and that the cause of the disease is not natural; that there is a greater medicine than theirs that must be sought, and which will triumph over all the power of the evil spirit; namely, faith and prayer."²

A JURIST.

"What is a jurist? A cobbler, a broker, a botcher, who makes a trade of disputing things of which he knows nothing,—of the sixth commandment of God, for example. I could never have believed that they are such papists as they are. They are imbedded in filth to the neck; they are blockheads who cannot distinguish dung from sugar. 'Omnis jurista, est aut nequista, aut ignorista.' When a jurist wishes to dispute with you, say to him: 'Hark ye, my boy, a jurist should never speak before he has heard a sow grunt.' 'Thank you, grandmother,' he will say, 'it is the first sermon I have heard for some time.'"³

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 492.

² Ibid. p. 494.

³ "Und wenn ein Jurist davon disputiren will, so sagt zu ihm: Höre, du Gesell, ein Jurist soll hie nicht eher reden, es fartzte denn eine Sau; so soll er sagen: Dank habe, liebe Grossmutter, ich habe lang keine Predigt gehört."—Tisch-Reden, Eisleben, p. 571.

The thirty to forty folio pages which Luther has devoted to the jurists in the Tisch-Reden, are filled with an insolence and crudity of expression that cannot be imagined.

"Sie sind nur Suppenfresser, denn sie disputiren nur von Dreck-Händen. Ich weiss dass ihr Ding Dreck ist. Sie sind grobe Tölpel. Sie sind noch zu grün da zu wissen mit Zucker ein Dreck davon. Ist es euch so wohl mit

THE JEWS.

"The Jews are nearly all bastards: I consider them veritable epicureans. When a Christian meets them, they salute him thus: 'Good morrow, Seth;' that is to say, devil; for Seth, or Satan, is the name of the devil. If I were a magistrate, I would ask the Jews why they call Christ *ein Hurenkind*, and his mother *eine Hure*. If they proved to me that they were right, I would give them a thousand guilders; if not, I should hang them up. In fine, we ought not to suffer the Jews among us, we ought neither to eat nor drink with them.¹

"When God and his angels hear a Jew —, how they laugh and dance.²

"Fye, fye, leave the Bible alone, Jews; you are not worthy to read that sacred book: your Bible is that which is concealed by a sow's tail; what drops from it is bread and wine for such prophets as you."³

THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

"The Church of Christ has become a real prostitute! Before the Reformation she was so clouded with darkness, and so ignorant, that no one could answer these questions—What is God? what is Christ, faith, good works, heaven, earth, hell, the devil? With its dogmas of abstinence from meats, its cowls, its masses, and other filthy traditions, Rome has fettered the consciences of mankind."⁴

THE SCRIPTURES.

"It is impossible to dive into the meaning of the sacred

den Eselsfützen, so fresset sie. Wann die Juristen viel können, so können sie ein Kuchen und Schmelshaus anbauen."

Besides, his familiar correspondence often resembles the *Tisch-Reden*. See his letters to Archbishop Albert.—De Wette, tom. iv. p. 676.

¹ *Tisch-Reden*, p. 594.

² *Op. Luth. Jenæ*, tom. viii. p. 99.

³ ... "Ihr solltet allein die Bibel lesen die der Sau unter dem Schwantz stehet, und die Buchstaben so daselbst herausfallen, fressen und saufen, das wäre eine Bibel für solche Propheten" (*Jenæ*, tom. viii. fol. 83, a.).—Von den Juden. This is only a scurvy joke; but Luther is much more in earnest when he urges the necessity of expelling the Jews: "Man soll die Juden nicht hey uns leiden."

⁴ Our History of Leo X. shows what great theologians were in Italy before the Reformation. Carl Hagen has given a sketch of the study of the science of theology in Germany prior to the advent of Luther.—*Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse*, tom. i.

Scriptures, we can only skim the surface : it would be a miracle to comprehend their spirit. We hardly know their alphabet. Let theologians say and do what they will ; to divine the mysteries of the holy word will always be above our understanding. This word is the inspiration of God, and defies human comprehension ; the Christian has only a glimpse of it.¹

“ The Scriptures are clear and luminous ; sophists vainly allege that they are full of difficulties and involved in darkness. The Fathers endeavoured to interpret them ; but their interpretation only obscured them.”²

THE HERETICS.

“ It is said of the peacock that he has the dress of an Englishman, the step of a thief, and the voice of the devil. This bird is the picture of a heretic ; for all heretics wish to pass for holy men, saints, and angels. At first they come stealthily, and assume the office of preachers, before they are called to it, and wish at all hazards to preach and teach. They have the devil’s voice, because they only preach error, delusion, and heresy.

“ I have always taught the word of God in its entire purity and simplicity ; I shall continue to do so ; for otherwise I should be like a papist, who neither believes in the resurrection of the dead nor in eternal life.

“ This is the beginning of the butterfly. It is at first a caterpillar, which attaches itself to a wall, and weaves its envelope. In spring, when the sunbeams begin to be felt, the caterpillar bursts its cell, and a butterfly escapes, which, when about to die, attaches itself to a tree or a leaf, where it lays its eggs, from which will issue a generation of caterpillars. This is the *generatio reciproca*, a caterpillar which becomes again a caterpillar. I have often found in my garden a variety of caterpillars : I believe the devil sent them to me ; they have like horns in the nose ; wings of gold and silver ; without, their attire is brilliant ; within, they are full of poison. The heretics deck themselves in the garb of wisdom and piety, but they teach impious and damnable doctrines. When the butterflies die, they deposit a brood of eggs, and from one caterpillar is produced a

¹ Tisch-Reden, Eisleben, p. 556.

² Ibid. Francfort, pp. 3, 568.

crowd of others : thus the heretic misleads and deceives others, who in their turn bring forth a multitude of troublesome spirits."¹

THE SACRAMENTARIANS.

"Begone, pedant, with your supper ; sty wherein hog feeds with hog ;² go to the devil !" The Sacramentarians replied : "Begone ; in your eucharist, you eat and drink abomination, instead of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ : thy beer which I drank yesterday gave me the colic ; eat and drink, *in mei memoriam*. Away !"³

GREGORY THE GREAT.

"Gregory the Great was a very holy man."⁴ But he did what

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 393.

² "Bauern-Zech, wo eine Sau mit der andern frisst."—Op. Luth. Jenæ, 1557, tom. vi. p. 115. Repeated in the Tisch-Reden.

³ "Dass sie nicht des Herrn Christi Leib und Blut mit dem Munde empfangen, sondern Dreck fressen."—Sturmius, Theodorus Beza, apud Affelmannum Theol. Luth. in præfat. "Cerevisia ista quam heri hausi totum alvum mihi conturbavit. En vobis unum vel alterum crepitum, in mei memoriam."—Weislinger's Grundliche Antwort, tom. ii. p. 583.

⁴ Op. Luth. Jenæ, tom. viii. fol. 252, a, b. Wider das Papstthum zu Rom. Jenæ, tom. v. fol. 320, a, b, 390, edit. 1557.

In 1717, a pamphlet was published at Leipsic, by the title of *Gregorius Magnus papa Lutheranus*, in which the author, John Peter Stute, endeavours to prove that this pope taught in the seventh century the doctrines which Luther upheld in the sixteenth. We shall see what the Saxon doctor thought of Gregory I.

A Lutheran, Lucas Osiander, no admirer of this pope, narrates (Cent. vi. lib. iv. ch. xvi. p. 287), that a monk, who was burning in hell for having hid three guilders in a corner of his cell, was liberated from that fiery abode at the cost of thirty masses, which the pope exacted. Luther has given the same anecdote a place in the Tisch-Reden, p. 355 ; but Osiander's hell is changed by Luther into purgatory.

Frequently in our travels through Germany we have found, in the shops of dealers in second-hand and old books, volumes of which the very title provoked a smile. Could any one have imagined that our St. Bernard was merely an honest Lutheran ? Open the tract, *De Lutheranism D. Bernardi Schediasma Theologicum*, Dresden, 1701, you will there find that the great saint invariably taught Luther's doctrine of works, faith, and the eucharist. But we, who know Luther almost by heart, immediately turn to the Tisch-Reden, and read unamazed that St. Bernard has written, that God neither hears nor understands the prayers addressed to him : "Er spricht Gott höre das Wort des Gebets nicht" (p. 208), which does not hinder Luther from affirming that Bernard was the best of the monks.—M. G. Brunet, l. c. p. 172.

Among our bibliographical rarities we possess a small octavo, entitled, *Thomas Aquinas dictus Angelicus confessor veritatis Evangelicæ, Augustanæ confessionis repetitæ*, 1565. The angel of the schools transformed into a defender of the Augsburg Confession ! George Dorsche, minister of Strasburg, has made this singular discovery. We are sorry that a Dominican, Leonard, believed it incumbent on him to answer Dorsche. Dorsche was silent. But

the other popes have done : he taught detestable doctrines. It was he who invented purgatory, masses for the dead, abstinence from flesh on Fridays and Saturdays, the monk's cowl, and other mummeries, with which he has enslaved mankind. The devil possessed him, and for all his writings I would not give a penny."

ST. JEROME.

"I consider St. Jerome a heretic, who never speaks but of fasting, virginity, celibacy, &c. I would not have him for a chaplain."¹

ST. AUGUSTINE.

"St. Augustine often erred : he cannot be trusted.² Many of his writings are worthless.³ It was a mistake to place him among the saints, for he had not the true faith."⁴

"St. Augustine was well versed and skilled in the Holy Scriptures ; he had a remarkable judgment and a clear understanding. He is the purest of all the doctors."⁵

THE FATHERS.

"The Fathers knew nothing about the text of St. Paul concerning widows who have broken their first faith,—*primam fidem*. Augustine thinks that by '*primam fidem*,' the apostle means the vow of chastity ; but I understand the text better than a thousand Augustines. This Father should have been sent to school : the Fathers are blockheads who have only written

another Lutheran, who held by St. Thomas, Anthony Reisser, came forward to challenge the doctor. His work is entitled, *Antonius Reisser in vindiciis Evangelico-Thomisticis, quibus Thomas de Aquino, veritatis Evangelicæ confessor orbi Catholico exhibetur, contra Thomam Leonardi professoris Lovaniensem : Ulmæ, 1699.*

We quote the titles of some other books still more curious. For example : *Johannis Wolfgangi Jægeri cancellarii Tubingensis Dissertatio Theologica de veritate Augustanæ Confessionis in Concilio Tridentino agnitæ et defensæ : Tubingæ, 1695.*

Johannis Friderici Mayeri Ecclesia Papea Lutherana patrona et cliens. F. B. de la Barre, La Doctrine des Eglises Protestantes justifiée par le Missel Romain : Genève, 1720.

¹ Tisch-Reden, Eisl. p. 553.

² Op. Luth. tom. ii. Jen. Germ. fol. 103 ; tom. vii. Witt. fol. 353 ; tom. ii. Alt. fol. 142. Von Menschen-Lehre zu meiden.

³ Coll. Mens. Lat. tom. ii. p. 34.

⁴ Enarr. in xlv. cap. Genes. tom. ii. Witt. Germ. p. 227 ; Alt. p. 1382.

⁵ Table-Talk, translated by M. Gustave Brunet, p. 171.

fooleries upon celibacy ; and besides, the apostle only speaks of widows ; now Bora is not a widow, any more than I am."¹

ECK AND FABER.

"The emperor Charles V. said : ' My brother esteems Faber and Eck, and considers them great men who defend the honour of the Christian faith.' Yes, unquestionably ; for the one passes the day in drinking, and the other is a hog and a wench.² I have never read a single book that the papists have written against me, with the sole exception of Erasmus' treatise on free-will."

SADOLETUS.

"Sadoletus was selected by the pope on account of his talents, to write against me : he knows nothing of the Scriptures, as may be easily seen by his 'Commentaries on the 51st Psalm.'³ My God, may thy light enlighten him, and guide him in the right way !"

PARADISE.

"You ask me if there will be dogs and other animals in the kingdom of heaven ? Certainly, for the earth will not be stripped bare ; it will not lose its inhabitants, and be changed into a desert. Does not St. Paul call the new, or the last day, a day of change, in which the heaven and the earth shall be changed ! As if he had said : 'or a new heaven and a new earth shall be created.' We shall then have pretty little dogs with golden heads and fur of precious stones ; each of these little dogs shall have a collar of diamonds, with a small pearl on each hair. There will then be none of those vile animals, such as toads and bugs, created by our sins ; none of them will eat or torment each other ; everything shall be harmless, and void of evil, and we shall be able to caress and play with them in complete safety."⁴

GOD.

"I owe more to my little Catherine and to Philip than even

¹ Tisch-Reden, Franck. pp. 328, 372.

² "Einer ist alle Tage trunken, der andere ist ein Hurentreiber, gar eine Sau."—Tisch-Reden, p. 371.

³ Tisch-Reden, p. 317.

⁴ Ibid. p. 504.

to God : neither Ketha, nor any man on earth, has suffered so much for me as my favourite disciple.”¹

“ God has made many mistakes. I would have given him good advice had I assisted at the creation ; I should have made the sun shine incessantly : the day should have had no end.”²

The cups were empty, but the drinkers were grave. Before leaving table, Luther was in the habit of amusing the company with some merry tale. On this occasion he was in high spirits, and narrated the story of the Bull for the edification of his associates.³

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TISCH-REDEN CONTINUED.—WOMAN.—THE TEMPTER.

Woman, the fertile subject of conversation at table in the *Black Eagle*.—Luther's tempter.—How the doctor drove him away.—His advice to Weller, how to repel temptations.—Germany and the Tisch-Reden.

WOMAN.

WOMAN is a fertile theme for Luther. Frequently, in the midst of a moral discourse in which she could not intervene by any rhetorical artifice, woman appears to condemn the pope and the decretals. Celibacy is the great crime which Luther imputes to Antichrist, the most visible mark which God has imprinted on the forehead of the beast. Singular thing ! It is not only in the texts which of his own authority he declares to be authentic and free from all monkish interpolation, but in the writings which he has rejected as contaminated, that he searches for the proofs

¹ Tisch-Reden, Francf. p. 124.

² Ibid. part ii. p. 20.

³ [The translator, as in other instances, has been compelled to omit this gross tale, even in Latin. Those who are curious in such facetiæ will find it in the *Colloquia Mensalia*, vol. i. p. 251, or at p. 175 of the third volume of M. Audin's work, edit. of Paris (Maison's), 1850.—T.]

See also, *Dysenteria Martini Lutheri in Merdipoetam Læmichen*, Coll. Mens. tom. i. p. 231, edit. Francf. ad Mœnum, ann. 1571, 8vo. per Nicol. Basseum et Hieronymum Feyerabend ; *Martinus Lutherus dicebat de Flandria*, p. 76 ; Ann. 1532, 21 Aug. Doct. Jonas Lutherum oravit. Coll. Mens. tom. i. p. 119, b, de Principe. *Mulier quædam Garrula*, Coll. Mens. tom. i. p. 233.

of the divinity of the command, "Increase and multiply." What do you think he opposes to the monks who also take the Scriptures as their text-book, to enjoin on their adversaries the vow of chastity? An epistle of St. Paul, perhaps? No; but the Apocalypse of St. John, which he so often ridicules, and treats as a dream or a fable.

But it is at table especially that he is to be heard discoursing on this subject. In the "Colloquia," no fewer than a hundred pages are devoted to the fair sex. Luther is quite at his ease, and the boon companion is under less restraint than the preacher, who, however, allowed himself singular license.

1 * * * * *

THE TEMPTER.

The life of Luther is little else than a series of contests with the devil, of which he has preserved to us the details, and in which the monk was always victor. But the devil was not discouraged, he returned to the charge: the battle was renewed, and invariably terminated in the same manner,—by the discomfiture of the old enemy of mankind. The demon did not give him a moment's rest; he tormented him by day and by night, at meals and in slumber; at church, at study, in his household, and even in his cellar.² Luther has noted and kept a register of all these assaults, in order, he says, to teach us how to baffle this clever cheat.

In the monastery at Wittenberg, when he was beginning to read the Bible, or was at his desk translating the Psalms, the devil would come softly and stealthily, and suggest to him all sorts of evil thoughts. If he appeared not to understand him, then Satan got into a rage, upset his papers, opened and tore his books, and then blew out the candle. If Luther went to bed, the devil was there before him.

It was known that Luther was frequently visited by the devil, and he was asked what should be done in such cases: "What should I say to the devil when he comes to torment me?"

¹ [The translator is again under the necessity of referring to the original text. The freedom permissible to the author is not allowed to his interpreter.—T.]

² Tisch-Reden, p. 319.

"Nothing, neither speak to nor answer him ; leave him alone, and he will go about his business." ¹

He found the devil's image in a great number of the Creator's works, — in the wolf, and especially in flies. So when they rested upon his face or open book, he got into a passion. "The devil take you !" he would say, "ape and follower of Satan. If I open my Bible, there you are, abominable fly, with your feet and filth ; as if to say, This is my book, I wish to dirty it." ²

Luther sometimes drove away the fallen angel by absolute silence, at others by the sign of the cross, the name of Jesus, or a short prayer. He speaks in glowing terms of the efficacy of prayer, which can resuscitate the dead, "as was instanced in the case of the doctor himself, who had breathed, it was thought, his last ; of his wife Ketha, who showed no signs of life ; and of Philip Melancthon, who, in 1540, at Weimar, had given up the ghost. The devil was then overcome, and death surrendered his prey." ³

He was visibly annoyed if, in the course of conversation, that invisible power was invoked to unravel a difficulty, or penetrate a mystery, and especially if, without good grounds, a troublesome person was got rid of by sending him to the devil. "For who knows," he said, contracting his brow, "but he might take you at your word ?" When his displeasure passed away, he said to his companion, "Listen to the following story :—

"Two jolly Germans were enjoying themselves over their cups ; when a young traveller, weakly and much exhausted, arrived. As he sat down to table, he exclaimed in a melancholy tone : 'I would give my soul to the devil if I could enjoy myself like you for a whole day.' Presently arrived another traveller, who sat down beside the youth, and looking at him said : 'What was that which you said a little while ago, my young friend ?' 'Why, that I would give my soul to the devil for some good flagons of Rhenish.' 'Ha, ha !' replied the stranger, laughing heartily ; 'waiter, bring some wine.' They drank and drank ; the hours glided away : the stranger had disappeared. He returned in the evening, and addressing the young man's fellow-topers, who had not yet left the table : 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'when a

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 617.

² Ibid. p. 625.

³ Ibid.

person buys a horse, does he not also buy the bridle and saddle ?' 'Certainly, both bridle and saddle,' they replied, laughing. And instantly the devil, for it was he, flew off with the young man through the ceiling."¹

The devil who raged against Luther was a cunning sophist, who loved to embarrass his adversary ; a wicked disciple of Scotus, who laughed when he could nonplus the professor of Wittemberg. He most frequently appeared to Luther on his awaking. "You are a sinner," said he to him one day, "an obstinate sinner !" "Have you nothing newer to tell me?" replied Luther ; "I know as well as you that I have sinned ; but God has forgiven me. His Son has taken away my iniquities, they are no longer mine but Christ's, and I am not so foolish as to deny the grace of my Saviour. Have you nothing more to ask me ? Are you not satisfied ? There,"—and catching up the chamber-pot,—"*there*," said he, "my fine fellow, take that to wash your face with !"²

This was unanswerable : the devil fled !

But he soon returned. If Luther was very much annoyed, he took his flute, and the black angel rapidly fled ; wherefore the doctor recommends music to those who are tempted. "Sing then, my friends," he repeats, "sing, and dispute not, for the devil is a thousand times more knowing than you."³

We know with what temptations the Saxon monk was assailed. If we are to believe him, Satan gave him rest neither by day nor by night ; at night he sent him dreams, in which the pagan deities sat by his pillow ; voluptuous dreams that bedewed his face with perspiration. At other times he insinuated proud thoughts, and then the doctor of Wittemberg beheld all the crowns of earth at his feet, and believed himself greater than the sovereigns and pontiffs who wore them. Satan also strove to cast him into despair, by representing to him in sleep his dear Germany all torn to pieces by faction ; the Anabaptists rushing into the Lutheran churches ; Zwinglius leading men's minds astray ; his brethren leaving him, and his great work perishing in waves of blood, that flowed like those of the Elbe. Then the monks resumed their cowl ; the stinking Babylon, Rome, was propped

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 161.

² "So hab ich auch geschissen und gepinkelt, daran wische dein Maul, und heisse dich wohl damit."

³ Tisch-Reden, p. 305.

up by numerous scarlet robes ; the pope bestrode the beast of the Apocalypse ; the nuns fled from their abductors to their cloisters again ; Eck, Campeggio, Miltitz, and the whole "shabby priesthood of Rome," scoffed at his impotent fury and his fruitless labours. It was necessary then for him to become accustomed early to repel with vigour these assaults of the malignant spirit. The anchorites of the Thebais had found prayer to be an effectual remedy against the rebellion of the old Adam : he tried prayer, and was not satisfied with it. Now this is his remedy, which he is serious in recommending to all his friends. "Poor Jerome Weller, you have temptations, you must get the better of them : when the devil comes to tempt you,—drink, my friend, drink deeply, make yourself merry, play the fool, and sin in hatred of the evil one, and to play him a trick. If the devil says to you : 'You surely will not drink ;' answer him thus : 'I shall drink bumpers, because you forbid me ; I shall imbibe copious potations in honour of Jesus Christ.' Follow my example. I should neither eat, drink, nor enjoy myself so much at table, were it not to vex Satan. I wish I could discover some new sin, that he might learn to his cost that I laugh at all that is sin, and that I do not think my conscience charged with it. Away with the Decalogue, when the devil comes to torment us ! when he whispers in our ear : 'But you sin, you deserve death and hell.' 'Yes, my God, I know it but too well, what would you have me to say ?' 'But you will be damned in the next world.' 'That is false ; I know that there is one who has suffered and satisfied for me,—Jesus Christ, the Son of God,—and where he is, there I shall be also.'¹ If the devil does not depart, I cry to him : 'In manum sume crepitum ventris cum istoque baculo vade Romam.'"² Luther often introduces this magnificent antidote in his writings, and it is with the greatest gravity possible that he recommends for silencing the voice of the devil eating, drinking, rejoicing, and taking care of the brain and belly, by filling the one with the fumes of good wine,

¹ 6 November, to Jerome Weller, in Weller. Op. p. 208. *Leberecht von Wette*, Dr. Luther's Briefe, tom. iv. p. 188.

² He mentions elsewhere the anecdote of a lady of Magdeburg : "*Quæ Sathanam crepitu ventris fugavit.*"—*Propos de Table*, par M. Gustave Brunet, p. 22.

and the other with savoury food : " A good bumper of old wine," says he, " is the best remedy for quieting the senses, procuring sleep, and escaping from the devil." ¹

Poor Weller was a constant sufferer, and was always imploring Luther to deliver him from his temptations, but Luther never pointed out to him any other panacea except this obstreperous merriment and tumult of the senses. " Do you not see," he says to him again, " that God is not a God of sadness, but of joy ? has not Christ said, ' I am the God of the living, and not of the dead ? ' What is it to live, but to rejoice in the Lord ? You cannot prevent the birds from flying above your head, but you can from building their nests in your hair." ²

Calvin was not tempted so much as Luther ; " perhaps," says his biographer, M. Paul Henri, " because Satan was well aware that this servant of God knew not what fear is," ³ or perhaps also because the Genevan's brain was not so imaginative as that of Luther, which at the least motion of an external agent became gifted with violent activity. This inferiority of poetic power appears in every page of his " Christian Institutes." Calvin also maintained, in many of his writings, the influence of the evil spirit on the destinies of the Gospel, but never as Luther did, with such a faith as almost partook of his terrors. His theological system is designed to give assurance from the first to him who listens to it. Calvin taught that the devil, who can bring under subjection the soul of the sinner, is powerless over that of him who believes in Christ his Redeemer. He did not admit of the exorcising of infants, as Luther did. He said of our exorcist priests : " They do not know that they are themselves possessed : they act as if they had the power of working by the imposition of hands ; but they will never convince the devil that they have this gift ; in the first place, because they in no manner of way affect the patient, and in the second, because they themselves are the property of Satan ; there is scarcely one of them who is not possessed." ⁴

¹ " Mihi oportuuum esset contra tentationes remedium, fortis haustus qui somnum induceret."

² To Weller, 15 June, 1530. Op. Weller, p. 204.

³ " Oder dass der böse Geist wohl wusste, dies sei nicht der Weg, ihn zu stören."—Tom. i. p. 538.

⁴ Inst. lib. iv. ch. xix. § 24.

Calvin admitted the existence of sorcerers and witchcraft ; but he did not, like Luther, endow the devil with a creative power. He thought that the devil could not change material objects, but only deceive the spectator. Thus, in his system, the rod which Moses changed into a serpent (Exodus vii. 12), still remained a rod ; and that it was only the eyes of the lookers-on, who were fascinated by the devil, that saw an imaginary creature in a substance which had undergone not the slightest metamorphosis.

Luther's devil sometimes resembles the devil of the Scriptures, the roaring lion of the Gospel, that tempter who carried the Son of God to the mountain ; but he is more frequently a filthy papist, or a petty theologian in a cowl, whose eyes are dim from perusing Durandus, and his countenance emaciated by vigilance ; clownish, tattered, and incapable of speaking ought but the logic of Aristotle. He does not even know his part ; he is careful for the salvation of Luther, as if he were his guardian angel, anxious about the future state of his soul, always ready to show him the way to heaven, and if necessary, to bring him Jacob's ladder to aid his ascent. We can imagine a devil of this sort saying to Luther : " Are you not deceived in saying the Mass ? ¹ Do you not perform an act of idolatry when celebrating the holy sacrifice ? Fool that you are, you are sunk in popery ; it is time you escaped from that fiery furnace. With the Catholic rabble you reckon seven sacraments ; there are only two, baptism, and the eucharist." Do you understand a devil who, in full pride, comes at night with the staple argument of every book, which Emser, Eck, and Faber have worn threadbare by use : the passage of St. Paul to Timothy, i. 5, 12, relating to widows who marry a second time, and " so involve themselves in condemnation by violating the vows which they had previously sworn to keep ?" This was a text which the devil did not need to recall to Luther, since the Catholics had quoted it in all their disputations, to prove the necessity of the vow of continence. Luther may do what he will to exalt his devil, may torture himself to elevate the part which he makes him play ; but after perusing the " Tisch-Reden," we must have but a poor opinion of the devil's

¹ See chap. xxxii. vol. i. Conference with the Devil.

ability. Eck and Tetzl were more highly gifted. In Luther's words, "these children of the devil knew more than their father."

If the devil, who so frequently bandies theology with Luther, is a sorry fellow, in spite of all the reputation for learning which his adversary would attribute to him, a student who should be sent back to his books when he attempts to quote the Scriptures, and who deserves to be whipped, we cannot, at least, reproach him with making offensive the places which he frequents.

He is generally a jolly fellow who knows how to live, who is never angry with Luther, or has recourse to insults and coarseness. Thus he will say to the monk : " You are a sinner ; your conscience is blacker than coal ; you have occasioned the damnation of a great many souls ; " but he would have been ashamed to use such language as the monk did in his reply, which may be seen in the "Tisch-Reden."¹ In the constant war of the two principles, the good and the bad, which continues during the whole of the doctor's life, the devil, who represents the latter, never makes one blush ; he would seem to be a companion of princes ; whilst Luther, on the contrary, who represents the former, appears always as if he had just emerged from a brothel in which he has spent the night.

The historian should possess, like the poet, the gift of evoking the dead. He would like here to re-assemble these consumers of Saxon beer round their father. A Catholic would go to the tavern and sit down among the doctor's disciples, and in his turn, after three centuries, say to him : " Master, long ago you announced in this place that the end of the papacy was at hand ; were you a prophet ?

" Master, what has become of your hobgoblins, sorcerers, and possessed ones ? Nobody in Protestant Germany even believes there is a devil.

" Master, you asserted that before your time the Bible was only known by sermons, and yet look at those copies which were printed in France, Italy, and Germany long before your advent.

" Yet you knew perfectly well that in the ninth century Louis

¹ Tisch-Reden, Eial. p. 290, a.

the Pious caused the Bible to be translated into German by Rabanus Maurus and Wilfrid Strabo; that Otffried of Weisenburg made a metrical version of the four gospels; that the Emperor Wenceslaus, about 1400, ordered the Scriptures to be published in German; and that several translations of the Bible in that language had appeared before yours.¹

"Master, you said: 'The Papists do not know a word of Latin; there is no one who understands Christ and his blood.' There are the '*Cantica ex Sacris Litteris in Ecclesia cantari solita cum Hymnis et Collectis*,' revised and enlarged by George Major, your disciple, in 1594;² and all the printed or manuscript '*Agenda*,' belonging to every church in the Catholic world:³ a complete refutation of your conversation at table.

"Master, can you tell us what has been done with the six thousand children's skulls found in a fishpond in Italy?

"Master, will you, then, show me a Lutheran? They have erected a fine statue in your honour at Wittemberg; but not one of those who made it, believed in your doctrines."

Old Protestant Germany has long subsisted on the marrow of the "Tisch-Reden;" it is there where the learned men have found their daily bread, that is, their prophecies against Antichrist, ever come and ever coming; their insults to our glories of Catholicism,—St. Jerome, St. Augustine, or St. Cyprian; their ribaldry against the monasteries which have produced St.

¹ M. Mart. Lipenius, co-rector of the Lutheran academy of Lubeck.—*Bibliotheca realis Theologica*, tom. i. p. 148.

² Strasburg, Josias Richel. We find in it three hymns:

"Ex more docti mystice
Servemus hoc jejunium." . . .

and,

"Audi, benigne conditor,
Nostras preces cum fletibus
In hoc sacro jejunio.
Fusas quadragenario."

which have been omitted in every Lutheran Gesangbuch.

³ These Agendas were a collection of the ceremonies used in the various dioceses for the celebration of baptism, confirmation, and the other sacraments. *Agenda in usum Ecclesie Aquilensis*: Venetiis, 1496; *Episcopatus Herbipolensis*, 1480; *In usum Ecclesie Magdeburgensis*: Magdeb. 1497, 4to.; *In usum Ecclesie Moguntinensis*: Mogunt. 1480; *In usum Ecclesie Pataviensis*: Pat. 1490, etc. We quote, *Summa de Eucharistie Sacramento*: Ulmæ, 1498; *De Eucharistie Sacramento Sermones XXXII.*: Colon. imp. per Joh. Guldenschaf; *Sermones aurei de Sacrosancto Eucharistie Sacramento*: Coloniz, 1474; *Summa de Officio Missæ et Sacramento Eucharistie*: Argent. 1439.

Francis Xavier, St. Ignatius Loyola, and St. Dominic ; their jokes against the papacy, which, according to them, would have strangled learning, civilization, and morals, if Luther had not come. There are worthy Lutherans in Saxony who still repeat the singular exorcism, the invention of which is assigned to the Catholics by Jodocus Hocker, in his "Theatrum Diabolorum," on the authority of the doctor.¹ These simple people have never read the "Tisch-Reden," which they believe to be a prayer-book, in which their master has diffused a spiritual manna, the nutriment of pious souls ; and in which not a word occurs that can offend the ear, or shock modesty.² Mathesius, Luther's disciple, has spoken thus of them ; and people believe him, for Mathesius was one of the guests who met at the "Black Eagle."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONFERENCE OF MARBURG. — DISPUTATION ON THE EUCHARIST. 1529.

The Catholic dogma on the real presence.—Carlstadt was the first who denied it.—His exegesis.—New spirit which rises in the church of Wittemberg.—By whom excited?—Zwinglius attacks the sacrament.—His dream.—The figurative sense of Zwinglius is determined by his doctrine on the sacraments.—Luther's theory on the Lord's Supper.—Hatred of popery the great argument of the Swiss for rejecting the real presence, combated by Luther.—Conference of Marburg.—Luther refuses to call Zwinglius brother.—Anathemas exchanged between Wittemberg and Zurich.—Appeal of the two schools to authority.—Lesson derived from that appeal.—Melancholy end of Carlstadt.—Schwenckfeld separates from Luther, and in his turn attacks the real presence.

On the night before his death, Christ, seated at table with his disciples, took bread, blessed it, broke it, and gave it to the apostles, saying: "Take ye and eat ; this is my body, which shall be delivered for you." And then blessing the chalice,

¹ Amasatonte, Tiros, Posthos, Cicalos, Cicaltri, Æliapoli, Starras, Polen, Solemque, Livarrasque, Adipos adulpes, Draphanus, Ulphanus, Trax, caput Orontis. Jacet hoc in virtute montis.

² "Ich habe so lang ich umb ihn gewesst, kein unschambar Wort aus seinem Munde gehört."—In der xii. Predigt, p. 137.

said: "Take ye and drink, this is the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins." It is the constant and unanimous tradition of all the Churches; it is the invariable teaching of the fathers, doctors, and martyrs, that Jesus Christ is really present in the Eucharist, and that God, who changed water into wine at the marriage in Cana, changes in the Sacrament the substance of the bread and the wine into the body and blood of our Redeemer.¹

Carlstadt, as we have seen, was the first who called in question the dogma of the real presence, in a volume which he published, in 1524, by the title of "The Anti-Christian use of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ."² His explanation of the words of institution has not even the merit of being serious. The archdeacon supposes that Christ, in saying, "This is my body; this is my blood," pointed with the hand which held the bread and the wine to his own body, which was soon to be delivered to save fallen man. It must be admitted that never was greater violence done to a clearer text. Carlstadt, nevertheless, led away some simple people, as there are always some to be found who believe every novelty to be a truth.

Wittenberg, on the appearance of this pamphlet, which it sought to ridicule, learned, with mingled sorrow and alarm, that henceforward any one might probe and deny every article of the Lutheran creed. Scientific doubts then entered the Church, which had been founded with so much difficulty by the Saxon apostle.

But in this insurrection of Carlstadt there was something quite different from a calculated disobedience to the Ecclesiastes of Wittenberg. It was evidently the awaking of a new spirit that sought to escape from the exclusive principle of justification by faith, and to found its belief upon Rationalism. Carlstadt was the precursor of Calvin.

Besides, if the exegesis of Carlstadt is foolish, the principle whence it is derived is serious; for the archdeacon proceeds logically from Luther and Melancthon. If every sacrament, as Luther has so often repeated, resembles the sign set in the

¹ Mœhler's Symbolism, translated by Robertson, vol. i. p. 333.

² "Von dem widerchristlichen Missbrauch des Herrn Blut und Kelch."

rainbow ; if it produces no fruit except by faith ; if there is no personal virtue in it ; wherefore should Christ be in the Eucharist ? If, as Melancthon says, Gideon would have obtained the victory without any external phenomenon,¹ wherefore, once more, should Christ be in the sacrament of the Eucharist ? And, besides, is it comprehensible, if it is true that the Catholic Church has been for so many centuries in error, that Christ should descend upon the altar at the voice of a priest who believes in the pope, that is to say, in Antichrist ?

Zwinglius boasted of having been the first to understand the real sense of the words of the Supper. "Carlstadt," said he, "although a novice, deficient neither in courage nor arms, but in brains, has lifted aside one of the veils which conceal the truth ; but I have torn it off."² It is unquestionable that Zwinglius, in 1523, had maintained against Thomas Wittenbach that the belief in the real presence was positive idolatry. Moreover, he modified Carlstadt's theory in this sense, that the expression of Christ seemed to him entirely figurative ; he accordingly translated "This is my body," by "This signifies or represents my body."³

It was said that Zwinglius learned the mystery of the eucharistic text in a dream. Now this is the vision which the Confessionists of Augsburg ridiculed as much as the Swiss did Luther's conference with the devil.

"About the first day of April, it seemed in my sleep that I was again disputing with my adversary the registrar (for on the previous day he had been disputing on the Eucharist with the registrar of Fribourg), and I was so puzzled that I knew not what to reply. I was quite overcome with vexation ; for dreams often oppress the sleeper ; and yet, although it was but a dream, that which I have learned is of no small importance, by God's blessing. In this state, I thought that I saw some one approaching me, borne upon some machine, and I could not say whether he was white or black, for I narrate a vision. He told me that I could easily answer my adversary, and close his mouth, by quoting the text of Exodus xii. : 'For it is the phasis, that is

¹ "Sine signo Gedeon victurus erat, si credidisset, et sine signo justificari potes, modò credas."—Mel. *Loci Theologici*, p. 142.

² *Historia de Conâ* : Augsburg. p. 42.

³ Carl Hagen, l. c. p. 204.

to say, the passage of the Lord,' &c. I awoke with a start, and got out of bed; I took the version of the Septuagint, and from that time I have preached and explained it openly, and before all."¹—"A wonderful interpretation," says the Lutheran Westphal, "discovered by a black or white interpreter!"

This dream, wonderful as it was, could not have had the influence upon Zwinglius which Catholics assign to it. Long previous to the appearance of a black or white angel, Zwinglius had taught that the Sacrament was merely an external sign.² Now, if such be the nature of the Sacrament, what need was there for an invisible being to prove to the curate of Einsiedlen that Christ is not really in the Sacrament?

The doctrine of Ulrich Zwinglius spread in Switzerland, especially in the diocese of Basle, where Ecolampadius taught it publicly, in defiance of the authority of Erasmus. The new churches were disturbed; minds in a state of suspense knew not what doctrine to believe, or what explanation to adopt. Carlstadt ridiculed Luther's impanated God, made by a baker.³

Here, as we perceive, was reproduced the main theory of Luther's teaching as to the external sign. In rejecting the real presence, that is to say, the visible sign, Carlstadt, Zwinglius, Ecolampadius, and all the Swiss, only deduced the strict consequences of the principle laid down by the head of the new school; so that while refusing to fetter themselves by the Saxon dogma, they exalted the right of that free inquiry which Luther had wished to establish in Germany. In what an unfortunate situation the father of Protestantism had voluntarily placed himself! Even in defending the truth, he could not logically demur to the error, unless he could pretend that an argument is merely composed of premises.

Luther continued all his life struck with the clearness of the words of institution, because God, as Bossuet remarks, does not always permit innovators to afflict his Church as much as they

¹ Florimond de Rémond. Schlussenb. in Proœmio Theol. Calv.

² "Sunt ergo sacramenta signa vel ceremonie, quibus se homo Ecclesiæ probat aut candidatum aut militem esse Christi, redduntque Ecclesiam totam potius certiorum de tuâ fide quàm te."—De Verâ et Falsâ Religione, Comm. Op. tom. ii. pp. 197, 199.

³ "A pistore factus, impanatus Deus."—Op. Luth. Jenæ, tom. iii. p. 284.

would. He could never persuade himself that words so simple were susceptible of so violent a metaphor, or could have any other meaning than that which was natural to the minds of all Christians both in the East and West.

"He was determined, however," continues Bossuet, "to mix with it something of his own. All those who, to his time, had well or ill explained the words of Jesus Christ, had acknowledged that they wrought some sort of change in the sacred gifts. Those that would have the body there in a figure only, said that our Saviour's words wrought a change which was purely mystical, so that the consecrated bread became a sign of the body. Those that maintained the literal sense, with a real presence, by an opposite reason, admitted accordingly an effectual change, for which reason the reality, together with the change of substance, had naturally insinuated itself into the minds of men; and all Christian Churches, in spite of whatever sense could oppose, had come into a belief so just and so simple. Luther, however, would not be directed by such a rule. 'I believe,' says he, 'with Wicliff, that the bread remains; and with the sophists (so he called our divines), I believe that the body is there.' He explained his doctrine in several ways, which for the most part were very gross. One time he said the body was with the bread, as fire is with red-hot iron. At other times, he added these expressions:— 'That the body was in the bread, and under the bread, as wine is in and under the vessel;' from this the celebrated propositions, *in, sub, cum*; importing that the body is in the bread, under the bread, and with the bread. But Luther was very sensible that these words: 'This is my body,' required something more than placing the body in this, or with this, or under this; and to explain 'This is,' he thought himself obliged to say that these words, — 'This is my body,' imported, this bread is substantially and properly my body; a thing unheard of, and embarrassed with insuperable difficulties."¹

Luther, in the controversy which he was about to enter on with the Sacramentarians, had logic on his side; and we ought not to refuse him our admiration in that memorable discussion, in which he has brought to the service of truth his whole

¹ Variations, tom. i. p. 58.

energy, eloquence, style, and too frequently temper. He is magnificent, as is admitted, when he treats of the old dogmas to which he yet clings, and the eagle-eyed Bossuet seems dazzled by the splendours of that genius, which wanted nothing but the regulation that can only be had in the Church, and under the control of a lawful authority.

"We have Bibles in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German," wrote the Wittenberg Reformer to his brethren at Frankfort; "let the Swiss, then, show us any version in which it is written: 'This is the sign of my body.' If they cannot do this, let them be silent. They are incessantly exclaiming: 'The Scriptures, the Scriptures!' but the Scriptures as loudly and distinctly proclaim: 'This is my body;' and these words defy them. There is not a child of seven years old who would give a different interpretation to the text.¹ These wretches do not understand themselves; may God, for our instruction, let them bite, tear, and devour each other; for we know that the Spirit of God is a Spirit of unity, and that his word is one; a strong evidence that these *Sacramentomagi* come not from God, but from the devil!"²

¹ Luth. Defensio de Cœnâ Dom.

² An einen Ungenannten, 5 Jan. An die Christen zu Reutlingen, 5 Jan. 1526.

In 1527, Luther already reckoned eight different interpretations of these words of Christ: "*Hoc est corpus meum.*" Thirty years after there were eighty-five. The following were some of the most widely-spread meanings assigned to them:—

"*Hoc est corpus meum.*" *Hic sive in hoc loco est corpus meum*: Geneva Bible.—*Corpus meum est hoc, nempe panis*: Schwenckfeld.—*Corpus meum est hoc, id est, cibus spiritualis, ut Joh. vi. dicitur caro mea verè est cibus*: Joh. Lang. in Comm. ad Apol. 2 Justin. —*Hic meus est panis*. Anabapt.—*In, cum, sub pane est corpus meum, ut pilula in ovo*: Brencius, in Syntagmate contra Ecolampadium.—*Circa panem est corpus meum, ut aer circumfusus*: Schwenckfeld, quoted by Luth. in Confessione Eucharistiæ.—*Corpus meum est hoc quatenus mensæ accumbit*: Carlet. in Dialog. de Eucharistiâ.—*Hoc significat corpus meum*: Zuinglius, in Subsidio Eucharistiæ, Beza contra Westphalum.—*Hæc est mea humana natura*: Zuinglius, in Expositione rei Eucharistiæ.—*Hæc est mors et passio mea*: Zuinglius, lib. ii. De Instit. Cœnæ.—*Hæc est commemoratio corporis mei*: Ecolampad. ad Theobaldum Billicanum.—*Hæc est protestatio et μνημῆν meorum beneficiorum*: Bucerus, In Apol. de Doctrinâ Cœnæ Dominicæ.—*Hoc est corpus meum quod de vobis animo edendum, sicut panem ore*: Petrus Martyr, In Tractatu de Eucharistiâ.—*Hoc est corpus meum panis*: Campanus à Luthero notatus in Confessione de Eucharistiâ.—*Hoc est mysticum corpus meum, seu Ecclesia sanctorum redempta meo corpore*: Bulling. In Tractatu de Ecclesiâ, Sacramentis; Calvinus, in cap. v. ad Ephes.—*Hæc cœna est tessera et arrhabo corporis mei*: Stancarus.—*Hoc est corpus meum in divinitatem transformatum*: Schwenckfeld.—*Hoc est corpus meum si fides adsit, hypotheticè*: Melancthon.

The doctrine of Zwinglius possessed the twofold advantage of not shocking the senses, and of opposing the Catholic dogma much more than Luther's theory of impanation. Hatred of the papacy was Zwinglius's great argument against the real presence.

"Wretched argument," said Luther. "Deny the Scriptures also, for we have received them from the papacy. Ridiculous folly! Christ found Scribes and Pharisees among the Jews, and he did not reject all that they taught. We must acknowledge that in the papacy are the truths of salvation, yes all the truths of salvation, and which we have inherited; for it is in the papacy that we find the true Scriptures, true baptism, the true sacrament of the altar, the true keys which remit sins, true preaching, the true catechism, which contains the Lord's Prayer, the articles of faith, the Ten Commandments; nay, the whole essence of Christianity."¹ A noble admission, which would cause us to rejoice, if almost immediately thereafter, when opposed to the Catholics, Luther was not ready to deny the very words which he hurled against Zwinglius.

There was a time when Luther would have made use of the argument of hate so familiar to the Zwinglians; as when he wrote: "Had Carlstadt, or any one else, five years ago, been able to prove to me that there is nothing but bread and wine in the Sacrament, he would have done me great service; it would have been a great blow to the papacy; but it is all in vain; the text is too precise."²

Thus, a few minutes in time, the striking of a clock too late,

¹ "Sacramentarii verum panem et vinum habere volunt in despectum papæ, arbitantes se hoc pacto rectè subvertere posse papatum. Profectò frivolum est hoc argumentum suprâ quod nihil boni edificaturi sunt. Hoc enim pacto negare eos oporteret totam quoque Scripturam sacram et prædicandi officium: hoc enim totum nimirum à papâ habemus. Stultitia est hoc totum. Nam et Christus in gente Judaicâ invenit Phariseorum abusus: non tamen propterâ reject quod illi habuerunt et docuerunt. Nos autem fatemur sub papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani, imò omne bonum Christianum, atque etiam illinc ad nos devenisse. Quippè fatemur in papatu veram esse Scripturam sacram, verum baptismum, verum sacramentum altaris, veras claves ad remissionem peccatorum, verum prædicandi officium, verum catechismum, ut sunt oratio dominica, articuli fidei, decem præcepta. Dico insuper in papatu veram Christianitatem esse, imò verum nucleum Christianitatis esse."—*De Rebus Eucharisticæ controversiis* per Cl. de Saintes, Episcopum Ebroicensem in Normaniæ Provinciâ: Paris, 1575. See Op. Luth. Jenæ, Germ. fol. 408, 409.

² Op. Luth. edit. Walch, tom. xv. p. 2448. Ad. Menzel, l. c. tom. i. pp. 269, 270.

a caprice or a touch of bad humour, have decided a dogma for Luther. By rejecting the real presence, he would have given a blow to the papacy ; this idea makes Luther smile.

The Sacramentarians were not satisfied with disseminating their doctrines by oral teaching : they published writings in which the real presence was denied with an ability of argument which for an instant startled and put in peril the faith of Erasmus.¹ The Lutherans perceived the danger, and one of them, Brenz, printed, in opposition to Zwinglius's doctrine, the "*Syngramma*," which originally appeared in Latin, and was then translated into German by Bugenhagen, and published with a preface by Luther.² "This theological work is written with moderation ; its style and diction are calm ; its reasoning close ; and the gravity of the subject is tempered with a genteel irony."³ "Luther warns his readers against a sect which has as many bodies as the beast of the Apocalypse ; the one represented by Carlstadt, who builds his system on the *roûro* of the Greek version ; the other by Zwinglius, who holds that the Latin *est* should be translated *signifies* ; the third by Œcolampadius, who pretends that the reality is but an image, and that the body is only a figure of the body."⁴

"Say to Luther that he is mistaken," wrote Œcolampadius ; Luther exclaims : "Blasphemy !"—"Tell him that, as a man, he may be mistaken ;" Luther laments, and sighs. "But, dear brother, you will never convince us that the Holy Ghost is confined to Wittemberg any more than to Basle, in your person any more than in that of another."⁵

Zwinglius complained bitterly of the attacks of the Lutherans,

¹ *Hyperaspites*, sub *fin.*

² 18 Feb. Joh. Agricola. Seckendorf, lib. ii. sect. vi. § 11.

³ Zwinglius at first praised the eloquence and style of the *Syngramma*. "Etwas Eloquenz und Sprachenkenntnis mag ihm nun wohl nicht abzusprechen seyn."—Letter to Œcolampadius, quoted by Hess, in his *Life of Œcolampadius*, p. 123. A few weeks later, he calls its author's fellow-labourers, "*Tenebriones, triviales episcopulos*," and Brenz, "*ingratum animal*."—*Ibid.*

In a letter to Pellican and Urbanus Rhegius (ad Theobaldi Bellicani et Urbani Rhegii epistolas responsio Huldrici Zwingli, 4to. Tig. 1526), Zwinglius plainly says, that the *Syngramma* has been written under Satan's inspiration : "*Ut illorum halitus Satanam ubique spirat.*"

⁴ Op. Luth. Jenæ, tom. iii. p. 284, b. In opposition to the *Syngramma*, Œcolampadius wrote an *Antisyngramma*, which was published at Basle.

⁵ Œcolampad. Antwort auf Luther's Vorrede zum *Syngramma*.

in a German work which he printed towards the end of 1526. "See, then," said he, "how these men, who owe everything to the word, would wish now to shut the mouths of those who differ from them, Christians like themselves. They cry out that we are heretics, who should not be listened to; they proscribe our books, and denounce us to the magistrates; is not this to do as the pope did formerly, when truth endeavoured to raise her head?"¹

The discussion was no longer confined to the pulpit: it entered into books, quite as violent as those of Luther against the Catholics; and in like manner as the monk of Wittemberg had delivered his adversary to the devil, so Zwinglius, as a last argument, handed over Luther to Satan. The Zwinglian called the Lutheran a devourer of God's flesh, "*Gottesfleischer*," or "*theophagus*;" the Lutheran called the disciple of Zwinglius a "*Sacramentarian*."²

The landgrave of Hesse, who dreaded fresh disturbances in his unhappy country, wrote to the two leaders of these sects, inviting them to a conference at Marburg. Luther at first refused;³ but he yielded to Melancthon's entreaties, and accepted the interview. The prince appointed the 23rd of September for the opening of the conference.

This was the first time that Luther and Zwinglius, these two apostles of Germany, as their disciples called them; these two children of Satan, as they called each other, had met. Zwinglius, the cold and formal orator, the dull dialectician, the dry theologian, was to be opposed to the fiery and impassioned Luther. That he might have no look of the papist about him, Zwinglius wore a sort of French military cloak, with a baldrick, from which depended a long rapier. In this costume he appeared at Marburg.⁴

That he might come to the conference all barbed with arguments, Luther devised a preliminary debate, in which two of his

¹ Eine klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmahle Christi durch Huldreichen Zwingeln, Tütsch, als vormals nie, um der einfältigen Willen, damit sie mit niemandes Spitzfindigkeit hintergangen mögen werden: Zürich, 1526.

² Seckendorf, l. c. lib. ii. Myconius, Reformationsgeschichte, p. 90. Lingke, l. c. p. 180.

³ Oper. Luth. Jensæ, tom. ii. fol. 460.—Letter to the Landgrave, 23 July.

⁴ Ulenberg, l. c. p. 350.

disciples were to act the parts of Zwinglius and Œcolampadius, who were to accompany the minister of Zurich. These were Vitus Theodorus and Hermann,¹ both well trained in scholastic disputation, who were completely beaten by their master, and confessed their defeat with an abnegation of self-love which could not have been found in the Sacramentarians, still less in Zwinglius than in Œcolampadius, who was wavering in his opinions, and would readily have abandoned his master's creed, could he have retracted without too much shame in the eyes of his co-religionists. He had been a Bridgettine monk, and had thrown off the cowl without being able to divest himself of its spirit. Œcolampadius was a man of fine intellect, but a subtle sophist, who had more reliance on the infallibility of Aristotle than of Zwinglius, and who had taught Erasmus all that he knew of Hebrew, which, says Richard Simon,² was "very little."

Œcolampadius had published at Basle the explanation of the words of institution of the Holy Supper, according to the authors of antiquity; and his work was so eloquently persuasive, that the elect themselves, had God permitted it, might have been seduced.³

Luther brought with him Philip Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and G. Creuziger; Zwinglius, Œcolampadius, Martin Bucer, and Gaspard Hedion, whom he took up when passing by Strasburg. Andrew Osiander came from Nuremberg, John Brenz from Halle, and Stephen Agricola from Augsburg, to assist at the conference. All these theologians met for the first time at the residence of the landgrave, where the former curate of Einsiedlen nobly maintained, it is said, the reputation of the Swiss topers. Luther, before dinner, amused himself by scratch-

¹ *Lutheri Op.* Jenæ, tom. iv. p. 367; *Wittem.* tom. ix. p. 288. *Historia Rei Sacramentariæ* ab Hospiniano, pars altera, fol. 109 et seq.: Genevæ, 1681. Hospinian is a fanatical Sacramentarian, who treats Luther very ill, and represents him, throughout his work, as a person devoid of faith and conscience.

² *Histoire Critique du Nouveau Testament*, 4to. p. 41. Lope Stunica, a learned Spaniard, has pointed out the numerous errors into which Œcolampadius led Erasmus.

³ "Exortum est novum dogma, in Eucharistiâ nihil esse præter panem et vinum. Id ut sit difficillimum refellere fecit Œcolampadius qui tot testimoniis, tot argumentis eam opinionem communivit, ut seducti posse videantur etiam electi."—*Erasmus*, Mich. Budæ, *Epis. Ligonensi*, *Epist.* 766, edit. Cler. The work of Œcolampadius is entitled, *De genuinâ Verborum Christi Significatione: hoc est corpus meum.*

ing upon the table, with the point of his knife: "This is my body."¹ The table was splendidly served, "planè βασιλικῶς" [quite regally], says Justus Jonas.² It was arranged during dinner, that, in order to please the landgrave, before the public disputation, they should discuss in pairs;—Luther against Ecolampadius, and Melancthon against Zwinglius. Next day the double disputation took place, and went off quietly. The dispute turned on some points controverted by the Church of Zurich: original sin,—the efficacy of baptism in regard to guilt,—the operation of the Holy Spirit by the word of the minister,—the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Zwinglius's profession of faith was clear and explicit, and agreed with Luther's doctrine. But when the question of the Eucharist was mooted, the debate became animated; Ecolampadius and Zwinglius were obstinate, and refused to allow any weight to the argument of their opponents. The landgrave then summoned them to a public controversy, at which he promised to be present with some of his courtiers.³

Much has been written about the proceedings at Marburg, but the accounts given by the Lutherans and Zwinglians are both partial. A writer, Rodolph Colli, who was present at the conference, has traced the animated and impassioned appearance of the discussion, without letting us be aware to which side he inclined. We shall extract from his narrative some of the most conspicuous parts.

The first argument of the Sacramentarians was drawn from the 6th chapter of St. John.

ECOLAMPADIUS.—The important passage of the apostle, "Ego sum panis vivus," deduces the spiritual from the carnal manducation.

LUTHER.—The 6th chapter of St. John must be entirely set aside: there is not a word in it which speaks of the Sacrament; not only because the Sacrament had not been then instituted, but because the meaning of the expression shows that the apostle

¹ Pfizer, Dr. Martin Luther's Leben.

² Epist. Just. Jonæ ad Reiffenstein.

³ Selnecc. in Hist. Luth. p. 35. Cochleus, Act. p. 170. Sleidan, lib. vi. Schluss, p. 298. Osiander, Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. x. Annales Eccl. p. 296. Matthes. p. 71 et seq. Ulenberg, p. 359.

speaks of faith in Jesus Christ. I acknowledge, however, the metaphor; but "*hoc est corpus meum*" is a demonstrative proposition.

ÆCOLAMPADIUS.—But "*panis vivus*" is demonstrative also.

LUTHER.—And far from inferring the spiritual from the carnal manducation, I see that the Jews believed that they should eat the body as bread and meat are eaten, off a plate, "*sicut panis et caro editur ex patinâ.*"

ÆCOLAMPADIUS.—That idea is too gross: besides, to believe that Christ is bread is an opinion, and not an article of faith. There is danger in attributing too much to the element or appearance of the Sacrament.

LUTHER.—When God speaks, man—a mere earth-worm—must listen with fear; when he commands, the worm must obey. Let us embrace and lay hold of the word, without seeking elsewhere a deceptive meaning.

ÆCOLAMPADIUS.—But, since we have the spiritual food, of what use is the corporeal?

LUTHER.—That is not my business; that is God's concern. There is the "*accipite,*" I obey and bow: "*Man muss es thun*" [it must be done]. Were God to say to me, "*Take this bit of dung and eat it,*" I would take and eat it; for I am certain that it would be for my salvation.

ZWINGLIUS.—But, in the Scriptures, is not the sign frequently taken for the thing signified, the trope for the reality, the image for the substance? For example, the Pasch of Exodus, and the wheel of Ezekiel. Do you mean that God proposes things incomprehensible to his creatures?

LUTHER.—The Pasch and the wheel are allegorical; I do not wish to dispute with you about a word; that "*is*" [*est*] means "*signifies,*" I appeal to Christ, who said: "*Hoc est enim corpus meum.*" The devil cannot get out of it ("*Da kann der Teufel nicht für*"). To doubt, is to fall from the faith. Why do you not also see a trope in "*ascendit in cœlum*" [he ascended into heaven]? "*God made man,*"—"the word made flesh,"—"God suffering death," all these are incomprehensible things, which nevertheless you must believe, on pain of everlasting damnation.

ZWINGLIUS.—You do not prove your theme; there must be no begging of the principle. You must vary your note ("*Ihr*

werdet mir anders singen"). Do you think that Christ (St. John vi.) wished to accommodate himself to the ignorant?

LUTHER.—Do you deny it? "This is a hard saying,"—"Durus est hic sermo,"—muttered the Jews, who spoke of it as a thing impossible and obscure. This passage cannot serve you.

ZWINGLIUS.—Bah! it breaks your neck ("Nein, nein, brecht euch den Hals ab").

LUTHER.—Softly! do not be so haughty; you are not in Switzerland, but in Hesse, where they do not break the necks of their opponents in this manner ("Die Häse brechen nicht also").

ZWINGLIUS.—But I read in your annotations that Christ said: "Caro non prodest" [the flesh profiteth nothing]; and in Melancthon, that the body eaten corporeally ("corporaliter") is an erroneous expression.

LUTHER.—It matters little what I or Melancthon have taught. The word of man and the word of God have no resemblance to each other. Were St. Peter to come to life again and be among us, I should not ask him what he believed. It is the word of God that sanctifies a man, and not the pure life that he has led. In a word, the priest, even if impious, produces sanctification.

ZWINGLIUS.—What an absurdity! the impious can do nothing good.

LUTHER.—Does not the wicked man baptize?

Ecolampadius wished to bring back the question to its original subject. "You make a great work," said he, "about a trope which you will not grant to us, and you yourself make use of a synecdoche against the Catholic meaning."

LUTHER.—There is a synecdoche also; it is the sword in the scabbard; the body is in the bread, as the sword is in its sheath; the text requires this figure, but there is no metaphor in it; the body is not put for the figure of the body.

Zwinglius then began to quote Fulgentius, Augustine, Lactantius, and a great number of Catholic authorities, to prove that the body must be in one place, and cannot be in several. "Therefore," said he, "Christ, who is seated at the right hand of the Father, cannot be in the Sacrament of the altar."

LUTHER.—What a mathematical argument! divisibility,

extension ! it is not a question here of what falls under the senses.

ZWINGLIUS.—Ὁς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων—Philip. ii.—[Who being in the form of God].

LUTHER.—Read in Latin or German, but not in Greek.

ZWINGLIUS.—Excuse me ; for during the last twelve years I have exclusively used the Greek text. I say, then, Christ is finite inasmuch as we are finite.

LUTHER.—“Concedo.” For example ; the nut and the shell, so also the body of Jesus Christ. God cannot make it be and not be “in loco” [in place].

ZWINGLIUS.—But if you admit that the body of Jesus Christ is finite, therefore it is local ; if it is local, therefore it is in heaven, and not in the bread. I repeat : the body of Jesus Christ is finite, “ergo in loco” [therefore in place].

LUTHER.—“Non est in loco” [it is not in place]. When it is in the Sacrament, it may be in place and out of it ; for example, the world is a body, and is not “in loco” [in place] ; moreover, let God explain this mystery, it concerns me not.

ZWINGLIUS.—You are begging the question ; it is as if you were to maintain that John is the son of Mary, because Jesus said to her on the cross : “Woman, behold thy son.”

LUTHER.—An article of faith does not prove itself like a mathematical axiom.

ZWINGLIUS.—But, in fine, give us a precise answer. Is the body “in loco” or not ?

BRENTZ.—The body is “sine loco” [without place].

ZWINGLIUS and ŒCOLAMPADIUS both exclaimed, St. Augustine has written : “In uno loco esse oportet” [it must be in one place].

LUTHER.—St. Augustine does not speak of the Supper ; but what, if I grant that Christ is not in the Sacrament, “tanquam in loco” [as if in place] ?

ŒCOLAMPADIUS (smiling).—Therefore he is not there corporally with his true body.

The question again changed. Zwinglius and Œcolampadius quoted a multitude of texts from the fathers of the Church, which they said confirmed their doctrine ; and Melancthon and Luther to each human text opposed another from the same

author. The question was becoming perplexed, and Luther threatened his adversaries. The landgrave requested that they would bring the matter to an end.

"In the presence of God," said Œcolampadius and Zwinglius, "Christ is only spiritually in the Supper."

"He is there corporeally," said Melancthon and Luther.

"At least," said Zwinglius, clasping his hands, "you do not refuse to consider us as brethren, who wish to die in the communion of Wittemberg?"¹

"No, no," replied Luther; "cursed be such an alliance, which would endanger the cause of God and men's souls; begone, you are possessed by another spirit than ours; but beware, for before three years the anger of God will fall upon you."²

This awful prediction, say the Lutherans, was literally fulfilled; for Zwinglius perished miserably on the field of Cappel, where his body was exposed to the sacrilegious mockeries of the Catholic soldiers; and Œcolampadius was strangled in his bed by the devil, that good master who had instructed him how to interpret the words of the Supper.³

"This wretched man," says Zwinglius, speaking of Luther, "by his jealousy, caused the schism of the Sacramentarians.⁴ The devil tempts us by obstinate men, who, vexed to see the truth of the Lord's Supper discovered by others than themselves, like madmen and fools, cease not to cry out more unreasonably than the Papists."

Before the reformers parted, the landgrave wished them to dine with him. A formulary was drawn up, which the two Churches signed; both parties declared the most lively charity for each other, although they might not agree as to the presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist.

Zwinglius returned to Zurich, and Luther to Wittemberg; and for some time there was a constant exchange of maledictions and anathemas between these two cities.

"Wretched and wicked Zwinglius," exclaimed those of Wit-

¹ Zwinkl. in Præfat. De Verâ et Falsâ Religione.

² Erasmi. Ep. ad Cochleum.

³ Luth. De Missâ Privâtâ, in Defensione de Cœnâ.

⁴ Transl. of Florimond de Rémond.

temberg, "do you wish to destroy Christianity with your new interpretation? Listen not to these Sacramentarians; fly from them as if they were Satan! You Zwinglius are a false prophet, a mountebank, a hog, a heretic!"¹

Zurich answered by the mouth of Campanus: "It is as certain that Luther is a devil, as it is that God is God."

Zurich and Wittemberg simultaneously celebrated the victory of their respective apostles.

"See," said Zurich, "it is not now as formerly at Leipsic, where the Saxon had the papists only to oppose: at Marburg he warred with a servant of God, inspired and filled with his Spirit. Hence the darkness could not bear the light. What a wonderful intellect is that of Luther, who is afraid of Greek, who cannot distinguish a trope, and confounds the shadow with the substance!"²

Basle added: "Thanks be to Jesus Christ, who assisted his servant against the crafts of Luther; who now holds his peace, either because he has lost confidence in his cause, or because he wishes to crush us with his contemptuous silence. His ape, Bugenhagen, now takes his place."³

Luther soon broke silence in these words of insult and defiance: "They say that they have overcome me. In this they lie, as is their wont: a race of hypocrites and impostors! Did they not retract at the conference all that they previously taught as to baptism, the use of the Sacraments, the power of the word, and so many other pestilent doctrines? I had no need to retract. Although perplexed, pressed, and defeated, they would not confess their error as to the eucharist, because they were afraid of the rabble of the canton, who sooner or later would have made them pay dearly for their courage. And how could they have resisted me? Zwinglius incessantly reiterated the same argument: that a body cannot be without space and

¹ Luther, *De Cœnâ*; liber contrâ Sacramentarios.

² Pasko, Letter to the King of Poland. *Hosp. Historiæ Sacramentariæ pars altera*, p. 109 et seq. Sturmius, p. 197. Consult, on this dispute, Melancthon. *Epist. ad Elect. Sax. de Marburg. Colloquii Actis*; *Responsio Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministrorum ad Lutheri calumnias de Marpurgensi colloquio*.

³ "At nunc prodit Bugenhagius illius simius afferens et ipse confessionem ultimam."—*Æcolampadius Zwinglio*, l. c. p. 516.

dimension. But does not philosophy teach us that heaven is naturally without space? They could not answer this; and Œcolampadius quoted the Fathers, who call the sign the body, therefore it is not a body! They were anxious that we should give them the name of brethren. Zwinglius, with tears in his eyes, took the landgrave and his court to witness that there were no men in the world with whom they would wish to live on better terms than those of Wittemberg; but I would never consent to call them brethren. 'Go,' said I, 'you are possessed by another spirit than ours!' They were furious. Those hypocrites affected humility and modesty with us, because they wished to make us the participators and patrons of their heresy. Diabolical cunning! But Christ shielded us with his buckler. I am not astonished that they lie so impudently: falsehood is their element, although it covers them with shame."¹

What an important lesson the Reformation teaches us in the conference of Marburg! It had declared that we could attain to truth only by the Bible, and that there was no other infallible tribunal but the written word. At the present day it gives men this advice, "Search the Scriptures, examine, reflect, judge for yourselves; do not suffer yourselves to be swayed by any authority, neither by the Fathers, the councils, your ancestors, nor even by the Reformers, who were faulty and fallible like yourselves; nor by confessions of faith, nor by synods."²

And to arrive at what? To this double manifesto,—of Loescher, that the devil was the author of Carlstadt's interpretation; ³ of Œcolampadius, that the devil revealed to Luther the real presence! ⁴

In 1517, when he posted his theses; in 1518, at his interview with Cajetan; in 1519, at Leipsic, when opposed to Doctor Eck; in 1521, at Worms, in presence of the emperor,—Luther always pointed to one awful word, Scripture, traced by the finger of God on the wall, as was the sentence of Balthasar. That word,

¹ Epist. Luth. ad. Jacobum præpositum Bremens. Selnec. pp. 241, 262. Ulenberg, pp. 364—366.

² Des Causes qui retardent, chez les Réformés, les Progrès de la Théologie, par M. Chenevière, p. 24.

³ Hist. Motuum, p. 39. Plank, Geschichte der Entstehung, &c. tom. ii. p. 297.

⁴ Plank, l. c. tom. ii. p. 297.

written in a language often unintelligible, and which he wished every one to read because the Spirit of God would explain its meaning; that word, which in rousing the worst passions of the human heart, has for ever disturbed the peace of Germany. And now that there is a combat, no longer between Protestant and papist, but between Luther and Zwinglius, two brothers nourished with the same milk, and who have grown up under the same sun, the Reformation no longer appeals to the word of God; it becomes a monk, and in order to explain a text of the apostle, invokes, not the celestial ray which illuminates the souls of all who read with faith, but the authority of the Fathers! Zwinglius invokes the Fathers! He who in his exposition of the Christian faith has said, that "if it depended on himself, he would prefer to be where Seneca and Socrates are, than be with the popes of Rome, the doctors, emperors, and popish princes; for, although these heathens did not believe in Jesus, they were more holy and pious than all the Dominicans and Franciscans."¹

Luther, too, invokes the Fathers,² and even St. Augustine, "who has frequently erred, and whom it is not safe to trust!" But how shall the Reformation get out of the pit which it has dug for itself? This same word of God, to which it appeals, is a sign for Zwinglius, a reality for Luther; a trope, according to Cæcolampadius, and flesh in the opinion of Melancthon: it is a double word, carnal and spiritual; a multiple figure, synecdoche and metaphor. You appeal then to the word of God, which conceals two mysteries, two creeds in one unity! You make then the Holy Ghost descend to reveal to Zwinglius a myth, which Luther treats as Satanic, and to Luther an interpretation which Zwinglius considers a damnable anthropomorphism! And if the Reformation abandons Scripture, it is only to fall into another pit; for what is the text of St. Augustine, of St. Fulgentius, and other Fathers, upon which it rests when the language of Scripture embarrasses them? a dead and fallible letter, since

¹ Transl. of Florimond de Rémond.

² To show that the Fathers were on his side, in the question of the real presence, Luther collected all the testimonies of the Catholic doctors, of which he formed a sort of elenchus, or epitome, and dedicated it to the landgrave of Hesse.—See Riederer, *Nachricht zur Kirchenhist.* tom. vii. pp. 849—852.

it comes to us from men : as they have asserted it to be. Now raise that human letter as high as the word of God, there is still another difficulty ; for that letter, like God's word, has a multiple signification ; it is at the same time single and double, since Luther and Zwinglius derive from the very same word their evidence that Christ is, and is not, corporeally in the Sacrament. Let the Reformation do as it will ; without authority it can never found a creed. It will only make comments ; and when, unfaithful to its principle, it shall have recourse to human traditions for explaining or justifying its belief, it will condemn and destroy the work of him who, in founding it, rejected authority as a blasphemy.

Somewhat later, Luther is obliged to fall back upon authority in order to defend himself against the Sacramentarian interpretations. A magnificent retreat, which amply proves all the weakness of that reason which he at first rated so highly, but which, in the hour of danger, he finds is nothing better in his hand than a blunt sword. Listen now to him who used to deify reason, proclaiming that there is neither safety nor shelter but in tradition. Luther writes to the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg : " Since the institution of Christianity, the Church has never held any other doctrine, and its constant and uniform testimony ought to satisfy us, and prevent us from attending to the spirits of trouble and error. There is danger in rising up against the voice, the belief, and the teaching of the holy Church, which for sixteen centuries has never varied upon this dogma. To doubt them, is nothing else than to disbelieve the Church, and to condemn her as false, and, with her, Christ himself, the apostles, and the prophets. Is it not written, ' Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world ; '—St. Matthew ; and in St. Paul, ' The house of God is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth ? ' ¹ I think, then, that since the dispute is becoming eternal, silence must be imposed on the dissentients ; and it is not I only who give you this advice, but the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of the apostle : ' Avoid him who is a heretic, after the first or second admonition ; knowing that,

¹ Luther's *Sendbrief wider etliche Rottengeister*, an Markgraf Albrecht zu Brandenburg, 1532. See Adolphus Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i. p. 263.

such a one is perverted, and that he speaks like a man who condemns himself by his own judgment.”

Thus, then, we see Luther reduced, after having vainly invoked against his adversaries the Bible, the Fathers, and Tradition, to demand that they should be treated as veritable heretics ; that is to say, that their tongues should be tied, and if needful cut out. He returns to the heroic remedy of which he bragged in the peasants' war :¹ “ Give the ass the whip, and, if he kicks against it, the ball.”

Death relieved Luther from two powerful enemies, Zwinglius and Ecolampadius. Carlstadt dragged out a life of suffering and sorrow. Driven from Saxony at Luther's instigation, he went from city to city, living upon alms, which he repaid with doctrines that killed the soul, and persecuted, less by remorse than by the renown of the success of his former pupil. Weary of wandering about, like Cain, pointed at by the people, an object of pity to the Lutheran clergy, and of contempt to the learned and the great, he halted in his course, and begged his enemy to give him breath. Luther acted generously, say his biographers : he sold him his native air at the price of his retraction. Imagine what this must have cost Carlstadt, who had only the word for his consolation ! He resigned himself to his fate, promised to preach and teach no longer, and to make an end of all theological controversy. On this condition, he was permitted to lead an exile's life in Kemberg and Bergwitz, two little villages, from which the spires of Wittemberg are visible. There he went with his wife ; and both lived for some time, like the children of Adam, by the sweat of their brow : the former tilled the ground ; the latter sometimes sold cakes in the evening, and sometimes carried wood to the market, in a dirty jacket, with an old rusty sword in a broken scabbard, and was known by the name of “ Neighbour Andrew.”² At length Carlstadt forgot his promise, and took up the Bible. It is said that the tempter introduced himself into the theologian's apartment in the guise of a councillor of Wittemberg, who came to propose to him his pretended doubts on the sixth chapter of St. John, and that this spirit of darkness was sent by Luther himself,³ who

¹ See the chapter entitled *The Peasants' War*.

² Ulenberg, *Vita Lutheri*. Cochläus, etc.

³ Ulenberg. Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i. p. 269.

began to be distrustful of Carlstadt's patience; but the trick has not been so well proved as to admit of our staining the Reformer's memory with it. Besides, the archdeacon carried about him a devil who, sooner or later, was to triumph over his vows of obedience, the same which had seduced his first parent—pride! He listened to his suggestions, doffed his frock, resumed his moth-eaten black gown, which he had worn at Orlamünde, and began to sermonize again on the last supper, to him an exciting subject.

At Wittenberg had been residing recently two theologians who, for having rebelled against Luther, were obliged to leave Saxony: these were Krautwald and Schwenckfeld, who had presumed to ridicule the monk's theory of impanation. Carlstadt wrote to them a letter, wherein he complained bitterly of the intolerance of the Saxon Ecclesiastes, and drew a painful picture of his own poverty. "I shall soon be compelled to sell all I have to support existence: my moveables, my clothes, my crockery, my whole furniture; nobody has compassion on me, I believe that they will see me and my child die of hunger." At the same time he addressed a long statement to Chancellor Bruck, in which he detailed all that he had had to suffer from Luther, who forbade him to preach or teach. Luther heard of Carlstadt's complaints, and determined to silence them for ever. The archdeacon was accordingly compelled again to quit Saxony, and seek for hospitality in Switzerland. Basle opened to him the gates which it had closed against Erasmus.¹

After Zwinglius came another explanator, who also boasted of having received from the Holy Ghost a revelation of the meaning of the words of the Sacrament. This was Schwenckfeld the Silesian, an imaginative youth, fond of disputation, wherein he delighted to scatter the treasures of a mind rich in lively fancies.² When we read Schwenckfeld, we can understand how a philosopher so original could aspire to be the leader of a sect, a position which he would have successfully occupied, if he had only had men of learning for his disciples. Schwenckfeld is ingenious and spirited; he seeks for effect, has a strong desire to

¹ See the chapter entitled Erasmus.

² Schroeckh. l. c. tom. iv. p. 513.

startle his readers, and delights in paradox : as if Rousseau and Beaumarchais were united in a religious propagandism. We should have thought that this Latin *est*, which for six years had suffered so many tortured explanations, would have been allowed at last to rest in peace ; but Schwenckfeld stirred it again, to remove it from the place which it had held in the Gospel for fifteen centuries. Instead of "This is my body," he said, "My body is this ;" that is to say, "This bread is my body, my body is this bread ;" and he ventured gravely to lay to the charge of the apostle St. John this inversion, infinitely more ridiculous than the explanation of Carlstadt, of which he made so much sport.

Would it be believed that Schwenckfeld, by dint of wit, contrived to bring over to his opinions some men of consequence, among the rest a duke ? Besides, "papists" and Lutherans were equally the object of the Silesian's raillery. The former believed they would have been honouring Schwenckfeld too much by attacking his transposition, and so they preserved a dignified silence. But Luther re-appeared in the arena, and avenged the dogma of the real presence with indisputable eloquence. It is to be regretted that in playing upon the name of the interpreter, he should have sought in Schwenckfeld a *filthy field*, in which the Silesian might have found his inversion.¹

At the time when, wearied of disputation, Zwinglius and Luther regained, the one his beautiful lake of Zurich, the other his green mountain of Poltersberg, a theologian left Marburg, regretting that he had been prevented from entering the field with either of those distinguished controversialists ; this was John Campanus, who had taken to Marburg a new explanation of the meaning of the words of the sacrament. According to him, neither Zwinglius, Œcolampadius, nor Luther knew any more than the pope did about the institution of the eucharist : they were a set of blockheads, whose understandings the Lord had blinded. They treated his opinion with silent contempt ; and for this he revenged himself by making them the objects of his insulting buffoonery.²

¹ Menzel, l. c. tom. i. p. 469. See *Die Gegenwart des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Sacrament des heiligen Abendmahls*.

² Luther's *Tisch-Reden*, p. 496. As to the interpretation of Campanus, see

In reading the various ridiculous attempts at interpretation which entered the head of every sectary at that time, one might believe in the allegory of Swedenborg, a visionary equally enlightened as his predecessors. The Swede represents the word as inclosed in a tabernacle: if a pure spirit attempts to touch it, it shines like Christ on Mount Thabor, and his garments seem resplendent with flame; but should an evil spirit stretch out his hand to it, the demon, suddenly enveloped in dense darkness, falls struck with lightning.¹

Schelhorn, *Amoenit. Lit.* tom. ix. pp. 1—92; and *Luther's Works*, Halle, tom. xx. p. 2204.

¹ "Si autem id tangit verbum, fit explosio cum fragore, et ille projicitur ad angulum conclavis et per horulam ibi jacet sicut mortuus."

A very curious work might be made of The Reformers against the Reformers. *Æcolampadius* said of Luther: "De Lutheri libello scribunt Capito et Bucerus quoddam nihil magis sophisticum vel calumniosum viderint. In nos ambos debacchatur."—*Æcolampadius*, Zwinglio, 16 April. *Lebensgeschichte Dr. Johann Æcolampadi*: Zurich, 1793, 8vo. p. 308.

"Jam opus erit Luthero ut respondeas, placido et quieto animo, non ut ille calumniandi magister et sophistarum princeps meretur, sed ut veritatis patrocinium postulat."—*Ibid.* pp. 510, 511.

Luther writes as to Zwinglius: "Ferox ille Helveticus qui rem Christi putat agi Helvetica ferocia" 1527, 31 May. "Zwinglium credo sancto dignissimum odio, quo tam procaciter et nequiter agit in sancto Verbo Dei." 27 Oct., to Melanctho. 1527.

The following works relating to the real presence may be consulted:

Martini Lutheri Sermo Elegantissimus super Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, in quo respondetur obiter et ejusdem Sacramenti calumniatoribus: Item, Quatenus Moyses à Christianis accipi debeat. Sermo Martini Lutheri, cum pro concione legeret Exodum, dictus in cap. xix. et xx. Epistola ejusd. adversus Bucerus, sacramentarium errore in novum refellens. Oratio Joh. Bugenhageni quoddam ipsius non sit opinio illa de Eucharistia, quæ in Psalterio sub nomine ejus Germanice translato legitur. Querela Fidei, auctore Vincentio Obscopo, ad Dominicum Sleupnerum, Norimbergæ, ad S. Sebaldum divini verbi ministrum: Hagano, 1527.

Das diese Worte Christi (das ist mein Leib, &c.) noch fest stehen wider die Schwermgeister. Martin Luther, 1527.

Ein Bericht an einen guten Freund von beyder Gestalt des Sacraments, aufs Bischoffs zu Meissen Mandat. Martin Luther: Wittenberg, 1528.

Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekänntniß Martin Luthers: Wittenberg.

Ex vetustiss. orthodoxorum Patrum, Cypriani, Hilarii, Ambrosii, Augustini, Hieronymi, Isidori et Pascasii, de genuino Eucharistie negotii intellectu et usu, libellus. Contra omnes vesano sacramentario spiritu vertiginosos (qui cum ipsi Patrum opinionibus pertinacissime innitantur) plane Achilleum telum. Nuper ex pervetusto exemplari bonis ovis in fanaticorum omnium interneciem depromptus. Cum præfat. Jobi Gastii ad D. Johannem Brentium, præceptorem suum: Hagan, 1528.

Unterricht warum die Thum-Prediger zu Magdeburg nicht disputiren wollen, und doch uns öffentlich auf der Kanzel geeschet und gefodert haben. Niclas Amsdorff: Magdeburg, 1528.

Joh. Bugenhageni Pomerani publica, de Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, ex Christi institutione, Confessio, quæ suæ fidei de cœnâ Domini reddit rationem, et dicit vale illis, qui audire nolunt. Cum epistolis ejusd. ad

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG. 1530.

State of Germany prior to the opening of the Diet.—Charles V. leaves Italy to restore peace to the empire.—His entry into Augsburg.—Procession of the Blessed Sacrament.—The Protestant princes refuse to assist at it.—Who these were.—Augsburg is disturbed by the preaching of the innovators.—Account of a Lutheran comedy performed in presence of Charles V.—Catholic orators who take part in the proceedings of the diet.

It would be impossible not to feel afflicted, on surveying Germany at that time. Every religious and social tie had been dissolved: the voice of Clement VII. was no more regarded than that of the emperor. Luther had made of the great feudatories of the empire so many tyrants, who tormented the body and outraged the conscience; soul and body, all were compelled to obey them. They reigned despotic in the electoral palace as well as in the sanctuary; they were the police of the community and of the Church. It was under their inspiration that the minister of the Gospel was chosen, anointed, consecrated, preached and administered the sacraments; as judges of the orthodoxy of the pastor, they could turn him off when they had decided that he did not preach the pure word of Christ:¹ they were the infallible interpreters of the spirit and letter of the Scriptures. Melancthon has told us with sorrow what the Gospel became after theology had found its way into court. The pulpit then became a mere tribune, which some ignorant apostate ascended to distribute the bread of life to the lambs of his official flock. Avarice, pride, and depravity, were the prominent vices of the new clergy. The benches of the universities were deserted, and

Joh. Brentium, Halse Suevorum concionatorem; Hessum Uratislaviensis Ecclesie pastorem; Johannem Agricolam, Islebianæ scholæ archididascalum: Wittenberg, 1528.

Vergleichung Dr. Luthers und seines Gegentheils vom Abendmahl Christi, Dialogus, das ist, ein freundlich Gespräch, gar nah alles so Dr. Luther in seinem letzten Buch, Bekänntniß genennet, furgebracht hat, wird hierin gehandelt, wie das zu Erkenntniß der Wahrheit und christlichen Friede dienet, Cum præf. Bucer. 1528.

¹ See chapters xiv. and xv. of this volume.

Demosthenes was obliged, by means of his learned interpreter, to beg for pupils. Melancthon, that illustrious son of the muse of antiquity, had not even wherewith to purchase a new dress as a new year's gift for his wife. In the estimation of the petty theologians who swarmed in the smallest towns, a scholar was a mere pedant: the professor of rhetoric held out his hand, and received, with averted head, thirty florins of annual charity.¹ Wherever the doctrines of Luther prevailed, art, science, literature, and even liberty was extinct. From Meissen to Basle nothing was to be seen but burnt cottages, demolished monasteries, and ruined palaces: every bush of the Black Forest was tinged with the blood of a peasant. If the eyes looked along the banks of the Rhine for the airy spires which Gothic art had reared, it found them prostrated by the blows of fanatical peasants. If by some miracle an ancient church remained with its four walls standing, not one of its statues in stone, its paintings on wood, its chased plate or storied missals, that once ornamented it, could be seen. All such treasures, when not destroyed, had become the property of some elector, to whom Luther delivered them as the price of an apostasy, and who suffered to die of hunger, both those to whom they formerly belonged and the disciples of the person who had given him their property. The printing presses were no longer occupied in the reproduction of the works of the ancient authors, but of wretched pamphlets suggested by ignorant fury.

We speak not of the Catholic clergy, who only met with their deserts: remaining faithful to their God, banishment and spoliation was the justice done to them by the conqueror: but of Schwenckfeld, Carlstadt, and so many more, who, on Luther's authority, took upon them to interpret the Bible, and were condemned to beg their bread on the highways, because they translated a monosyllable in a different way from the doctor! Let us not be accused of slandering the Reformation. Whoever has perused our pages, must have seen that this sad picture of Germany, in 1530, is drawn from the writings of Luther, Melancthon, Pirkheimer, Jonas, and other evangelists.

Charles V. could not remain long in Italy: he left it to

¹ See chapter xvi. of this volume.

suppress, if it were possible, the disturbances which devastated the empire.

On the 15th of June, 1530, he made his entry into Augsburg. It was one of the finest sights that had ever been witnessed in a German city.¹

Every eye was on the emperor. Young, handsome, well-formed, mounted on a white Polish steed, which he managed with all the grace of a perfect horseman, he saluted with hand and smile the people that crowded the way. Three hundred bells rang at once, and mingled their sounds with the roaring of cannon, the flourishes of the trumpets, the music, and shouts of the people, which were louder than all together. Never did prince appear invested with so much glory.² He wore a Spanish cloak, embroidered and sparkling with precious stones: the saddle of his horse was ornamented with topazes and rubies, and his stirrups were of silver gilt. He advanced under a canopy of crimson velvet, interspersed with golden bees, and borne by the senators of Augsburg, clad in Spanish costume. The order prescribed by the Golden Bull, and the regulations issued by Charles IV., in 1356, were observed. John, the elector of Saxony, as grand marshal of the empire, preceded the emperor, between the count palatine, represented by the marquis of Erbach, and George, margrave of Brandenburg: he held the imperial sword in his right hand; the count palatine carried the apple, the margrave of Brandenburg the sceptre, all three abreast, clothed in scarlet cloaks, lined with ermine, and blazoned with their arms. The elector of Saxony bore party per fesse sable and argent, two swords in saltier gules, quartered with all the provinces which he possessed, as well as those to which he laid claims, such as the duchies of Juliers, Cleves, and Berg; the margrave of Brandenburg, hereditary great chamberlain of

¹ Georg. Sabin, *Carmen de Ingressu Cæsaris Aug.* Georg. Coelestin. *Historia Conitiurum Aug.* tom. i. p. 105, &c. Maimbourg, lib. ii. *Dissertatio Inauguralis et Historica de D. Martino Luthero, à comitis Augustanis ann. 1530, corpore quidem absente, in illis tamen animo præsente, Thesis, à Christ. Mauritio Lochnero, Altorf, 1733, 4to.*

² See Melancthon's letter on this subject to Charles V., *Epistolæ Selectiores aliquot Philippi Melancthonis editæ à Gasparo Peucero, 1565, p. 263.* And compare his opinion of it with that of Luther. "In my opinion," writes Melancthon, "the gods, as Horace says, could not make the earth a more precious gift, even were they to bring back the golden age."

the Holy Empire, bore azure, a sceptre in pale, or, with arms quartered. Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, hereditary archbutler of the empire, elected king of Bohemia in 1527, walked by himself, immediately after the emperor, wearing the crown, and escorted by three hundred guards, clothed in jackets of red and white velvet. The archbishop of Mayence, dean of the ecclesiastical electors, preceded the princes who carried the Aulic insignia; they were surrounded with two hundred guards, clothed in jackets of yellow and black velvet; and on the left appeared the archbishop of Cologne, at the head of another guard in full armour. The ecclesiastical electors wore scarlet caps, turned up with ermine. The streets were hung with tapestry, and strewn with leaves. On the emperor's appearing, the people knelt to receive the legate's benediction. Among the crowd it was easy to recognise the Lutherans, who contented themselves with inclining the head, but did not bend the knee. At the gates of Augsburg, when Charles mounted the state horse which was provided for him, and which Cardinal Campeggio had blessed, the prince-electors uncovered their heads, but did not bow.¹

The eye looked in vain for him who had excited this great multitude, who had torn the emperor from the scene of his glory, and whose name and image filled all minds. Luther was absent. He kept himself retired in the citadel of Coburg, whither the elector of Saxony² had taken him, lest his presence in Augsburg should have roused the anger of Charles V., for he was under the ban of the edict of Worms.³ Spalatinus, Jonas, and Melancthon had accompanied him, and then continued their journey to Augsburg, singing the first verse of the Psalm, "Deus in adiutorium," previously translated into German verse

¹ Menzel, l. c. tom. i.

² Cochleus in *Actis Lutheri*, p. 124: "Electo Lutherum ad Augustam tamen usque non perduxit, eo quod esset à Cæsare in edicto Wormatiensi pro heretico notorio damnatus, et proscriptus; itaque reliquit eum in munitissimâ arce suâ Coburg." Pallavicini in *Hist. Conc. Trid.* lib. iii. cap. iii.: "Lutherus Augustam adductus non est, ne tam aperto desplicatu Cæsar offenderetur, eo ante ipsius conspectum obtruso, quem severissimo edicto Wormatiensi proscripterat." Maimburgius in *Hist. Lutheranismi*, lib. ii. sect. xxi.: "Electo veritus, ne imperatorem præsentia hominis, quem in edicto Wormatiensi nominatim proscripterat, irritaret, reliquit eum Coburg, in munimento, quod habebat, præcipuo: translated by Lochner, l. c.

³ Muller, *Von der Evang. Stämme protest. und Augsburg. Confession*, lib. ii. cap. vii. § 6, p. 456. Cyprianus, in *Hist. Aug. Conf.* cap. vi. § 3, p. 59.

and set to music by Luther, and which was sung in the evangelical churches during the diet.¹

However, if we are to credit Protestant accounts, it depended on Luther to turn all this triumphal pomp into mourning. The elector of Saxony and the Protestant princes, who feared the emperor's wrath, were assembled to avert the storm. The elector was of opinion that they should go with sufficient troops and await the emperor at the foot of the Alps, to prevent him from entering the Tyrol: this was a desperate measure, which would have been fatal to the Reformation. Luther perceived the danger, and wrote to the duke: "Prince, it is not by arms that we must defend our cause, but by patience and resignation, and above all, by unbounded confidence in the Lord and his all-powerful arm." This was prudent counsel, and the elector followed it.² Maimbourg and other Catholic historians have allowed themselves to be caught by this worldly wisdom of the Reformer; ³ probably they had not read his appeal to the German nation.

The procession advanced towards the cathedral, where the "Te Deum" was sung in thanksgiving, and the legate gave his benediction to the assembly. The following day was a festival of the Church,—the feast of Corpus Christi, when the blessed Sacrament was to be carried in procession through the streets of Augsburg. Charles invited the Protestant princes to this ceremony: they had previously arranged their reply, which was quite a scenic exhibition. George, the margrave of Brandenburg, putting his hand to his neck, declared that he was ready to mount the scaffold and lose his head, sooner than renounce the Gospel.⁴ The emperor smiled, and said, "No head! no head!" but nothing more; either because he was not very well acquainted with the German language, or disliked long conversation, or perhaps because, in accordance with the usage of the Spanish court, he let his lieutenant, his brother Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, speak for him. The Protestants could not comprehend how this prince, who remained mute before them, motionless as a pagoda, and only expressed his feelings by

¹ Cœlestin. lib. i. fol. 20.

² Cœlestin. tom. i. fol. 19. Luth. Epist. ad Elect. Sax. apud Cœlest. p. 20.

³ Maimbourg, lib. ii. p. 174. ⁴ Adolph Menzel, l. c. tom. i. p. 441.

wagging his head or contracting his eyebrows, could have made the world tremble. They thought they would have to address a man, and they found only a statue. More than one Protestant noble was indebted for his courage next day to this taciturnity on the part of the emperor.

"What a fine fellow!" said Luther; "he speaks less in a year than I do in a day."¹

The Protestant princes held a council at night, and resolved not to assist at the procession. Next morning they attended the emperor's levee, and presented him with their written protest.

The margrave of Brandenburg was again the spokesman: "Rather," said he, putting his hand to his neck, "than deny the Gospel——" Charles interrupted him, saying, "No head!" and relapsed into his habitual silence.² Ferdinand attempted to overcome the margrave's obstinacy, but in vain. The cannon and church-bells soon announced the setting out of the procession.

It was prehaps more magnificent than the triumphal one of the previous day. George Sabinus [Schalten] has exhausted all the treasures of poetry in describing it. The archbishop of Mayence carried a massive gold remonstrance, sparkling with all sorts of gems. Six princes, who relieved each other, bore a canopy worked with gold and silver, and decorated at the four corners with plumes of ostrich feathers. In every public place an altar was raised, adorned with flowers, lace, and valuable paintings. King Ferdinand walked on the archbishop's right, and on his left Joachim I., elector of Brandenburg: before the canopy were two lines of priests and choristers; then the two masters of the ceremonies of the imperial and royal households, followed by the heralds, trumpeters, and other musicians; next came the senators of the empire, the members of the Aulic and royal councils, the magistrates of the city, and the official members of the palace. Behind the canopy came the emperor, clothed in a large purple mantle, lined with cloth of silver, carrying a torch, bareheaded and unprotected by parasol from the heat of the summer sun. In his majesty's train were the legate, the archbishops and bishops, the deputies of the imperial cities, the

¹ Tisch-Reden, ch. xlv. p. 342.

² Seckendorf, l. c. lib. ii. p. 162.

grandees of Spain, the Italian and Flemish nobility, and lastly, the guards of the emperor and the king of Bohemia. The assistants carried torches, walking silently and slowly, and knelt whenever the archbishop elevated the Blessed Sacrament, and presented it for the adoration of the faithful. The choir children strewed flowers on the path of the procession. The Protestant princes awaited the emperor in the church, which they had received permission from Luther to enter. John the elector carried the imperial sword, in discharge of the duties of his office. However, he had thought it right to consult some theologians, and among others Doctor Martin, who allowed him to perform his duties as grand vassal, after the example of Naaman, who supported with his hand the king of Syria, his master, when he went to adore the idol Rimmon.¹ The reformed theologians did not cloak their language. The emperor was the infidel prince of Syria; the Catholic church the pagan temple; and Christ, whom the people were to adore, was the idol Rimmon.

The Protestant princes, after his majesty entered the church, took the places assigned to them. Charles was seated on his throne, facing the altar. The choir was hung with crimson velvet; on the right and left of the high altar were six chairs, each inscribed: "Mayence," "Cologne," "Bohemia," "Bavaria," "Saxony," "Brandenburg;" one chair was left vacant, and marked the place of the elector of Trèves, then absent. The officers of the electors stood before them, with their swords resting on their shoulders. As soon as the electors were seated, various princes and counts entered the choir; then the count of Pappenheim closed the doors, and handed the keys to the chamberlain. The archbishop of Mayence then intoned the "Veni Creator," and all present rose simultaneously: next followed the Mass of the Holy Spirit, according to the constitution of the Golden Bull. After the Gospel, the two assistants, followed by priests and preceded by two acolytes, bearing tapers, advanced, made three low obeisances to the emperor, and thrice incensed him: and the same once to the electors of Mayence and Cologne,

¹ Ulenberg, *Historia de Vita, Moribus, &c. Martini Lutheri*, p. 374. Calvin, in his *Nicodemites*, has examined the question of the presence of "Christians" in a Catholic church, and has come to a different conclusion from Luther: the example of Naaman appears to him of no value. See our *History of Calvin*.

the king of Bohemia, the elector of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg, to all of whom they gave the Gospel to kiss. During the "Agnus Dei," the assistants carried a silver cross to the emperor and the electors to kiss. When the Mass was over, the archbishop took off his vestments behind the altar, put on a cope, and kneeling down intoned a hymn, which the emperor's band finished.

The procession then, in the same order, returned to the episcopal palace, where his majesty resided.

Let us see who these scrupulous parties were who were afraid of sullyng their innocence by entering a Catholic church without Luther's permission. There was, first, the elector John, one of the greatest gluttons of his time, whose overcharged stomach, laden with meat and drink from morn to night, required an iron girdle to support it, lest it should fall; the devoted adherent of a creed which abolished fasting and Lent, and permitted flesh to be eaten on Friday and Saturday. The sideboard of this elector was considered to be the most richly furnished in Germany, with vessels of all kinds, stolen from the monastic refectories or the sacristies of the churches.¹ There was his son Frederick, who spent his time and health at the table or in hunting, and, like his father, a jolly companion, devoted to wine and good cheer, and scarcely acquainted with his catechism. There was the landgrave of Hesse, whose lechery had become proverbial, a shameless adulterer, who, to resist carnal temptations, demanded and obtained leave to cohabit with a couple of wives,² and who caused himself to be waited on at table by servants upon whose sleeves were embroidered these five capital letters: "V.D.M.I.Æ." "Verbum Domini manet in æternum;"—"The word of the Lord endures for ever." There was Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, so grossly ignorant, that he never knew, it was said, how to make the sign of the cross. There were Ernest and Francis of Luneburg, who did not give their servants the trouble of robbing the churches, but stole, with their own hands, the sacred vessels. Such were the princes whose consciences were alarmed at the very idea of entering Catholic churches.

¹ Der Churfürst war ein Freund des Weines und der Jagd.—Adolph Menzel, tom. i. p. 338.

² See chap. xxx. Bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse.

As soon as the emperor was seated, the archbishops and prelates came after each other to say grace. The archbishop of Mayence laid the seals of state on the table ; and the emperor handed them to the chancellor of Augsburg, who suspended the great seal from his neck. Then came the margrave of Brandenburg, carrying a damask napkin, and silver basin and ewer, which he presented to the emperor to wash his hands. Next the count palatine, carrying four silver dishes, each weighing three marks, filled with warm viands, which he laid on the table ; lastly, the king of Bohemia, grand butler, with a silver jug weighing twelve marks, full of wine and water, which he offered respectfully to the emperor.

The edict of Worms expressly forbade the innovators to preach their doctrines. The edict had not been recalled, but the Protestant princes, under the pretext that they could not do without spiritual nourishment, had, on arriving at Augsburg, opened in their private chapels a course of sermons, which the people attended in crowds. They went to hear the papists insulted, the pope and the bishops nicknamed Antichrist, and the celibacy of the clergy anathematized. An order of the emperor, proclaimed by sound of trumpet in all the public places, was necessary to silence these preachers, as Augsburg was menaced with the same scourges which desolated the lower empire, where every inhabitant had become a controversialist. The city swarmed with Zwinglians, Anabaptists, Carlstadians, Illyrians, and Lutherans, all affirming that they were sent by God to preach his word. This cloud of gossellers settled here and there, and converted every stile into a pulpit to harangue the multitude, who, drawn from all quarters, knew not to whom to listen. Erasmus, with his usual sarcasm, has sketched this medley of doctrines, this confusion of subjects, this incessant hum of interrogatories, this deafening knell of Bible texts. " Here comes one, with the New Testament in his hand, and cries out : ' Show me purgatory ; ' another, ' Where is infant baptism ? ' a third, ' Where is the Trinity ; the divinity of Jesus ? ' another, if there be in the hypostatic union this thing or that. Wait, it is not all over : I see one who asks how there can be accidents in the eucharist ; another, if the bread and wine are reduced to nothing, or changed into his body by alte-

ration ; a third, if the body subsists in him who receives it, or is changed into his substance.”¹

Truly Erasmus was fortunate in being sick in Switzerland ; for at Augsburg, whither Melancthon had invited him, his ears would have been cruelly tortured, and his head, already overworked, would have turned giddy.

He would not probably have been more satisfied with certain Catholic preachers who, before the arrival of Charles V., had publicly denounced many of the great men of the age. Such, for instance, was a Franciscan, whose name was not bestowed on him by the resentment of Erasmus,² and whose sermons were in great repute, because he spared in them neither priests, bishops, pope, emperor, nor the learned, to which latter he attributed all the evils that desolated Germany. “ My brethren,” said he, “ I announce to you a new luminary, which has just dawned in our horizon ; my tongue sticks to my palate ; I wish to tell you of a long-eared doctor, a thorough ass, who has the impudence to attempt to correct the ‘ Magnificat,’ a canticle inspired by the Holy Ghost ! This precursor of Luther has corrupted the Gospel, and infected Germany.” It was Erasmus whom the friar meant. John Faber,³ confessor of Charles V., and the cardinal of Trent, imposed silence on him, and forbade him to preach, to the great dissatisfaction of the people of Augsburg, who loved his vituperative discourses.

Erasmus has preserved for us the sketch of a comedy which savours of Lutheranism, and was audaciously performed before the emperor, who did not discover its meaning until the close.

The court was assembled in the hall of the diet, where the king of Bohemia, the prelates, and the reformed princes were present. Suddenly appeared a man with a mask, in the long gown of a doctor, having inscribed on his back in large letters the name of Reuchlin. He held in his hand a faggot, the branches of which were bent in the form of a fan, and which he placed in the middle of the hall. Then appeared a masked ecclesiastic, with a sharp nose, twinkling eye, and sneering lip,

¹ *Erasmi Epistolæ*, ep. 1094.

² *Concio*, sive *Merdardius*. The Franciscan's name was Merdard.

³ “ *Joh. Faber, scortationis patronus et unus ex præcipuis papistis, qui beato Luthero, vel veritù Spiritui sancto, restiterunt,*” says a disciple of Luther.

who was immediately recognised for Erasmus. He advanced, bowing on each side, with a mincing gait, and looked with a smile at the bent branches, which he endeavoured to bend back ; but his efforts being vain, he was obliged to throw them aside in disgust, and departed, muttering between his teeth some unintelligible words, and grinning with a diabolical leer. A monk succeeded him with a large forehead, and blown-up face, purpled with wine, who bellowed with a deep voice, and set fire to the faggot : then came an emperor with a large sword, with which he stirred the fire, which crackled and threw out sparks on all sides : then a pope in full pontificals, carrying in each hand a cruet ; in the right one of water, in the left one of oil. He approached for the purpose of extinguishing the fire, but unfortunately by mistake threw the oil instead of the water on the fire, which blazed up and consumed the faggot. Charles was offended, and ordered the culprit to be sought for ; but he could not be found.¹

The diet opened on the 20th of June, in the presence of the emperor, King Ferdinand, the electors, princes of the empire, and deputies of the imperial cities, in a vast hall hung with velvet. In the middle of a semicircle, the sides of which were furnished with crimson velvet arm-chairs, prepared for the sovereign princes,—rose the emperor's throne, covered with cloth fringed with gold and silver. On either side were pages dressed in the Spanish costume. Charles wore a mantle which swept the ground, and on his head the imperial crown ; the elector of Saxony, who discharged the functions of grand marshal of the empire, carried the imperial sword ; the hand of justice was held by the margrave. The cushion on which the crown was to be laid when Charles uncovered himself was kept by two pages. On the second row of the semicircle were the seats of the arch-bishops and bishops, the papal nuncio, and the ambassadors ; below these were the folding chairs reserved for the Catholic doctors, Eck, Cochläus, and Nausca. Eck we already know.

Cochläus bore no resemblance to Eck ; instead of laying nets, he wove a spider's web, in which he waited patiently until his adversary was caught. " He was a nettle which flourished amidst

¹ Life of Erasmus, by De Burigni, tom. ii. p. 272.

roses and lilies," says the poet: ¹ moreover, he was a brave cavalier, of noble appearance, who sometimes sounded the trumpet admirably, and hurled a bold defiance at his adversary. This cartel of Cochläus was not unworthy the acceptance of Luther.

"Cochläus to Luther.—If you are a man, come with arms and not with insults; take up the sword of the Holy Spirit, which is the word of God, and let us measure our strength. Here is one prepared to fight for the faith and the honour of religion. Come, if you have courage: come, and dispute in open day, in any place that the emperor may appoint, clearly and intelligibly: come, and let us harangue without circumlocutions, evasions, or reservations. If I fail, I shall not refuse exile, imprisonment, the wheel, the stake, or the sword, or any punishment that the arbiters of the contest may please to inflict on the vanquished. It will be a glorious thing for me to fight, conquer, or die for my faith. Come, then; struggle, contend, triumph, or fall in returning to the truth. I send this challenge to you, or such of your disciples as may wish to maintain the honour of your Babylon. None but a womanish soul would, in such a case, make use of jokes and jests, ridicule and offensive similes. Men have other arms. Come then, armed *cap-à-pie*,—you, or your second, in your name. I await you. I have said it, and my act shall make good my word. May God assist me! Amen." ²

The Reformer's disdain for Cochläus is singular. He did not condescend to reply to him even once. He must have considered him unimportant, since Cochläus never provoked him to anger. ³ When his celebrated work, "The Seven-headed Beast," appeared, Luther said, "I have but one, which they cannot cut off; what would it be if I had seven of them?" ⁴

¹ "Attamen annumerat tantis quoque mus merentem
Luminibus; virtus quiddam vel in hoste placet,
Lilia sic inter crescens urtica, rosasque
Germinat et fruitur floris honore boni."

² Cochläus died at Breslau, 10 January, 1552. He is especially known by his history, *De Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*.

³ See *Articuli cccc Mart. Lutheri, quibus singulatim responsum est à Joh. Cochläo: Coloniae, 1525, 4to.* Sept. Lutherus, ubique sibi suis scriptis contrarius, per Cochläum editus. Lipsiæ, Schumann, 1529, 4to.

⁴ "Joh. Cochläus multijugè instructus eruditione, et sacris totus deditus litteris," according to the testimony of the Lutheran Reusner, in his *Icon. Virorum*, &c. p. 35.

Frederick Nausea, Cardinal Campeggio's secretary, had been for four years one of the great Catholic pulpit orators of Mayence ; he was somewhat diffuse, destitute of fire and feeling, but deeply read in the Scriptures and the Fathers. After severe study, he had received the doctorates of law and theology. He was a scholar devoted to classical literature, a taste for which he endeavoured to diffuse in Germany. Like all men of intellect at that time, he possessed a vast deal of information ; and was at once physician, lawyer, philosopher, poet, and astronomer.¹

John Faber was a theologian of the *renaissance*, who knew Aristotle and St. Thomas by heart, devoted like a laureated student to Horace and Virgil, a man of the world, and as particular in his dress as in his language. At Rome, he had disputed with Hortensius the prize for memory ; and had it been necessary would have recalled to Luther, if he had forgotten it, everything that the monk had written for fifteen years, without even forgetting the offensive portions. He had good luck. Instead of growing pale over books to refute his adversary, he had made himself acquainted with him, and was then about to compose Luther's "Antilogia." Open the book, you meet Arius, Manes, Berengarius : turn the page, you find Scotus and Durandus ; and often on the same leaf, Huss and Cajetan.

Faber's work had caused amusement.

But Luther was angry. "I shall not reply," he said, "either to Cochläus or Faber : there is not an ass that does not obtain the degree of doctor as soon as he attacks Luther. Luther is a god who makes beggars lords, asses doctors, scoundrels saints, and changes dirt into precious stones : it was I who raised Adrian to the tiara, and you shall see that I will make Faber a cardinal."²

Faber was an able controversialist, who, according to Melancthon, displayed no less learning than zeal to reconcile parties at Augsburg. It was he who said in the pulpit at the diet of

¹ He wrote : *Consilia de Puero Litteris instituendo ; Disticha in Omnia Capita Librorum Lactantii ; Principia Dialectices ; De Naturâ Commendationeque Thermarum ; Lib. VII. Rerum Mirabilium ; Orationes, Epigrammata, &c.* Dupin, *Bibl. des Aut. Eccl. du Seizième Siècle.* Serarii Mogunt. *Rer. lib. i. cap. xl. No. 18, p. 176.*

² *Adversus iteratum Edictum Episcopi Misnensis pro Communionem sub una Specie :* a pamphlet which Seckendorf calls "vehemens et aculeatum."

Spire: "I would sooner believe in Mahomet than in Luther; for the former has preserved fasting, abstinence, prayers, and good works." "I fear much," replied Luther at table, "that he may have prophesied like Caiaphas, and may one day become a Turk."¹ Luther was mistaken, for Faber died in his diocese of Vienna, which Ferdinand conferred on him as the reward of his literary labours. "Here is another elevated by this poor fellow Luther," exclaimed Erasmus, on hearing of the nomination of Faber, whose piety and learning he, however, revered.²

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG. 1530.

Opening of the Diet.—The Protestant princes present their confession of faith to the emperor.—The confession of Augsburg is a manifesto against the original creed of Luther.—The doctor's contradictions.—Melancthon gives an account to his master of the deliberations of the Diet.—Luther at Coburg.—Melancthon's dispositions of mind at Augsburg.—Various concessions which he makes to the Catholics.—Luther, from Coburg, opposes every kind of dealing with the "papists."—Spalatinus and Jonas desire a reconciliation.—Anger of Luther, who will have peace at no price.—Bruck is of a similar way of thinking.—Melancthon's chagrin and discouragement.—Cries of reprobation against the attempts at reconciliation made by the professor.—Luther's appeal to popular hatred.—The elector of Saxony clandestinely leaves Augsburg.—Melancthon, to be reconciled with the Swiss, who could not obtain a hearing at the Diet, alters the text of the confession.—The confession, considered as a dogmatic creed, does violence to the principle of free inquiry.

WHEN the Count Palatine, in the name of the emperor, had pronounced the opening discourse, all present standing uncovered, a herald-at-arms sounded the trumpet on the steps of the palace. At this signal the gates of the great hall were opened, and the most distinguished of the citizens entered, and took their seats in the places which had been prepared for them. The emperor had reserved several of them for the theologians of his own party:—Justus Jonas and Spalatinus, who died, it is said, in the faith

¹ Tisch-Reden, pp. 364, 365.

² Hist. de la Réformation, par Sleidan, lib. vii. tom. ii. p. 202.

of their master ; Melancthon, who rejected some of the doctrines of the Saxon school ; and Agricola of Eisleben, the leader of the Antinomians, who abandoned and afterwards returned to Lutheranism, and died at Berlin, half Catholic and half Protestant.¹ Zwinglians, Anabaptists, and Carlstadians, were mingled in the crowd. The Lutherans, who came to Augsburg to demand liberty of conscience, were ready to co-operate in any rigorous measures which the authorities might adopt against the dissenting innovators.

Then the elector of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, Duke Francis and Ernest of Luneburg and Brunswick, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, rose from their seats, and approached the emperor's throne. Then George Pontanus (Bruck), chancellor of John the elector, requested his majesty's permission to read openly before the Orders the confession of faith of the Protestant princes ; in the view of opening the eyes of those who ascribed heretical opinions to them. The emperor appointed them to meet him on the following day in the hall of the episcopal palace.

In the mean time, he requested them to send to him the confession ; but the princes excused themselves, under the pretext that the copy had been hastily made, was full of errors, omissions, and words deleted and illegible.²

The bishop's palace could not hold all the reformers ; many of them were obliged to remain in the adjoining apartments, and in the lobbies, where they waited with inexpressible anxiety the effect of the reading of the reformed creed. The chancellor, Christian Baier, who was commissioned to read Melancthon's confession, had a sonorous voice. His words, listened to in profound silence, were heard, it is said, in the court of the castle, where numerous Protestants drew, from the silence which was accorded to the reader, bright auguries for the future prospects of their confession.³

When the confession was read, the emperor, whose countenance evinced no emotion, gave a copy of it in German to the

¹ Sleidan, l. c. lib. vi. p. 232, note.

² Coelestin. tom. iii. fol. 1 et seq. Maimbourg, lib. ii. p. 189.

³ Gustav Pfizer, l. c. p. 628.

archbishop of Mayence, kept for himself the Latin one, which he had received from the chancellor, Christian Baier,¹ and dismissed the princes, after exacting a promise from them that they would not publish the confession without his express permission. Notwithstanding their promise, the princes caused five editions of it in German and two in Latin² to be printed in the course of that very year, all presenting marked variations from each other.

In the whole history of the Reformation, there is no more luminous manifesto against Luther's mission than the creed of Melancthon, known by the name of the "Augsburg Confession." A monk announces himself as the priest of God's word, as a new Ecclesiastes or Eliseus. He desires that his authority should prevail over that of the Catholic Church; and people, either misled or surprised, have walked in its light. At intervals, God raises up doctors who undertake the defence of the truth; but evil passions stifle their voice, and their profession is the great obstacle which prevents their being listened to. But now the Jeremias of the Reformer, the disciple on whom Luther has set his affections, the child of his heart and teaching, when compelled to show to the world the creed of the new teachers, presents, after many days of labour, a confession which smells of the lamp, so much has it been read, reperused, corrected, and blurred. Luther countersigned and noted it with these remarkable words: "Let whoever teaches the contrary to this be condemned!" Yet let it not be supposed that this was a faithful exposition of the doctrines which he had hitherto taught. We remember his violence towards Erasmus on the subject of free-will,³ which the divine prescience destroys in creatures; that enslaving of man which he discovered in the Scriptures, and which he imposes on our belief under pain of damnation. Well! he consents to subscribe to the eighteenth article of Melancthon's confession, wherein it asserts "that free-will is to be acknowledged in all men who have the use of reason; not for the things

¹ The originals of the confession are lost. The Latin one was for some time believed to be preserved at Mayence; but Weber has proved (*Critische Geschichte der Augsburger Confession*), that it was only an inaccurate transcript.

² Schmidt, *History of the Germans*, vol. vi. p. 414.

³ See chap. viii. Erasmus and Free Will.

of God, which cannot be begun or completed without Him, but merely for the things of this present life, and the duties of civil society." Melancthon adds, in his "Apology," to render more intelligible a passage already so clear: "For the exterior works of the law of God."¹ But this is what Erasmus said, and which excited Luther's brutality.

"I do not want your free-will," said the Saxon; "keep it; if God were to offer it to me, I should refuse it."² And now he accepts it, and makes it an article of his faith.

It reminds us of that desolating axiom which he sought to enforce with all his erudition: "That God works sin in us." This was also a luminous ray which he derived from the Scriptures, and which he accused us of rejecting; and yet he declares, in the nineteenth article, "that the will of man is the cause of sin!" Emser, Cochläus, Eck, and Erasmus,—poor doctors!—it is scarcely five years since you denounced that doctrine of despair! What, then, had the Holy Spirit done?—what so disturbed the mind of the father of the Reformation? Was it the letter that killed his understanding? Whom, then, are we to believe?—Luther, in his pulpit at Wittemberg; or Melancthon, at the diet of Augsburg? Let them now boast of the illuminations which the Bible suddenly emits, and which are possessed by any one who reads it. Either Luther was deceived himself, or deceived others.

We have not forgotten the doctor's theories as to good works, which he considers sinful, although done by a righteous person.³ To delude us, he corrupted the text of St. Paul⁴ by interpretations which made the Catholics remonstrate; but he ridiculed those Papists whom he dismissed to the schoolmen. If, to embarrass him, the epistle of St. James was quoted: "What an authority!" he would say: "An apocryphal epistle,—an epistle of straw!" And yet, after all, we were right. It was Luther who erred; for now he says: "Good works are worthy of great praise; they are necessary, and merit reward."⁵

¹ Bossuet, *Variations*, vol. i. p. 111. Conf. Act. 18, *Apol. ad eund. loc.*

² Luth. *De Lib. Arb. adverb. Eras. Rot. tom. i. fol. 226.*

³ Luth. *Assert. 86 omnium art. Op. tom. ii. fol. 525, 6.*

⁴ Mœhler, *Symbolism*, translated by Robertson, vol. i. p. 239.

⁵ *Synt. Gen. art. vi. pp. 12, 20.*

Let, then, all those sleep in peace whom Luther condemned when, resting his elbow on the table of his alehouse at Wittemberg, between two pots of Torgau beer, he answered one of his companions, who asked him whether a Papist could be saved,—“Really, I do not know.”¹ Now Anthony, Bernard, Dominick, and Francis, are reckoned among the saints by Melancthon’s “Apology;” consequently they were sons of the true Church.² It was only St. Thomas Aquinas whom he damns without mercy, “probably,” says Bossuet, “because he was a Dominican.” We may even henceforth, in all safety of conscience, assist at mass,—that invention of Satan;³—for, says the “Apology,” the Reformers have not abolished it.

“It is celebrated among us,” continues Melancthon, “with extreme reverence; and all the ordinary ceremonies are preserved in it.”⁴ At that time, indeed, a Catholic would have been deceived on entering some of the reformed churches near Wittemberg. With his missal, he might have followed the priest, and recognised the introit, the kyrie, the collect, epistle, gospel, credo, preface, sanctus, words of consecration, elevation, Lord’s Prayer, agnus, communion, and thanksgiving. The tapers burned on the altars, the incense smoked, they sang in Latin and German; the priest had his vestments, the chasuble, with the embroidered cross, the surplice, and the amice. Melancthon had insisted on retaining the Catholic liturgy, which partly remained in some remote provinces until his death, and then was abolished, with the few truths which he had preserved. In Bavaria, at certain Lutheran masses, you might still have prayed for the dead, as was done in the primitive church; this is acknowledged by the “Apology,” which does not prohibit these pious effusions. Mark this! the veneration of the departed, the belief in the expiation of souls in the next life;⁵ these two great superstitions, against which Luther had declaimed; these practices of yesterday’s growth, sprung from a papistical brain! But there is yet something more astonishing: “Sodom and Gomorrha,

¹ Tisch-Reden, p. 499.

² Apol. Resp. ad Argum. p. 99; de votis mon. p. 281.

³ Von der Messe, Tisch-Reden, p. 386.

⁴ Forma Missæ, cap. ii. Bossuet, Variations, book iii. p. 144.

⁵ Bossuet, p. 135. Apol. cap. de Vocab. Miss. p. 284.

the great whore of Babylon,"—the Catholic Church, in short,—is restored to favour, justified, and glorified by Luther; "for," says the 'Apology,' "this is the summary of our creed, in which nothing will be found contrary to Scripture, the Catholic or even the Roman Church."¹ What more can be wished? here is an eulogy on tradition, an appeal to the doctors of the faith, an offering to the saints whom we revere. "We do not despise the dogmas of the Catholic Church, nor do we wish to maintain the impieties which she has condemned; for it is not irregular passions, but the authority of God's word and of the ancient Church which has led us to embrace this doctrine to augment the glory of God; the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, the holy fathers, of Saints Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, &c."² But when did the reign of the ancient Church terminate? Neither Melancthon nor Luther have informed us. "It could not have been in the fifteenth century, since Luther elsewhere calls Gerson, who had condemned Wiclif and John Huss at the Council of Constance, "in every respect an admirable man." So, remarks Bossuet, the Roman Church was still the mother of saints in the fifteenth century."³

What, then, are we to think of this confession of faith of Augsburg? Had Luther made it at the disputation at Leipsic, would heresy have rent the Church, or Saxony been deluged with the blood of the peasants? Had there been a Melancthon in 1519, the religious revolution would not have taken place; had there not been a Luther in 1530, the revolution would have been ended; at least, we believe so.

On hearing this confession, the Catholic doctors were struck with astonishment. They looked at each other, exchanged silent signs, and could not comprehend this guarded language, which

¹ Conf. Aug. Genevæ, pp. 22, 23. Apol. Responsio ad Argument., p. 441 et seq.

² Responsio ad Argument. edit. Genevæ, art. 21, p. 144.

While at the diet Melancthon, in the name of the reformed princes, spoke thus of our Fathers, Luther wrote to Brenz: "Penè cum indignatione admiror quomodo Hieronymus nomen doctoris Ecclesiæ, et Origenes magistri ecclesiarum post epistolas meruerint, cum in utroque auctore non facile tres versus invenias de fidei justitiâ docentes, neque Christianum ullum facere queas ex universis utriusque scriptis. Neque alius fuisset Augustinus," &c.—Brentio, 26 Aug. De Wette, tom. iv. p. 150.

³ History of Variations, book iii. p. 132.

the Reformers had always disdained; this sober and calm argumentation; this candid exposition, in which the ear vainly expected an angry expression; in which occasionally some leaven of novelty fermented, or some heresy rose, but concealed under the graces of a phraseology of which the model had been for some time lost.

The princes were told that their confession would be carefully examined, and that a formal refutation of it would be given to them, at the time appointed by the emperor.

The Protestants wished that the Catholics should also draw up their confession. "What need is there for it?" said Faber; "we believe to-day what we believed yesterday, and what we will believe to-morrow."

Luther, to whom Melancthon communicated the deliberations of the diet, was sick at Coburg. With his imagination, which coloured everything, he had given a poetical name to his new prison. Wartburg was the Patmos of the new evangelist, the citadel of Coburg was his Sinai. He had, as we see, grown mighty. At Wartburg, he was an evangelist; at Coburg, he is Jehovah; in the morning enveloped in clouds, in the evening among owls.¹

Luther was then suffering from pains in his ears and head, and dizziness to such an extent that he could not even dwell on serious subjects. "My head rings, or rather thunders," said he; "if I did not give over work, I should faint; my head is nothing but a small chapter, it will soon become a paragraph, and end by becoming a period."² "It is not a natural malady,"

¹ He writes to Melancthon: "Wir sind endlich einmal in unserm Sinai angelanget. Wir wollen aber auch diesem Sinai ein Sion machen."—Luther's *Sämmtliche Werke*: Halle, tom. xv. p. 2827.

In the chamber occupied by the doctor in the citadel of Coburg, and adjoining a plantation, is the following inscription set to music:—



M. Lutherus D. 15, c. 30.

² Lutherus ad Cordatum d. d. 23 Sept. ex arce Coburg. in *Coolest.* tom. iii. fol. 89, et Budd. *Suppl. n.* clxxxii. p. 211. "Totum hoc tempus, quo hic fui, penè dimidium periit mihi otio molestissimo; jam violentius et pertinacius caput meum oppressit et vexavit tinnitus, seu bombus potius ventorum turbini similis." Ad Melancth. d. d. 12 Maii ap. Budd. num. cxviii. p. 92, et

he wrote to his friend ; " it is the finger of Satan that presses on me. But if I cannot read or write, I can at least pray, and resist his arm. God permits me to sleep, walk about, sing and play." And elsewhere : " I have received your letter ; I was learning to know Satan. I was alone, Veit and Cyriacus had left me. The devil did his business so well, that he forced me to leave my chamber, and mingle with the residents." Sometimes he sought refuge from temptations in the chapel of the castle, at the foot of the cross.¹ But a visible power tormented him more than the prince of darkness ; this was the emperor, whom he studiously flattered in the letters which he wrote to his friends, and which they might show to the prince. But from Melancthon he concealed neither his fears nor his despair.

When at intervals the pains in his head become easier, and his brain is free from that misty atmosphere which conceals from his eyes all the objects of creation, and even God himself ; then, like Gœtz von Berlichingen nailed to his chair, he resumes his pen to write to his friends letters in which all the fresh ideas of his youth appear, and that poetic style which he alone of the Reformers of his period possessed ; as in this jesting letter to his companions :—

" A small orchard is above my window, quite a miniature forest, in which the crows and rooks have established their diet. They come and go, croak and scream incessantly, by day and by night, as if they were drunk or mad. Both old and young scream together, so that it is a miracle that their breath or voice does not fail them. I should like to know if you have those noble birds ; I believe they have assembled here from the four quarters of the world. I have not, as yet, seen their emperor, but frequently their margrave and barons. They hover and fly constantly before me ; their attire is not very handsome ; they have but one colour, and that is black. They all sing the same air, but with slight variations, suited to their ages and ranks. I believe that they are not very fond of fine palaces. The hall of their

Cœlest. tom. i. fol. 41, 6. "Caput tinnitibus, imò tonitruis cœpit impleri et nisi subitò desiissent, statim in syncopen fuisset lapsus, quam ægrè hoc biduo evasi. Itaque jam tertia dies est, quod ne litteram quidem inspicere volui, nec potui. Caput meum factum est capitulum, perget vero fietque paragra-phus, tandem periodus."

¹ Gustav. Pfizer, l. c. p. 644.

conference has for a ceiling a large and magnificent sky, and the ground on which they rest their feet is a field, in which strong branches serve for a table; their boundary is infinity. They have no need of horses; for they have rapid wheels at their command to escape from the gun, or provoke the sportsman. They are high and mighty lords; but what they decide in their diet I do not yet know. As far as I am able to learn from a skilful interpreter, they come to arrange a crusade against corn, barley, oats, malt,—in short, against all cereals; and their knights threaten to do wonders. This is my diet, in which I take great interest; these orders of the empire sing admirably, I assure you, and live still better. It is a pleasure to see these noble knights hovering in the air, sharpening their beaks, and preparing their arms to plunder as they go along. Go, and may the thorn be your blazonry! To conclude, I believe that these flights of crows and rooks represent the sophists and papists, with their concerts of preaching and writings, of which I must bear the assaults, and listen to their chants and lectures; a notable example, which teaches us that this rabble has been created to eat whatever is on the earth, and to yelp and scream for a long time yet.”¹

The Catholic doctors assembled, examined Melancthon's confession, and condemned it, as opposed in many parts to the dogmas of the Church of Rome. They have been reproached with acting more as scholars than masters in theology, in holding up with too bitter irony and too clamorous exultation the versatility of the Lutheran doctrine. They would wish that the heart of a theologian should be proof against vanity, and that he could change his nature, and cease to be a man; but that is impossible! A monk, who has been represented as an imp of Antichrist, who for many years has employed his learning to prove that he has nothing to do with the spirit of darkness, and that the pope is not the angel of the abyss foretold by St. John; a monk, to whom his very enemies now open the gates of heaven, while they bow before the pontiff whom until now they have been constantly abusing,—may not this monk feel a little proud? And may he not be forgiven for having committed the sin of vanity,

¹ Gustav. Pfizer, *Dr. Martin Luther's Leben*, pp. 669, 670.

Luther has reproduced the same picture, but with different details, in a letter to Justus Jonas, 22 April, 1530.

when his adversary has committed those of envy and wrath? Subsequently, Luther regretted that he had so readily agreed to give the kingdom of heaven to these wretched Papists; and in his "Tisch-Reden," he cannot find enough of fire in hell to burn them.

The answer of the Catholics was reconsidered at the emperor's express desire.¹

During the whole of Luther's existence, chequered by so many controversies, sorrows, sicknesses, and temptations, there was no time in which he suffered so much as at the diet of Augsburg. On that occasion, his afflictions were the more acute, because they proceeded not from the Papists, but from those who were dearest to him in the world, his disciples, who were to watch during his exile at Coburg over the common interests of the Reformation.

Melancthon was weary of controversy. He was desirous of peace for the remaining years of his master and for Germany, which for fifteen years had shed so much blood and tears; for the head of the Church, towards whom his youthful prepossessions drew him; for that holy army of Catholic prelates, who for so many years had stood in the breach, and who, by an unbroken chain, remounted to the very cradle of Christianity. At Augsburg we were shown the cloister where at evening he loved to walk, recalling to memory that ancient legion of bishops whose remains were covered by some sculptured slabs. To Melancthon's eyes, antiquity presented something solemn. As he could not pass an ordinary ruin without emotion, so he could not think without regret that the Catholic edifice would crumble away one day like the stones of the material building, for he had the weakness to believe in his master's vaticinations of the approaching end of the papacy. He wished to prevent that papacy from perishing, by preserving the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Tradition, then, must be a beautiful thing, since in that atmosphere of passions in which the Lutherans at the diet were involved, Melancthon trembled at the bare idea of laying hands on it. He wished to put an end to the schism, and return without too much shame to the bosom of the Church which he had left; we know not what he might have done, if the devil had not tormented him from his prison at Coburg!

¹ The first report of the Catholic commission is partly to be found in Cœlestinus, *Historia Comitiorum August.* tom. ii. p. 234.

Luther was ill ; a prey to pains which split his head as with an axe, which hissed in his ears like snakes, and struck on his brain like thunderbolts or avalanches—for such are the similes he employs to express his sufferings ;—yet, at the mere mention of reconciliation, at which his disciple hinted in one of his letters, he gets up, takes his pen, and at the terrible word *restitution*, heaps insults and calumnies on the Catholics. “What ! we restore ? Let them begin by restoring to us Leonard Keyser, and the many victims whom they have slain ! Let them restore to us the souls who have been lost by their impious doctrines !—the noble intellects destroyed by their fraudulent indulgences ! Let them restore the glory of God, obscured by their blasphemies ;—the clerical purity, which they have sullied and insulted ; then we shall reckon and see to whom the balance is due !”¹

Melancthon felt his soul moved, and communicated his secret griefs to the bosom of his master. Luther forgot his own sufferings to revive the courage of his disciple. For a moment, a blush had covered Philip’s cheek when Faber quoted the passages in which the Reformer maintained the necessity of auricular confession. He had no answer to give. They could not be rejected. The books were there, with the pages folded down at the different places where the Catholic doctrine had been defended by Luther. He could not answer, as Jonas did, when hard pressed by his opponents,—that Luther, when he wrote them, was then in the swaddling-bands of the papacy ; for he had by that time burst them. Melancthon contented himself with candidly laying the objection before Luther, who answered it in a singular manner.

“My adversaries quote my contradictions to make a parade of their learning ; blockheads that they are ! How can they judge of the contradictions of our doctrines, who do not understand the texts which clash with each other ? How can our doctrine appear to them otherwise than embarrassed with contradictions, when it demands and condemns works, rejects and authorises the necessity of rites, honours and censures the magistracy, affirms and denies sin ? But why carry water to the sea ?”²

¹ Justus Jonas, 13 July. De Wette, tom. iv. p. 89.

² “Cum simul exigit et damnet opera, simul tollat et restituat ritus, simul

Is not this a strange refutation? Melancthon was certainly in no hurry to show it to Faber. There was not a Catholic in all Germany who would have attempted a similar justification in answer to Luther.

At night, after the conference with the Catholic doctors was over, Melancthon returned to his lodgings with a heavy heart and tearful eyes. His letters to Luther frequently conclude thus: "We are in grief and despair."¹ "Brenz, who accompanies and tries to console me, unites his tears with mine."²

Jonas was alarmed with these tears, as a sign of discouragement, or perhaps of despair, and wrote to Luther intreating him to rouse his disciple's courage; but the master's voice was powerless. Melancthon was a victim to doubt. His friends foresaw a failure; and Obsopæus writes to Camerarius: "They say, my friend, that Melancthon behaves as if he were in the pope's pay, and that, indeed, it would be impossible to find a better advocate for the cause of popery than he. He acts like Architophiles, say some; like Erasmus, say others; but I, like Melancthon himself."³

Melancthon agreed that it was necessary not to strip the bishop of his authority, to leave him the regulation of the ceremonies of worship, and the maintenance of certain observances and practices in use among his flock. Luther, without rejecting the bishop, denied his right to establish rules, which he gave to what he called the Church or assembly of the faithful, and which he made sole queen and mistress of the external or liturgical ceremonials. "But," said Faber, "who, then, will assemble and convoke this Church, since you reject the pope's authority?"—"The bishop," replied Luther, "who is, in reality, nothing

magistratum colat et arguat, simul peccatum asserat et neget. Sed quid aquas in mare!"—Ph. Melancthoni, 20 July, 1530.

¹ "*Versamur hic in miserrimis curis et planè perpetuis lacrymis.*"—Ep. Mel. Mens. July, p. 21.

² "*Brentius assidebat hæc scribenti et quidem lacrymans.*"—Ep. Mel. 25 Jan. 1530. Chytr. in Hist. Aug. Conf. p. 73.

³ "*Aliunt omninò: si conductus quantâ ipse voluisset pecuniâ à papâ esset, nunquam illius dominationem melius potuisset asserere. Vocant quidam Architophila concilia; alii qui modestiores sunt, Erasmi: ut ego puto, propria illius.*"—Cam. in Vitâ Luth. p. 135. Chytræus, l. c. p. 308. Ulenberg, l. c. p. 57.

but a steward."¹ And serious difficulties began to embarrass the mind of his disciple ; first, from the interference of the faithful in matters to which they were strangers, the danger to the doctrines from a popular action unrestrained by any authority, and the degradation of the sacerdotal character from its dependence on the multitude. For example, if the people prescribe or reject fasting, to whom is the appeal from their decision ? Melancthon was fully aware that such a constitution directly led to a denial of the Lutheran apostleship ; for Luther had not assembled the communion of the faithful to preach against indulgences, to abolish monastic vows, to abrogate the mass, to mutilate the Catholic teaching, to proscribe prayers for the dead, purgatory, and some of the sacraments. If the bishop had not the right to establish external practices, processions, or pilgrimages, could a monk, of his own personal authority, efface from the catechism three principal dogmas, and like Luther give a new creed to the Christian world ? Were not Eck and Faber justified in exclaiming : " Oh ! misery of the human heart ! "

Let justice be done to Melancthon. If the schism had been represented at Augsburg only by conciliatory persons like himself, it would have been extinguished. He knew well that large assemblies are only calculated to foment party hatreds ; and he therefore proposed to select from the two communions theologians who should debate upon the controverted questions, without calling any one to their discussions. This proposition had been received.

There were on both sides select individuals,—orators who were accustomed to debate, and casuists versant in all the niceties of controversy. The different articles of the Lutheran confession were successively examined ;—faith, the merit of works, penance, the sacrament of the Eucharist. The memories of Faber and Eck were prodigious ; they knew Luther's works by heart. Eck, in his figurative language, assigned to the father of the Reformation many heads, whose several tongues taught, according to the times, different doctrines on the same dogma. The Reformation was no longer so haughty ; its language was less assuming. The morning was devoted to matters of dogma ; the evening, to those of discipline. Melancthon was present at all the conferences,

¹ Melanchthoni, 20 July. De Wette, tom. iv. p. 105.

and often repressed by his mildness the feelings which were frequently on the point of breaking forth to destroy the work of conciliation, with which he connected all his reputation. Unfortunately, what he effected with so much difficulty in the morning, was at evening submitted to the derisive and stern review of some Protestant puritans who desired neither peace nor truce with Rome. Luther was the leader of these intractable men.¹

Melancthon, for example, acknowledged the authority of bishops for the advantage of political and religious society. They had expelled the bishops from their sees,—he consented that they should be restored. “And how dare we be so bold,” said he, “to consecrate this triumph by brutal violence, if the bishops leave us our doctrines? Must I say what I think? Well, then, I should wish to restore to them both episcopal power and spiritual administration. Without the Church had a governing power, we should languish under a tyranny more intolerable than the present.”²

He went still further; he wished to preserve the pope as the visible head of the Church. On the 6th of July, he wrote to the legate Campeggio the following letter, the tone of which bears a strong contrast to Luther’s habitual acrimony:—

“We have no other doctrine than that of the Roman Church. We are ready to obey her, if she will extend to us those treasures of good-will whereof she is so lavish to her other children. We are ready to cast ourselves at the feet of the Roman pontiff, and acknowledge the ecclesiastical hierarchy, provided that we are not repulsed. And why should he reject the prayer of suppliants?—why employ fire and sword, when the ruptured unity can be so easily healed?”³

Unfortunately the princes had advisers whose interest it was to baffle the plan of pacification. They were courtiers who had gained a brilliant existence since the Reformation, and who could play the despot, under cover of their master’s name, like the Chancellor Bruck, who concealed his hatred to the pope under zeal for

¹ Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i. p. 375 et seq.

² “Video postea multo fore intolerabiliorem tyrannidem quam antea unquam fuit.”—Ep. Camerario, pp. 148, 151.

³ *Cœlest. Hist. August. Confessionis*, tom. iii. p. 18. Pallavicini, *Hist. Concil. Trid.* lib. iii. cap. iii.

religion, and said, with a hypocritical tone of compunction, "that he could not conscientiously acknowledge the Antichrist who had been predicted by the apostle St. Paul."¹

Melancthon replied to him: "Take care, it is dangerous to overturn an edifice that has stood for so many centuries; even if the pope be Antichrist, we can live under him, as the Israelites did under Pharaoh."²

But Bruck's voice was more powerful. His friends, formerly in orders, but now occupying fine situations at court, repeated with him: "No peace with Antichrist, and the beast of the Apocalypse." The magistrates joined the priests; a numerous faction, who had only embraced the Reformation to throw off the sacerdotal yoke, and who had gained honours and wealth by changing their religion. For a time Melancthon was decried, and accused of treachery and venality. The meek disciple yielded to the storm. He saw with sorrow that he had undertaken a task which the evil dispositions of his brethren rendered impossible; "for," as he said to his master, in exposing to him the wounds of the Reformation, "it is not for the Gospel that they contend, but for power. They give themselves small concern for instruction and religion, and only aim at despotism and licentiousness."³

Bruck knew well that Melancthon's attempt to reconcile the two religions would be defeated, for Luther was opposed to it. Every idea of peace appeared to the Saxon an impiety, a sacrilege. While Philip employed his energies, his fervour of mind and pen, and even his tears—which Cochläus unjustly considers hypocritical,⁴—to effect a reconciliation; Luther, in his "Commentary on the Second Psalm," dedicated to that great martyr of Catholic constancy, the archbishop of Mayence, appealed to the hatred and stirred up the wrath of the German princes against

¹ Seckendorf, *Comm. de Lutheranismo*, lib. ii. p. 176.

² *Cœlest. Hist. Aug. Confess.* tom. iii. p. 32. Müller's *Historie von der evangelischen Stände Protestation*. Melancthon's original reply and the annotations of Bruck and Luther are in the archives of Weimar, E. f. 37, n. 1. Act. fol. 83 et seq.

³ "So sehr streiten unsere Genossen für ihre Herrschaft, nicht für das Evangelium."

⁴ Cochläus de *Fraudulentia Hæreticorum*, Philippica I. apud Raynaldum, ad ann. 1530, n. 85.

the papacy, and offered his blood as a holocaust for the triumph of his passions.¹

"Let the king rage," said he, "the pope roar, and the princes storm; our King reigns, and the Son of the house. My dear masters, you shall leave him quiet, or else send him a challenge, and throw in his face your anger and defiance, so that he may take precautions, don his armour, and build for himself a fort. But shall we Germans not cease to believe in the pope until he has provided us with a bath, not of warm water, but of blood? It is fine fun for the pope when our princes take one another by the hair; he laughs in his sleeve, and says: 'These German blockheads will not have me as pope, but here I am.' I am no prophet, but I beseech you to take care that you have not to do with the pope and his adherents, but with the devil and his tricks, which I know."

And as Melancthon seemed intimidated, he addresses him in these contemptuous and insulting terms: "Whoever dies of fear, should have the braying of asses for his funeral dirge; but for you, who die of sheer cowardice, what requiem should be intoned?"

Spalatinus, like Melancthon, was anxious for peace. He was old, broken, and infirm; the storms in which Luther had involved him had worn him out. He only sought the grave, and wished to descend to it quietly before Luther, for whom he sought to procure some hours of repose.

At Augsburg, the Catholics anxiously urged the restoration of the Mass. Spalatinus was inclined to restore the Sacrament, but he was afraid to offend Luther. He accordingly wrote to him a friendly and deferential letter; and Luther thus rudely treats him:—

"It is Jesus Christ who has instituted the Mass, but he has not spoken to his Church of private masses. It is not enough to say: 'I have a good intention,' but rather, 'I have God on my side.' Let no new worship be introduced without the express command of the Lord, as I have so often taught. You will say, on the same principle: 'I wish to become a monk, on grounds of piety;' but monks and private masses have all been con-

¹ Menzel, Neuere Geschichte, &c. tom i. p. 382.

demned; they must not be again pardoned, lest they should revive. Let the robber be hanged; it is his desert."¹

What an immense advance towards peace! Melancthon consents to acknowledge the power of the keys and the supremacy—consequently the infallibility—of the pope, episcopal jurisdiction, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and expiation in the present and future life by prayer and repentance. Justus Jonas is willing to restore the property of the clergy, to give back his cell to the monk, his parsonage to the curate, and his palace to the bishop; and Spalatinus wishes to re-establish private masses and conventual life! Thus the Reformation was inclined to conciliation; it renounced Luther, and only preserved some old grudges against doctrines which cost the self-love of its theologians too much to disavow; while it ended by agreeing with Faber on the efficacy of works sustained by faith in Jesus Christ. But Luther was there, ready to extinguish and stifle all thoughts of reconciliation: he desires neither peace nor truce, but war to the knife; one of the two must die. Woe to him who interposes between Luther and the pope; he renounces him as a brother. Neither the blood which had flowed in Germany for the triumph of doctrines which his disciples themselves are then ready to disavow, nor that which is to flow in a no distant future, the term of which Luther foretells, makes him tremble. He is determined to carry out his design, and advance till he finds no Catholic to oppose him; until he has trampled under his foot the old serpent, who is called the pope;² and until the pope has abolished the papacy.³ "A pretty work you have undertaken," he writes to Spalatinus, "to reconcile the pope and Luther! The pope wishes to have no more to do with Luther, than Luther with the pope! If you succeed, I shall imitate you, and endeavour to reconcile Christ with Belial.⁴ Let Pharaoh perish, provided Israel be saved. No peace with the murderers who are choked with the blood of the just Abel, and cannot live without drinking that of their brethren."⁵

¹ Spalatinus, 27 July. De Wette, tom. iv. p. 113.

² Brentio, 26 Aug. 1530.

³ "Summa mihi in totum displicet tractatus de doctrinæ concordia, ut quæ planè sit impossibilis nisi papa velit papatum aboleri."—Melancthon. 26 Aug.

⁴ Spalatinus, 26 Aug.

⁵ Joh. Agricola, 30 June, 1530.

When Charles V. is about to enter Augsburg, Luther takes care to sound his praise among the Catholics: according to him he is a man of God, an ambassador from heaven, a new Augustus, whom the wishes of the whole world attend; and his friends do not forget to ask the Papists if this is the austere theologian who is constantly represented as the emperor's enemy. But wait; the emperor then has need of peace, and is desirous to put an end to those religious dissensions which the Reformation caused in Germany. He allows the Reformers to live in the free enjoyment of their churches, creed, and books; and only demands that they shall be silent until the council which they had sought for so many years shall have pronounced its sentence. Then all is changed; no more hope must be placed in the emperor's clemency;¹ he and his councillors are no longer men, but gates of hell; judges who cannot judge his cause, and to whom he will not give up a single bristle of his beard.²

The princes, influenced by Luther, were only watching for an opportunity to quit Augsburg, and protest against the decree with which the Reformers were threatened. They soon contrived one. In a quarrel which was intentionally raised, a soldier was killed; the citizens concealed the murderer; and during the tumult, the elector of Saxony made his escape by the eastern gate, at the very instant when the emperor, who had suspected the intention of the princes, ordered a guard to be set there.³

Some days afterwards appeared the imperial decree, in which Charles allowed the Protestants until the end of April, 1531, "to examine whether they would return to the Catholic communion, rather than persevere in their schism; and to draw up a statement of their grievances, to be laid before the council, which was to be held in six months."

The princes protested against the refutation of their doctrines

¹ Joh. Agricola, 30 June, 1530.

² Melancthon, 18 June.

Cochläus in Actis Lutheri, p. 232. "Interea dum hæc agerentur Augustæ, Lutherus varios edidit libellos Teutonicos, quibus et Cæsarem Germania, et episcopos plebi ac nobilitati, odiosos reddere studebat, et ii libri non solum per diversas Germaniæ urbes spargebantur; sed et Augustam mittebantur, atque etiam palam propè curiam electoris Saxonie interdum vendebantur."—De interdicto Cæsaris d. 27 Julii promulgato, vid. Auctor. Apologiæ mst. in Mulleri Hist. Protest. et A. C.

³ Cœlest. l. c. tom. iii. p. 137.

by texts from the Bible. They complained of the silence with which their reply to the Catholic doctors had been treated. These complaints were presented by Bruck to the emperor, who would not receive them. The deputies from Strasburg, Memmingen, Constance, and Lindau, refused to subscribe the decree of the diet. Strasburg had embraced Bucer's confession, and, afraid of open violence, had formed a league with Berne, Zurich, and Basle. The treaty bore,—that if the emperor or the princes threatened their religious liberty, these three cities should send troops to their assistance ; that Strasburg should furnish 20,000 crowns of gold monthly for every thousand infantry ; that if the Swiss cantons should be disturbed, it should pay a monthly subsidy of 3,000 crowns of gold ; and that if the allies were attacked, it would provide 10,000 measures of gunpowder, and Zurich 10,000 of wheat, which were to be stored in Basle. This convention was signed without the emperor's consent, and was a felonious act, which Luther vaunted as a divine inspiration. He forgot that he had stigmatised those Christians who, under the name of peasants, had resisted the civil magistrates, and shed their blood in defence of some obscure texts of Scripture.

The confession of faith of the reformed Churches, which had been presented to the emperor, was published in Germany. Then were renewed the doubts, anxieties, and we must say the merited chagrin of Melancthon. We are less severe, however, than a Protestant author, M. Charles Hagen, who does not hesitate to accuse the favourite disciple of Luther of having deceived the Swiss.¹ Melancthon said, in a letter to Egidius : " If I seek to make peace with the Catholics, it is because I am afraid of a union between the Wittembergians and Zwinglians ; such an alliance would be the ruin of all our Christian dogmas."² Thus it was that he exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the Zwinglians being heard at the diet ; and he was successful. But he soon regretted having silenced the dissentients, and sought to unite himself with the Swiss, although at the sacrifice of his private opinions ; for it must be admitted that Melancthon

¹ Man kann nicht läugnen, dass sich Melancthon gegen die Zwingliäner überhaupt perfid benommen, l. c. tom. ii. p. 445.

² Egidio, 30 Aug. Corpus Reform. tom. ii. p. 382.

had never any settled conviction, as is the case with irresolute and gentle individuals. Place Melancthon before Sadoletus, and he will renounce one by one the doctrines of the Saxon school; but we should not wish him to meet Luther on leaving the conference; one look or word from the doctor of Wittemberg will make him relapse.

The Swiss deputies returned in sorrow to their native mountains, bitterly complaining of Luther's intolerance. Were they not justified in so doing? Like Luther, they had found in the Bible that confession which, in the name of truth, they had gone to make triumphant in the imperial city; their sole crime consisted in translating the Greek *ἑστιν* differently from the Saxon apostle. Melancthon reproached himself on account of the crying injustice which he had done to his brethren of Zurich. There was but one way of pacifying them, and this was, if not to remodel, at least skilfully to modify the confession which they came to present to the Orders of the empire. Like an imperfect scholar, he accordingly corrected his theme: we shall see how.

The 10th article of the original confession was as follows: "With respect to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, we hold that the body and blood of Christ are really present under the species of the bread and the wine, and taken and distributed: all doctrine to the contrary we reject."

The Catholic theologians were disposed to adopt this article, on which they merely made a few verbal alterations to render it still more distinct. It was much too strong for the Swiss theologians; so Melancthon retired, and endeavoured to engraft upon the unlucky article some learned obscurities, in which he was successful.

The article, as we see, contains three propositions: the first, wherein the real presence, and distribution, and manducation of the body and blood are formally enunciated; the second, in which the change of substance or Catholic transubstantiation is set forth; the third, in which the trope of Zwinglius, Schwenckfeld, and Carlstadt is rejected.

In the first proposition Melancthon cancelled some terms which deprived it of its strong affirmative character. He took away the second member, the conversion of the blood and wine, as savouring of "popery," and substituted for it this ambiguous

formula : that the body and blood of Christ are offered with the bread and wine to the communicants. And with a stroke of his pen he deleted the third member, the visible sign of the condemnation of the Sacramentarians.¹

At Zurich, Melancthon's mutilations of the confession were highly applauded, as inspired by the Holy Ghost ; the *significat* of the former curate of Einsiedlen preponderated over the Latin *est* and the Greek *ἐστιν*. At Wittemberg, the rigid Lutherans cried shame ! The elector was alarmed, and thought it his duty, with a view to pacify their murmurs, to send George Pontanus (Bruck) to Melancthon, to inquire of the professor the motives for these doctrinal contradictions. Luther was present at the interview, and did not spare his disciple. "Who has given you authority to alter a public confession ?" he asked ; "the confession of Augsburg is neither mine nor yours ; it is the creed of all who bear the name of Christians in Wittemberg."²

The confession of Augsburg, considered as a dogmatic creed, — the point of view under which Protestant historians have examined it,—attacked the principle of free inquiry laid down by the Saxon monk, by giving to the Reformation a unity of doctrine which it ought necessarily to have rejected. Catechisms are inconsistent with the right of interpretation. In this confession of faith, the Reformation dethroned the individual reason which it had so gloriously crowned. That reason is no longer sovereign when dogmas, faith, and a creed are given to her. Luther had said to her, "Thou art free ;" and now he damns her, both in this life and the next, if she rejects the real presence. He has given wings to thought, permitted her to soar to heaven, investigate mysteries which God conceals from his creatures, sound depths where no eye dares to penetrate, reject the authority of centuries, the teaching of the fathers, the unvarying doctrine of the bishops, and to believe what she pleases. But now he clips her wings ; he makes her fall from heaven, and stretches her on the bed of Procrustes. If she endeavours to stir, Luther accuses her of rebellion and disobedience, and is ready to denounce her as an infidel. It was free inquiry that produced the Sacra-

¹ Jacob And. in Conc. de Conc. D. 4. b.

² Selnecc. in Præfat. ult. Conf. de Cœnâ, p. 26.

mentarians; and when these sectaries come to Augsburg to demand liberty of conscience, they constrain them, and seek to impose a formula of faith upon them: is not that authority?¹ In Catholicism, at least, the mind willingly obeys, since it believes that the Spirit of God rests in the pope, the living image of Christ on this earth. But what are we to think of a creed like the confession of Augsburg, written on parchment, and which Melancthon elaborates, makes, unmakes, polishes, corrects, restores, and transmits to Luther, who criticises, reviews, extends, curtails, prunes, and patches it, to forward it by the first messenger to his disciple, who proclaims this work of the Reformation as the manifestation of the truth and inspiration of the Holy Spirit? This singular gospel bears no resemblance to itself, for in the five times that it was published within half a century, on each of these five occasions it appeared with new variations;² "until, after six successive overrunnings, it acquires the width of a boot or Polish cloak, in which the good God and the devil might easily conceal themselves."³

At present, every logical mind in the two Protestant and reformed communions rejects confessions. Such, as M. De la Harpe has lately remarked, "are contrary to the principles of the Reformation. The principle of the Reformation is liberty; the right to choose, the right to place the Bible beyond the authority of men: a confession of faith is the pope."⁴

Melancthon's work is therefore condemned. Let us for an instant consider him who took so much trouble to write it.⁵

¹ Philipp Nicolai in seiner Verantwortung an Petrum Plancium, pp. 288, 289, 408.

² Andrew Musculus, a Lutheran, said at the conference of Hertzberg, that the confession had twelve times changed its appearance. "Dass die Augsbургische Confessio wohl zwölfmale seye geändert worden." Calvin called it a brand of discord. Ep. fol. 524.

³ "Und dadurch zu einem polnischen stiefel und weiten Mantel geworden, hinter welchem der liebe Gott und der Teufel gar bequem sich vergraben könnte."—Henke, quoted by Hœninghaus, Das Resultat, &c. p. 476.

⁴ First sitting of the Council of Lausanne, 1837.

⁵ The religious question, agitated in 1530 at the Diet of Augsburg, is treated at length in the following works:—

Vermahnung an die Geistlichen, versamlet auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg, ann. 1530. Martin Luther: Wittenberg, 4to. 1530.

Confessio exhibita Cæsari in comitiis Augustæ, ann. 1530. Psalm cxix.: "Et loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum, et non confundebar."

Eine Ermahnung Reimens-Weis, an unsern allernädigsten Herrn Carolum,

CHAPTER XXVI.

MELANCTHON.

Melancthon at the university of Wittemberg.—Portrait of the professor.—His mode of living.—Luther comprehends Melancthon.—His opinion of his disciple's commentaries.—Melancthon by his mother's death-bed.—His doubts and weaknesses.—Luther's illness at Schmalkalden.—Melancthon at Haguenau.—His influence on the Reformation.—His philosophical opinions.

IN 1518, Reuchlin wrote to Melancthon :—

"I send you the letter of our dear prince, entirely written by his own hand, and in which he makes such kind mention of you. I will not speak to you poetically; but I will speak as a prophet, and use the words which God addressed to his servant Abraham: 'Go forth out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and out of thy father's house, and come into the land which I shall show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed.' (Genesis xii.) Such is my prophecy, such are my hopes, my dear Philip. Courage, then! send me your clothes to Stuttgart. Then we shall see what you will want at Wittemberg: that is my concern. If you will take my advice, you will go by Pforzheim and salute your mother, and after having taken leave of your friends, you shall come to me. But do not tarry on the

Römischen Kayser, Ferdinandum Seiner Majestät Bruder, König zu Hungern und Behem, alle geistliche und weltliche Thurfürsten und Fürsten des heil. Römischen Reichs, den löblichen Bund zu Schwaben, alle geist- und weltlich Obrigkeit, damit ihnen Gott, der Allmächtige, in diesen jetzt angehenden und fürgenommenen kayserlichen Reichstag und concilio zu Augsburg den heil. Geist, das Wort Gottes zu erhalten, geben und senden wolle, mit Anzeigung der Heil. Schrift gar hüpsch, lieblich, andächtig zu lesen und zu hören: 1530.

Ein kurzer Auszug aus dem päpstlichen Rechten, Decret und Decretalen, in den Articulen, die ungefährlich Gottes Wort und Evangelio gemäss sind, oder zum Wenigsten nicht widerstreben: 1530.

Auf den deutschen Auszug übers Decret, von unbenannten Leuten gemacht, Antwort D. Joh. Coclei, ad senatum Lipsiensem: Dresseden, 1530.

Ad Carolum Roman. imperatorem, fidei Huldrici Zwinglii ratio. Ejusdem quoque ad illustrissimos Germaniæ principes Augustæ congregatos epistola. Tiguri.

Abchied des Reichstags zu Augsburg, ann. 1530 gehalten: Mayntz, 1531.

Römischer kayserlicher Majestät Ordnung und Reformation guter Polizey in heil. römischen Reich, &c. 1530 zu Augsburg aufgerichtet: Mayntz, 1534.

way, lest the place slip from you. I have pledged myself for your arrival. And that you may see in what light you are considered at court, I send you a letter from Spalatinus, the prince's friend: this is all of importance that I have now to write. I repeat; pack up all your clothes, and send them to me to Stuttgart; and that as soon as possible. Remember, first to Tübingen to see your friends, then to your mother, then to Pforzheim to salute Augustine and my sister, and then fly hither. Princes are inconstant. Take courage, and act like a man. No one is a prophet in his own country. I salute you.—Stuttgart, the eve of St. James. John Reuchlin.”¹

This was a fine letter from Reuchlin to his cousin Melancthon, then not yet twenty-two years old,² and whom Frederick the elector invited to the professorship of ancient languages in the university of Wittenberg. Schwartzerde, whose name Reuchlin had græcised,³ mounted his horse and set out to Nuremberg, where he contracted friendship with Bilibaldus Pirkheimer, a noble youth much devoted to literature. He soon reached Leipsic; where he found Mosellanus, who filled the place of Richard Croke in the Greek chair, and became acquainted with Andrew Frank Kamitz, a youth of great promise, who subsequently became counsellor of Duke George Henry, and the elector Maurice.

He arrived at Wittenberg on the 25th of August, 1518. A few days after he delivered his inaugural discourse; the subject of which was the improvement of the studies of youth, “*De corrigendis adolescentiæ studiis*.” He was eloquent and diffuse. Luther, who was one of the audience, frequently interrupted him by his murmurs of approbation. Melancthon declared himself a reformer, and denounced the old scholasticism, the worn out form of teaching, and the traditions of the past. From that day a

¹ Dr. Franz Volkmar Reinhard's *sämmtliche zum Theil noch ungedruckte Reformations-Predigten*, part ii. p. 11 et seq.

² He was born at Bretten, a small town of the Palatinate, 16 Feb. 1497. On the town-house of Bretten is the following inscription:

“*Bretta, quod egregii patria es præclara Philippi,
Hoc satis ex uno nobilitatis habes.*”

³ *Reformations-Almanach*, 1817, p. 24. Melancthon called himself, *Pullisus, à pullus, Schwartz, et solum, Erde*. He only signs *Melancthon*. Heumann, *De Causâ cur Philippus Melancthon fuerit creatus Doct. Theologiæ*: Gottingæ, 1757.

secret sympathy attracted to each other these two persons so well formed for a fellow-feeling.

In a short time the large hall of the university could not contain the numbers who crowded to hear his lectures.¹ Among them were to be seen counts, barons, margraves, princes, knights. Melancthon successively explained the comedies of Aristophanes, the orations of Demosthenes, Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Thucydides, and Apollonius. He was proud of his title of professor. "The life of a professor," he said to John Sturm, "is not so brilliant as that of a courtier; but how much more useful and serviceable to mankind! O sacred profession, which teaches us to know the nature of God, the duties of man, and the wonders of science!"²

At Wittenberg they were astonished to see this delicate young man, who kept his eyes fixed on the ground, beardless, pale complexioned, and with a voice so weak that he could scarcely be heard. "Imagine," says one of his contemporaries, "a thin, spare youth, buried in the ample robe of a professor with hanging sleeves; a scholar apparently but fifteen, who, when he walked, scarcely reached Luther's shoulder, but who is a perfect giant in learning and languages. A fragile frame which contains we know not what treasures of wisdom and erudition!"

When seated for the first time at his cousin Reuchlin's table, he was served with some Rhenish wine, with which he scarcely moistened his lips, but which violently affected his head, as himself informs us. Reuchlin had never more than two dishes for his dinner, and one for his supper. He loved the society of young people, especially when they were fond of study, and opened to them his library, which was rich in fine editions of the ancient poets. After two hours spent in silent study, Melancthon and his companions walked in the garden, then returned to table, where each guest had set before him a bottle of white wine of the marquisate, which he emptied cheerfully, while Reuchlin contented himself with drinking piquette (loram).

Philip suffered from wakefulness, of which he was cured by attention to his diet and the use of Rhenish wine, which he

¹ Heerbrand's *Leichenrede auf Melancthon*.

² Reinhard, l. c. tom. ii. p. 15.

gradually came to like. He went regularly to bed after supper, and rose at three in the morning to study. When it became known that wine had been prescribed for him, he was supplied with it on all hands. The elector Frederick, on presenting him with a cask of Rudesheimer, said to him: "St. Paul recommends good wine, and we must obey the apostle." Melancthon obeyed. He preferred fish and vegetables to meat. When at Tübingen, he used to have a plate of vegetable soup substituted for his plate of meat. He liked his meat warm, and new-laid eggs, and complained of the elector's table, where the dinner was neither hot nor cold.¹

At the first glance Luther saw what Melancthon was. At their first interview, which lasted several hours, Melancthon became Luther's, body and soul; the treaty was signed. The young professor brought to the monk a letter from their mutual friend Reuchlin. Some days had scarcely elapsed when Luther wrote to one of his disciples: "I concur in all you say of our Philip. He has delivered his first lecture with so much eloquence that every one is charmed with him. I wish no other professor of Greek; what concerns me is to know how this delicate young man will agree with our mode of living, and how he will be able to support himself with the small income he receives. The people of Leipsic already talk of taking him away from us. He is indeed a man worth having." Some weeks later he wrote:—"Philip is a much abler Greek scholar than you imagine; what an audience he has! he has inflamed all theologians of high and low degree with a sudden desire to learn Greek."²

In return for all those Grecian treasures which Melancthon so liberally bestowed on him, Luther opened to his favourite the sources of theology, a science full of attraction, which served as an aliment to his religious reveries. His mind was naturally inclined to contemplation. It was to satisfy his own inquiries, and not to magnify the Reformation, that he devoted himself at first with all the zeal of a convert to the study of scholasticism. His progress was so rapid that Luther ceased to fear lest death should interrupt the work which he had commenced: Melancthon

¹ Reinhard, l. c. tom. ii. pp. 19, 23.

² G. Pfizer, Dr. Martin Luther's Leben, p. 610 et seq.

would doubtless complete it. "If I die," said he, "my work will not be lost; for my dear Philip will take it up, and with God's aid finish it gloriously." In 1522, Melancthon had completed his scholia on three Epistles of St. Paul; it was this commentary which Luther admired so much. Master Philip (the name he bore at Wittemberg, for he was too poor to purchase a doctor's degree) would not consent to publish it. "What does it signify," said Luther, anxious for the glory of his disciple, "whether it pleases you or not, if it pleases me? I tell you that the commentaries of Jerome and Origen, compared with yours, are nothing but absurdities."¹ But Luther could not overcome Melancthon's timid modesty: his entreaties, reproaches, and anger were unavailing. He then stole his friend's manuscript, and caused it to be printed clandestinely. But whether the printer was too much hurried, or that Luther was not yet practised in revising proofs, the work appeared disfigured with errors which caused its author much torture. He had not courage to be angry, but he laughed with a melancholy which his master fully comprehended. It was the first time that the eaglet left Luther's wing to fly in the open air. Imagine then his confusion when he fell heavily to the earth. The Catholics rejoiced at his fall, and, in the mythological style of the time, compared Melancthon to Icarus and St. Paul to the sun, whither the young fool had flown to burn himself alive. Luther's voice alone could rouse the commentator's spirit; the master's praises compensated the disciple for the criticisms of the learned world. What is truly admirable is the composure of Melancthon, who did not become angry with his adversaries, but received their blows as a merited chastisement. Luther would not have treated his opponents so. Philip revised his work carefully, corrected the oversights of the reader, upon whom he did not even frown for an instant, and paid no regard to the exaggerated commendations of friendship. He firmly believed that St. Jerome was a more able commentator than the professor of Wittemberg; and he was right.

It must be admitted that Melancthon throughout life was but an indifferent theologian. When he endeavours to fathom the

¹ Die Commentare des Hieronymus und Origenes lautre Possen seynnd gegen deine Anmerkungen.

great problems of original sin, the fall and the redemption of mankind, or the origin of moral evil, he does not comprehend that the strictly supernatural character of the Catholic faith rests upon a solid basis. He subjects all human actions to necessity, and to humble the wise, proclaims that God *works all things*.¹ He imputes as a crime to the mediæval theologians that which is their best title to glory,—the position and affirmation of the doctrine of liberty; subsequently he became sensible of the abyss into which his fatalist doctrines plunged mankind, and to save them from it combated his former opinions.² Melancthon was a genius more accurate than fertile, a professor more solid than brilliant, a rhetorician more simple than eloquent. He loved euphemistic language; his phraseology is especially limpid and clear, free from imagery, but proper in the selection of words. If the ear was pleased, it was as much by the harmony of the sound as by the accuracy of the expression.

"The fond search for expressions which distinguishes Melancthon," says a learned organ of modern Protestantism, "explains also, to a certain extent, the perturbation of words, and consequently of doctrines, which he threw into more than one of the Wittemberg commentaries." To attribute them to an excessive devotion to euphemistic language, is to colour awkwardly the marked contradictions into which the professor fell.

The soul of Melancthon was superior to all the seductions of vanity. Luther was his whole glory, his happiness, and adoration. He always continued to be the ingenuous scholar who left Thuringia to teach Greek at Wittemberg, and who was caught by Luther's doctrines like a bird by lime. The youth had ever before his eyes the legend which he borrowed from his professor of grammar, John Ungher of Pforzheim: "*Cave accede*."³ Never did the yoke of this great renown seem weighty to him. It must also be acknowledged that Luther omitted nothing to make it light for him. With Spalatinus, Amsdorf, and

¹ Melancth. *Loci Theologici*, ed. Aug. 1522.

² In 1522, Melancthon reproached the schoolmen with having taught the doctrine of absolute necessity; in 1536, of daring so far as to maintain that of liberty.

³ Ant. Theod. Effner, *Dr. Martin Luther und seine Zeitgenossen*, part ii. p. 15.

Jonas he had squabbles, quarrels, and even threats ; he scolded, pestered, and frowned at them : but for Melancthon he had only words of sweetness and affection. "Isaias," said Spalatinus, "never raises his voice as in the Scripture: he neither thunders nor lightens when his Jeremias appears to quit the road marked out for him ; he is a father, who carries his weakness so far as to shut his eyes to the faults of his child, lest he should make him weep." Melancthon was often culpable ; his heart was so tender that when he turned a look to the past he could not, even before Luther, conceal his sadness. If his grief was too acute, Melancthon would hang over the bed of his little Anna, whom he would fold in his arms, and who would stroke his beard, when he would for a moment forget his sorrow.¹ He had known the truth ; and when he looked to heaven with an indescribable melancholy, he would recal the image of his old father, the smith, as he rose at night to kneel and pray to his Maker ;² and that last prayer of his mother who, on her deathbed, had said to him : "My son, you see your mother for the last time : I am about to leave this world, and you also must die, and have to give an account of your actions to the Supreme Judge. You know that I was a Catholic, and that you induced me to abandon the religion of my forefathers. Well, I adjure you by the living God, tell me unreservedly in what faith ought I to die ?" To which Melancthon had answered : "Mother, the new faith is the most convenient ; the other is most secure."³ Now, from the memory of his old dying mother, and of his father, praying with so much fervour to the saints, whom the Reformation would have wished to make deaf to our devotions, there rose something to serve as an antidote to the murmurings which his heart might have made against the belief of those who had given him life : a ray of light, that dissipated all the shadows which Luther had gathered with such cruel care in a soul where faith and doubt contended so strongly ; an ambrosia of truth which attended him, without his

¹ Ant. Theod. Effner, tom. ii. p. 59 et seq. Anna married the poet G. Sabinus, and was unfortunate in her domestic relations.

² "Georgius Schwartzter fuit vir pius et penè usque ad superstitionem religiosus ; singulis noctibus hora 12 consuevit à lecto surgere ad usitatarum precum recitationem."—Vitus Winshemius, in Orat. funebr. Melancthonis.

³ "Dieses ist zwar annehmlicher, der Catholische aber sicherer."—Ægidius Albertinus, im 4. Theile des deutschen Lusthauses, p. 143.

being conscious of it, and caused him to be distinguished among the rest of his brethren. Read his writings, and you will see that therein he teaches that eclipses, constellations, meteors, and especially comets, are messengers sent to announce to men the will of God;¹ but never that the pope is the devil's vicar. Twice or thrice he joined in the coarse anger of Luther, as, for instance, in the caricatures of the *pope-ass* and *monk-calf*; but he very soon repented of such complicity.

He wrote from Augsburg to one of his friends: "At Rome a cow has brought forth a calf with two heads, the sign of an approaching revolution."²

He was at Torgau with other reformers to treat of the pacification of religious matters. Despair had possession of their minds: and Melancthon partook of their common fears. During the debate, he went into a chamber adjoining that of the assembly and saw a woman there suckling an infant, while at the same time she was hearing a little girl say her prayers, and was putting some vegetables into a pot for her husband's dinner. Philip immediately returned to his friends with a beaming countenance. "What is the matter?" asked Luther. "Courage, master," replied Melancthon, "the women and children are on our side; I have seen them at prayers in the next apartment. God will not be deaf to them."³

While a youth Melancthon had sated his thirst at Catholic fountains, and to them, in spite of Luther, in his riper years, he

¹ Weislinger. Epist. Lutheri, passim.

² All the reformers, without exception, believed in astral influences; Andrew Osiander, more than all the rest. Not content with discovering in the skies the signs of God's wrath against Rome, he sought for them in old pictures, manuscripts, and popular legends. At Nuremberg, he met with some verses of the end of the fourteenth century, and immediately wrote to his friend John Petreus: "You have seen, I think, the old book in the senatorial library, in which the future destiny of the popedom is clearly written and foretold. In glancing through it, I met these prophetic lines, which I hasten to send you." And he transcribed:

"Papa cito moritur, Cæsar dominatur ubique
Sub quo tunc vani cessabit gloria cleri."

Osiander's original letter belongs to M. Al. Martin.

Consult, on the subject of astrology, the *Tisch-Reden*, pp. 570, 580, et seq. Luther believes in the immobility of the earth, and laughs at those fools who pretend that the sun is fixed.

³ Goes, quoted by Høninghaus, p. 274. See Melancthon, *Declamatio*, vol. i. p. 334: Strasburg, 1558, *De Dignitate Astrologiæ*.

felt tenderly attracted. He resembles Dante's dove, ever returning to its nest, but with drooping wings. Probably had he not been afraid of the world's censure, he might have returned to Catholicism. To become reconciled to the Church he had not, like Luther, to cast off an enormous weight of hatred, prejudice, and fanaticism. He was not far from the fold of the good shepherd, when he wrote to Cardinal Campeggio, in 1547 (the date is important, as at that time there was a complete rupture between the Catholics and the Reformers); "We would acknowledge the supremacy of the pope and the hierarchy of the bishops, if the pope would not reject us;"¹ and to the chaplain of Charles V.: "We would all be ready to obey the holy Roman Church, so gracious to us as she has been in all ages to her children, if she would concede to us a few unimportant points, which with every inclination we cannot retract."² How much then must Luther have loved Melancthon, when he forgave him so many doubts, hesitations, yearnings, and regrets for the past, and so many failings and lapses! Melancthon was led away by every specious novelty that appeared in the religious world; as when Didymus discovered in a passage of the Gospel the necessity for a second baptism of adults; when Carlstadt invented for the Christian a life of manual labour; when the angel of unknown hue appeared to Zwinglius; or when Erasmus, in his "Hyperaspites," defended the liberty of man against Luther's fatalism. And yet all these lapses, and many more besides, were instantly forgiven! There was something so pure in the disciple's devotion to his master, that Luther would have regretted to disturb the youth's conscience; and he left him in peace. There were Amsdorf, Jonas, Spalatinus, Linck, and many other friends also, upon whom the monk could vent his ill-humour when he chose: but they knew how to retort when they required; especially Spalatinus, who sometimes had the obstinacy of a Saxon, and suffered himself to be well smitten, on condition of being heard, for which Luther could not forgive him. Melanc-

¹ Conrad Schlüsselburg. Theol. Calv.

² Wir sind erbietig der heiligen römischen päpstlichen Kirche gehorsam zu seyn, wofern sie nach ihrer Gelindigkeit, die sie zu allen Zeiten gegen alle Völker gebraucht hat, etliche geringschätzige Dinge lässt hingehen, oder nachgiebt, die wir jetzund, wann wir allbereit wollten nicht ändern können.

thon, in the like circumstances, would have suffered in silence ; his heart would have been broken with grief, sooner than he would have breathed a single complaint. But how paternally Luther concealed himself from his much-loved friend ! Once only was nature stronger in him than friendship, and then it was but a vague murmur which escaped him in Melancthon's absence, and which he had confided to some friends, whom he had not bound to secrecy. This was on occasion of the diet of Augsburg, in reference to that confession which Philip had undertaken to present to the emperor, and of which, like a skilful painter, he had softened the strong colours, so as not to offend the eye of the Catholics. He was so anxious for peace, that he would have purchased it at all sacrifices, even of his self-love. When he hears that his incessant revisions of the text are regarded by Luther as indications of real weakness of mind, he then becomes troubled, and humbly intreats pardon of his father. And Luther immediately forgives him, and repents of his momentary irritation, as of a sin !

"I was born to contend with the devil," said Luther ; "hence my writings are full of fury. It is my destiny to roll rocks and masses, to eradicate thorns and briars, to fill up marshes, and trace out roads ; but Philip has another mission : he walks silently and softly ; and builds, plants, waters, and sows in peace and joy of heart."¹

There are two scenes in the history of the reformers, of which Lucas Cranach might have made two exquisite paintings : this was when death threatened to separate them.

Luther fell dangerously ill near Schmalkalden. Melancthon, at his master's request, wrote to George Sturz, physician at Wittenberg : "I implore you not to lose a moment, that such a man as Luther may not be without advice. It is a duty to hasten, when we are called to assist our neighbour, and you know that the Lord will look on whatever you do for Luther, as if you had done it for God himself."

The physician came. While he was feeling the sick man's pulse, tears streamed from the eyes of Melancthon. Luther observed his disciple's affliction, and raising his hand, said :

¹ Reformations-Almanach, p. 26, note.

"Do not weep, Philip. Do you not know what Hans Loeser is wont to say? 'It is no hardship to drink good ale; but to drink bad,—that is the difficulty.' I am accustomed to the apothecary's draughts. God be praised, I shall not lose my courage in this struggle with death."

The danger passed away; and Melancthon, on the assurance of the physician and at his friend's express wish, had returned to Wittenberg, whither, in a few days after, a letter from Luther followed him. "God be praised, my dear Philip; in this night of trial the Lord has had pity on you, your tears, and your prayers, and has come to my aid." "God be praised!" replied the disciple to his beloved master; "from the bottom of my heart I return thanks to the Father of mercies, and the Saviour of all, that he has sent a remedy to your sufferings and your sorrows. I rejoice in your convalescence, both for your own sake and that of the Church of Christ: and my joy increases, because I see, in your restoration to health, a sign of the mercy of God on our little flock."

In 1540, Melancthon set out for Hagenau: he fell sick at Weimar. Before leaving Wittenberg he had consulted the stars;¹ the stars were silent, but he had a dream and fancied that he should die on the way. He accordingly made his will, in which Luther was not forgotten. "I thank the worthy doctor Martin Luther for having taught the doctrines of the Gospel; and especially for the proofs of affection which he has showered upon me from day to day: I desire that all my friends may honour him as a father, for no one better than myself knows with what heroic courage, what strength of mind, and what remarkable virtues God has endowed him; let all love, honour, and trust him with their whole heart, as I have ever done."

At the first intelligence of his friend's indisposition, the elector ordered his carriage: Luther accompanied him. When they entered his chamber an alarming sight presented itself to the Reformer's view: the eyes of the expiring man were closed, his reason gone, his tongue cold; and he was quite unconscious. Luther took the elector aside, and said with heavenward look, "See how the devil has spoiled our work!" While the prince

¹ Herrnschmidt, Vit. Luth. ch. xii.

was looking on the livid countenance of the dying man for some sign of hope, Luther turned towards the window, and prayed. When he was done, he returned to his friend, took him by the hand, and inclining to his ear said to him: "Courage, Philip, you shall not die; God could take you from us, but he desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live. He will not abandon or forsake you; he will not permit pestilence or despair to triumph over you, my friend. Come, then, no despondency or self-sacrifice; but turn to the Lord, the giver of life and of death."¹ Then, according to some historians who do not believe in the miracles worked by the intercession of the saints, God heard the prayer of his servant. Melancthon opened his eyes, recovered his senses, sat up in his bed, and took the doctor by the hand. "I should have died," he said, "if Luther had not snatched me from the grasp of death."² Luther also believed that a miracle had been wrought on this occasion by the omnipotence of prayer. "Prayer," said he, "does wonders: in our days has it not raised the dead,—me, my Ketha, and Master Philip Melancthon? It is a trifling miracle, if you will, to deliver the body from its sufferings, but it must not be kept secret for the sake of weak souls."³ It would be difficult to reconcile the power attributed by Luther to prayer with the fatalism which he professes in his treatise "*De Servo Arbitrio*." How, in his system, could a few words articulated in a low voice arrest that inexorable destiny, that necessity which urges and impels man with its leaden hand, which nothing resists, and which shall itself be broken against the tomb-stone? What is become of his double anthropomorphism of good and evil? There again he is unfaithful to his own doctrines. If his

¹ Unschuldige Nachrichten, tom. xxv. p. 359.

² "Qui nisi ad me venisset, mortuus essem."—Herrnschmidt, l. c.

³ "Das Kirchen-Gebet thut grosse Mirakel. Es hat zu unserer Zeit drei von Todten auferweckt: nich der ich oft bin todt krank gelegen; meine Hausfrau Ketha die auch todt krank war, und Magistrum Philippum Melancthonem, welcher Anno 1540 im Winter todt krank lag."—Tisch-Reden: Eisleben, fol. 436, 496.

See also the chapter, Vom Gebet, Tisch-Reden, p. 207 et seq., wherein the doctor, during a season of drought, implores the Lord for rain, and is immediately heard.

Eben dieselbige folgende Nacht darnach kam ein sehr guter fruchtbarer Regen.

appeal to tradition in his dispute with the Sacramentarians is a triumphant refutation of his principle of free inquiry, his prayer by Melancthon's death-bed is quite a volume against his slave-will.

Melancthon has rendered few services to the Reformation as a theologian, and many as a writer. Augusti has remarked that the Lutherans borrowed from him a portion of their terminology. We must beware, however, of exaggerating the influence which the professor exercised upon literature. People are mistaken when they say that he was the first in Germany to perceive the utility of elementary works for the use of the scholar. We have seen that the Catholic schools, taught by the monks, all possessed Greek and Latin grammars and lexicons prior to the Reformation. His love for antiquity may be commended, but not at the expense of truth. Our feelings are frequently excited by the passionate accents with which the professor of Wittemberg hails the triumph of the Muses. But long before him, doctor Eck, Luther's great antagonist, exclaimed at the sight of that holy flame which he contributed to light: "Oh happy age, in which ignorance is sent back to its obscurity, sophistry falls under the merciless shafts of ridicule, so many Latin, Greek, and Hebrew works are brought to light, and in which our eyes are dazzled by that literary pleiad composed of Erasmus, Wimpfeling, Pirkheimer, Cuspinian, Peutingier, Beatus Rhenanus, and Henry Bebelius: oh, how happy we ought to be that we live in such a golden age as ours!"¹

Melancthon had studied at Tubingen, with Stadianus, Aristotle's philosophy, and conceived the intention of introducing it at the university of Wittemberg; where it was then only known by the exposition of Master Peter Tartaretus.² Melancthon did not admit without restriction the celebrated axiom, "*nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuerit in sensu*:" he believed with Plato that the images which the senses supply to the mind, are only the occasional causes which develope general ideas. He acknowledged the existence of three minds, the reasoning, the

¹ Riederer, Nachrichten zur Kirchen- und Gelehrten-geschichte, tom. iii. p. 44.

² *Expositio magistri Petri Tartareti super summulas Petri Hispani cum allegatione passuum Scoti, Doctoris subtilissimi.*

sensitive, and the vegetative. His arguments in favour of the immortality of the incorporeal substance, are partially borrowed from the moral harmony of the world : metaphysical arguments appear to him of small value to prove the non-materiality of the mind. He calls astrology, physical destiny ; and his opinions considerably strengthened the faith which people then had in that pretended science.¹

CHAPTER XXVII.

LUTHER'S POLICY. 1531, &c.

League of Schmalkalden.—Luther attacks the Diet of Augsburg with his pen.—His Warning to the Germans, to which Melancthon supplies a preface.—How can Luther's audacity be explained ?—An anonymous writer answers Luther.—His reply.—His theory on the right of resistance.—His letters to the abbess of Rissa.—The Anabaptists rebel, and have recourse to arms.

Melancthon's efforts to restore peace to the Church of Germany had been rendered abortive by Luther. It was at the latter's instigation that Philip of Hesse suddenly left Augsburg, in defiance of the emperor's orders. The Protestants entrusted their destinies in the hands of this prince, whose character history has described as an alehouse hero, very valiant when there was no danger, and a thorough coward when it in the least approached him.² Under his auspices a league, offensive and defensive, was concluded at Schmalkalden by the Protestant princes, from which he broke off at the first demonstration of the emperor's wrath, and which he renewed until Charles V., after the battle of Muhlberg, so fatal to the Reformation, made the landgrave expiate his perpetual waverings by throwing him and John Frederick into prison, where they would have died, had Maurice of Saxony not delivered them.³

The league of Schmalkalden must have been fatal to the repose of the country. Luther had impelled the princes to rebellion.

¹ Histoire de la Philosophie, par Buhle, trad. par Jourdan, tom. ii. p. 424 et. seq.

² Reformations-Almanach, 1817, p. 411 et seq.

³ Schmidt, History, &c.

Scarcely had the diet of Augsburg been closed, when Luther wrote to denounce it in a sort of savage war-song, which he entitled: "Warning to my dear Germans."¹

"Woe to you," he said, "who have defended the papacy at Augsburg! Shame fall on your heads! Posterity will blush for you; it will scarcely believe that it had such ancestors. Oh! infamous diet, such as never had and never will have your equal! you have covered with infamy our princes and the nation, and stamped your seal on the brow of our Germans before God and men. What will the Turk, what will the Muscovites and the Tartars say, on hearing such a scandal? After this, who will fear or respect us Germans, when they know that we have permitted ourselves thus to be insulted, ridiculed, treated as children, as stocks, as stones, by the pope and his gang, and that, to amuse this rabble of Sodomites, we have suffered truth and justice to be crushed under the weight of this scandal of scandals? Every German must be ashamed of the name of his country."²

After the diet of Augsburg, a Protestant casuist asked if it were consistent with a Christian's duty to wage war with the emperor? He wished a reply that might set at rest the remorse of his conscience; and he found it in Luther's "Warning."

"When," said the monk, "cut-throats and bloodhounds have only one desire,—of killing, burning, and roasting,—there is no harm in rising up against them, in opposing force to force, and sword to sword. We must not regard as rebellion what these bloodhounds call rebellion. They would wish to shut our mouths and bind our hands, and prevent us from employing against them either pen or fist. That they might preach at their ease, and live without fear or danger, they would like to make use of violence, and alarm the world by the cry of rebellion. Very fine, my friend, your definition is worthless; I tell you so, and I shall prove it. Whoever resists the law does not rebel; rebellion only is when neither magistrates nor justice are tolerated,—when they are openly attacked,—when the insurgents seek to be masters and tyrants, as was the case with Munzer: 'aliud est

¹ Warnung an meine lieben Deutschen; in Latin, *Comunitio ad Germanos*, with a preface by Melancthon.

² Luther's Werke: Altenb. Menzel, tom. i. pp. 423, 424.

invasor, aliud transgressor ;' such is rebellion. To resist, then, these bloodhounds, is not rebellion ; papist and oppressor are synonymous terms. That is rebellion which has neither human nor divine law on its side, but wickedly resembles a murderer and madman."¹

How quickly have dried these tears which Melancthon shed at the diet of Augsburg, when that fierce puritan Bruck opposed all plans of reconciliation with the Catholics ! Were they not, then, merely hypocritical, as Cochläus said ? At Wittemberg, Luther dares to ask his disciple for a preface to his "Warning to the Germans ;"² and Melancthon unhesitatingly complies with the request ! He consents to inscribe his name on the first page of a diatribe, in which the red hat of a cardinal is constantly called a hat of blood ; in which the pope is designated a mad dog ; and Catholics are insulted, anathematized in this world, and damned in the next as idolaters and murderers ! He ought to hide his face.

Were we less acquainted with the Saxon monk, we should perhaps be astonished by his appeal to rebellion, drawn up in terms so transparent by one who, instead of a manger, cradled his Christianity in ducal ermine. But of whom has he to be afraid ? if necessary, to defend him we should see arise all the princes whom he has enriched with the plunder of the churches and the monasteries, the great and powerful lords, who would prefer open revolution to restitution. The Protestant princes at Schmalkalden have concluded a league offensive and defensive. They have protested against the election of Ferdinand to the title of king of the Romans, and on all sides are preparing for battle.³ Already some of the electors are privately arranging an alliance with Francis I., thus sacrificing the greatest glory of a people,—its nationality. Daily new cities withdraw from the Teutonic confederacy ; Eslingen and Heilbronn have agreed to the convention of Spires ; Henry VIII. has renounced Catholi-

¹ Menzel's *Neuere Geschichte*, &c. tom. i. p. 425. *Luther's Werke*: Leipzig, tom. xx. p. 307.

² Dr. Martin Luther's *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*, Philippi Melancthon's Vorrede.

³ M. Michelet, *Mém. de Luther*, tom. iii. p. 22.

cism, and the Turks are within a few days' march from the capital of Austria. Accordingly, Luther has nothing to fear.

A Catholic of Dresden had the courage to denounce to Germany the seditious doctrines of the "Warning." He attacked Luther to his face, stripped the wily monk of his serpent-skin, exposed the latent venom of his pamphlet, and held up to contempt the political and doctrinal versatilities of his adversary. This Dresden writer was a deep thinker, a warm-hearted German, a prophet for whom God, as He often does, had lifted a corner of the veil which conceals futurity.

Luther answered him in his usual style, steeped in gall and wormwood;¹ he revived his exhausted chimera of popery to alarm the Germans.

"The Papists," says he, "vend at Leipsic a disgraceful and anonymous pamphlet against me; from whom it proceeds no one knows, and I care not to know either; for once I wish to have the catarrh to be unable to smell the rascal. But I shall beat upon the sack; let the ass beware! If I hit him, it will not be the ass but the sack that I have beaten.

"When my adversary says that I urge the Germans to rebellion, he lies like an arrant knave, like a real Papist. My books are publicly sold with my name distinctly attached to them. What have I said?—that if the emperor wishes to war against God, we ought to refuse him obedience. What of that? He translates this as if I had taught that we ought in every case to refuse to obey the emperor and the authorities. You will see that St. Maurice and his glorious knights are eternally damned for having refused to obey the emperor, and fight against the Lord. But know, that when Luther speaks of disobedience, it is towards the tyrants who set themselves against God."

Luther sets himself to depict the outrages of the Catholic princes against the disciples of the Gospel. He points out these dogs who thirst for the blood of the Christians, and are known by the name of pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, and monks, as ready to strangle every Lutheran; and he asks if these martyrs whom they seek to cast to the beasts of the amphitheatre should sit with their arms

¹ Wider den Meuchler in Dresden, Luther's Werke: Leipzig, tom. xx. p. 336.

folded, and suffer themselves to be slain like sheep led to the slaughterhouse. "No, no," he says, "I, the priest of the Lord, ought to bear all that, but for the others I cannot allow the tyrants so to use them: expect, you bloodhounds, to be treated as murderers. No, no, you know well that a Lutheran who protects himself against these murderers is not a rebel.

"For more than ten years I have caressed them and humbled myself: to what purpose? Has not my patience only made them worse, as it once did the peasants? Well, since they continue impenitent; since their only desire is evil; since they are abandoned by God, henceforward let them not expect from me one word of pity; I shall follow them to the grave with my imprecations and anathemas; I shall ring their funeral-knell with the thunders and lightning of my wrath!"¹

"For I can no longer pray without cursing. If I say, 'Hallowed be thy name!' I add, 'Cursed, O my God! be the name of Papist, and all those who blaspheme Thee!' If I say, 'Thy kingdom come,' I add, 'Cursed and destroyed be the papacy, and all the kingdoms of the earth who rise against Thee, O my God!' If I say, 'Thy will be done!' I add, 'Cursed and annihilated be the designs of the Papists, and of all those who fight against Thee, O my God!' Such is my daily prayer, the prayer of my lips and of my heart, and I hope it will be heard; for I am a gentle, mild, and loving Christian, as my enemies know by experience."²

To what must we ascribe these transports of fury which incessantly recur in the Reformer's polemics? To that feverish over-excitement in which his struggle with the Catholics always kept him, say the Protestant historians of our time. They know not Luther; anger with him is not always the spontaneous effusion of a distempered brain; it frequently falls from his pen like a cipher. Read attentively his "Warning to the Germans," his reply to the murderer of Dresden, his commentaries on the edict of Charles V. at Augsburg, and you will find in them a display of coarse expressions, a parade of furious epithets, a proud luxury of insulting synonyms, which savour of the orator, and which he

¹ "Hoc convitiourum execrationumque tonitru ac fulgur erit mihi campanarum instar, quibus ad sepulturam ipsorum insonabo."

² Luther's Werke: Leipzig, tom. xx. p. 344.

has collected in his dictionary by dint of search ; he is a scholar who labours at his theme with his lexicon in his hand.

Germany was not duped by the art with which Luther handled insults, pretty much as the sculptor handles stone,—plastically. From all quarters he was asked to express himself more clearly, and to reply distinctly to this question : “ Are we entitled to wage war with the emperor ? ” They remembered that a few years previously it had been submitted to Luther in nearly similar terms, and that he had declared that, as subjects of Cæsar, the princes could not war with Cæsar, not even with Cæsar’s subjects.¹ They accordingly waited with mischievous curiosity for Luther’s answer : they soon received it.

“ If the emperor wars with us, he either wishes to destroy our religion, or prohibit the free exercise of it. If such is his design, Charles loses his right as emperor, and becomes a mere tyrant. It is, then, useless to ask if we may have recourse to arms to defend our faith, in other terms, the word of Christ. It is a duty to fight for our wives, our children, our servants, and our dependants.

“ If I live a little longer, I shall demonstrate that we are obliged to defend ourselves against a powerful injustice. First, let us not forget that the emperor is the head of the body in the temporal kingdom, and that each individual is a member of the social body, which he is bound to defend and protect ; for, if he forsakes it, he in a manner commits suicide.

“ The emperor is not the only monarch in Germany ; there are other princes who are the living members of the empire. The duty of each of them is to watch over the welfare of the state. If, therefore, the emperor should invade the liberties of Germany, it is the duty of the princes to resist him.

“ But can the emperor depose the prince electors ? and can these princes, in their turn, depose the emperor ?

“ Here an important distinction presents itself. There is in every person a real duality : he is a Christian and a citizen. As

¹ “ *Aller Fürsten Unterthanen seyen auch des Kayzers Unterthanen, ja mehr denn der Fürsten, und es schicke sich nicht, dass Jemand mit Gewalt des Kayzers Unterthanen wider den Kayser, ihren Herrn, schütze. Gleichwie sich's nicht zieme, dass der Bürgermeister in Torgau wollte die Bürger mit Gewalt schützen wider den Churfürsten zu Sachsen, so lange er Churfürst sei.* ” —Menzel, tom. i. p. 290, note.

a Christian, he neither eats, drinks, prosecutes, nor has any part in the temporal government of the nation ; he must therefore suffer and endure everything.

"As a citizen, he must protect and defend himself and all belonging to him, in virtue of the obedience which he owes to the laws of the kingdom.

"Let a wretch attempt to offer violence to my daughter, I kill him, or call for assistance : the duality becomes effaced ; in my person there is nothing but an individual, the outraged father, the citizen.

"Then let us remember, that if the emperor attacks us, he does not act *motu proprio*, but is the instrument of tyranny, the slave of the pope and the Roman idolatry ; it is therefore against the pope that we rebel, and not against the emperor.

"They will say : 'But David, chosen by God to be king, and consecrated by Samuel, would not resist King Saul ; therefore we ought not to resist the emperor.'

"Once more let us observe the distinction. David at that time was not king, he had only the sovereignty in expectation ; so, in a similar case, we do not take arms against Saul, but against Absalom, with whom David went to war, and who fell by the hand of Joab."¹

It seems that Luther could not determine more clearly the right of every citizen to rebel against his prince. Some of his disciples, however, who felt their consciences affected, urged him again to express himself categorically.

Luther replied to Linck : "No, my dear friend, I have not given advice to those who ask me if they may resist the emperor. But as they say that a theologian has nothing to do in this matter, of which the solution belongs to the jurist, I have said : 'If the jurists can demonstrate that they can lawfully make war with the emperor, I am of opinion that they should obey the law.' I admit that the prince, as prince, represents a political individuality, and that, in the sphere of his princely rights, he does not act as Christian."²

To Spengler : "Render to Cæsar the things which are

¹ *Propos de Table*, translated by M. G. Brunet, p. 183 et seq.

² Wenceslao Linck, 15 Jan. 1831. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 213.

Cæsar's.' Now, what is Cæsar's is to resist him when he prescribes what is unjust. I say: We must obey all that Cæsar or the law has established. Now the law in each case prescribes resistance; *ergo*, &c. We lay down the major proposition,—that we must obey the sword in matters political; the minor we neither maintain nor wish to know. I therefore draw no conclusion; that is the province of the jurists. If they prove the minor,—and that does not concern us,—we cannot reject the conclusion, since we prove the major."¹

And somewhat later, to John Lubeck, minister of the "Word" in Cöthbus, when the question of right of resistance is before him:—

"If it is lawful to resist or make war with the Turks, much more is it with the pope, who is worse than the Turks. Now if Cæsar should enrol himself in the service of the Turks or of the pope, let him reap the fruits of his conduct. In such a case, our friends are of opinion that Cæsar is no longer Cæsar, but the constable and soldier of the pope. When King Joachim wished to slay Jeremias, the princes of Abikam resisted his sanguinary orders. Now, our German princes are more independent of the emperor than the princes of Abikam were of King Joachim; he is not an absolute monarch; he cannot confiscate to his own use the authority of the electors, and alter the constitution of Germany, without their being entitled to resist him."²

We confess that we are unable to understand how Doctor de Wette, who has collected with such pious care the letters which we have quoted, was not afraid to write, in the face of Germany,

¹ "Date Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, et Cæsaris est sibi resistendum esse in notoriè injustis. Quicquid statuit Cæsar seu lex Cæsaris, est servandum. Sed lex statuit resistere sibi in tali casu. Ergo resistendum est, etc. Nunc majorem nos hactenus docuimus: quòd sit obediendum gladio in rebus politicis. Sed minorem nos neque asserimus, neque scimus. . . . Quòd si juristæ minorem probaverint de quo nihil ad nos, non possumus conclusionem negare qui docuimus majorem."—LAZARO Spengler, 15 Feb. 1531. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 222.

² "Si igitur licet contra Turcam bellare, seu se defendere, multò magis contrà papam qui peior est. Quòd si Cæsar sese miscuerit inter papæ vel Turcæ militiam, expetet sortem tali militiâ dignum. Idèd nostri judicârunt Cæsarem in hoc casu Cæsarem non esse, sed militem et latronem papæ. . . . Et cum rex Joiakim vellet Jeremiam occidere, resisterunt principes Abikam et alii. Jam principes Germaniæ plus juris habent contrà Cæsarem quam populus Abikam contrà Joiakim."—Johanni Lubeck, ministro verbi in Cöthbus, 8 Feb. 1539. De Wette, l. c. tom. v. pp. 159—161.

"The Gospel makes obedience even to unjust powers a duty, and Luther incessantly preached it."¹

At the time when Luther fatigued his hand in heaping up against the Catholics the worn-out abuses of Celsus and Porphyry, he addressed to the nuns of Rissa two letters, in which his filthy fancy diffuses itself in imagery exclusively his own. We recognise in them the priest who five years ago discoursed upon marriage. He again descants upon those painful necessities for sexual intercourse, which he so warmly painted in the pulpit; and, to show that the creature is obliged to give way to those carnal appetites which impel the sexes irresistibly towards each other, he sketches the life which he supposes to be led by the sisters at Rissa. We shall only give here the superscription of one of those letters: "To the mother abess of the brothel at Rissa!"² On hearing of this epistle, which a market-porter at Wittemberg would not have dared to write, George of Saxony felt his face flush, and complained like a soldier to John the elector of this outrage by Luther. The elector was ashamed, and sharply reprimanded his *protégé*, who on this occasion had the courage to lie and deny the letter.

Now the original, entirely autograph of the monk, remains between two blank leaves in the historical archives of Weimar.

While writing these lines, we have before us some eloquent pages from the pen of C. H. L. Pöelitz, of Leipsic, on the spirit of liberty which the Reformation developed.

"Hail, O sacred liberty!" exclaims the doctor. "It is for thee that the apostles contended, the martyrs shed their blood; for thee Arnold of Brescia and Peter of Vaud raised their voices; for thee John Huss was burnt; for thee Luther was put to the ban of the empire."³

M. Pöelitz has not, then, heard the cries uttered simultaneously by the Sacramentarians, Anabaptists, and all the sects who

¹ "Gehorsam gegen die Obrigkeit, und selbst die ungerechte, gebietet freilich das Evangelium, und Luther weiss dies nicht genug einzuschärfen."—Ueber den seltlichen Geist der Reformation in Beziehung auf unsere Zeit. *Reformations-Almanach*, 1817, p. 257.

² An den Hurenwirth, an die Hurenwirthin in Rissa.

³ Die Aehnlichkeit des Kampfes um bürgerliche und politische Freiheit in unserm Zeitalter. 30 Oct. 1817.

demand from Luther that liberty of conscience which he promised at the beginning of his apostleship?

The Anabaptists, weary of waiting, came to the determination of making prevail by force of arms that "Word of God" which Wittenberg desired to stifle.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ANABAPTISTS. 1534—1536.

Forced to leave Augsburg unheard, they enter Westphalia.—Munster receives them.—Rothmann disturbs the city by his preachings.—Description of him.—Melchior Hoffmann.—John of Leyden is proclaimed king of Munster.—Riots caused by the Anabaptists in that city.—They establish community of goods there.—It is besieged by Bishop Waldeck.—Is captured.—Execution of the prophets.—David George or Joris.—The Anabaptists charge Luther with the evils which stain Germany with blood.

ANABAPTISTS, Zwinglians, Lutherans, Carlstadians, and Bucerians, all assembled at the diet of Augsburg.¹ The Anabaptists were the most fervid; on the very day of their arrival, without having obtained permission from the senators, who were nearly all Lutherans,² they opened conferences, whence they sent forth a daring defiance to those who differed from them. A Lutheran having accepted the challenge, inquired of the Anabaptist, "From whom have you received mission to preach?"—"From whom?" replied the Anabaptist; "do you not, then, know the book which your master says he has been reading all his life? Now, what is written in this inspired volume?—that the charity of Christ is a sufficient warrant to preach his word."

To prove that the Lutherans had not this testimony of which the apostle speaks, the Anabaptist gave a satiric sketch of the morals of the Reformers. He represented the disciples of the new gospel scaling convents and carrying off the nuns, making merry with them in taverns, cramming themselves with meat and wine, and indulging in all licentiousness. The people laughed.

¹ Mesh. lib. v. cap. xv. xviii. &c.

² Senatus enim fere totus Lutheranus.—Ibid.

But the Lutheran seized the moment when the laugh ceased to answer his adversary.¹

"Apostle of iniquity, you corrupt St. Paul, you blaspheme the Gospel. Doubtless all Christians ought to practise the works of charity ; but every Christian is not called to announce the divine word. To disseminate it, you must have other titles and another mission than holiness and love for your neighbours."

"Vocation, without doubt," returned the Anabaptist ; "I understand you ; but tell me from whom you have it ?"

"From the magistrates ; it is from them that we have received authority to publish the Gospel."

"And I from our churches ; are not our churches as good as your magistrates ? Open, then, our common book, which is for you a dead letter, but for us the life ; where do you find in it that Christ has bestowed on the magistrates the power of sending apostles, and of saying to them, 'Go, preach, announce the word of life, in the name of Christ, the Saviour of men ?'"

Then the Anabaptist became inspired, lifted his eyes, seemed as it were absorbed, and then, with the voice of a prophet, announced that he came in the name of the Lord, who had appeared to him in a dream, and said : "Arise, take the road of Augsburg ; lo, I shall be with thee on the way, I shall precede thee, as the bright star went before the wise men. I shall put wisdom in thy mouth ; thou shalt preach my word to the people of the imperial city ; I shall soften their hearts, and streams of honey shall flow from thy lips."

Generally some police, sent by the senate, put a stop to these religious exhibitions ; the Anabaptist descended from the pulpit, and went to excite the people in some other quarter.

Elsewhere another preacher, who came from Munster, assembled his audience to a conference in the open air. He was one of the thousand theologians called into life by the sun of this new Sion of modern times, which was revered in their dreams by all those sectaries whose minds Luther had unsettled. These fanatics wished to play the part of the Saxon, called themselves prophets, and gave themselves the names of Elias, Enoch, and

¹ All these arguments had been recently repeated in a disputation which took place at Strasburg, in 1532, between the Lutherans and Anabaptists. See Bullinger, *Adversus Anabaptistas*, lib. ii. cap. xiii.

Moses ; poor creatures, whose brains had been turned by the "Captivity in Babylon ;" uninstructed minds, who had suddenly emerged from the obscurity in which they should have died, and who, perverted by reading heretical works, fancied themselves called to regenerate the world.

From being, before Luther's appearance, a perfect Thebais, quietly resting under the direction of its pastors,¹ Munster suddenly became a city of confusion and disturbance, restless, uneasy in its obscurity, and aspiring to be the rival of Wittemberg. It was rich and commercial, and had cultivated literature with considerable success. Its university had acquired some fame in the learned world. It loved antiquity, especially Greece, whose poets it had interpreted or elucidated. This was its passion, until the time when it opened its gates to the Saxon's disciples ; then that city—half-Greek, half-Latin, by its manners and instincts—threw itself into the theological controversy, and its professors abandoned the study of Cicero and Homer, to become interpreters of the sacred volume. God knows what novelties they discovered in these inspired writings which our priests had never taught ! Then, all the classic divinities fled from Munster, like swallows in the spring, but never to return to it ; and in their place came a punctilious theology, to disturb the peace of students, professors, and people.

At this moment appeared a pretended restorer of the Gospel text. Bernard Rothmann, curate of St. Maurice-without-the-walls, had for some time begun to teach Luther's doctrines. The senate, who dreaded his seductive preaching, ordered him to leave the city and go to Cologne to study theology, which he had not sufficiently cultivated. Rothmann departed, taking with him a considerable sum which he had received for completing his studies, and which he spent on the way. He went to Wittemberg, where he frequently saw Luther. On his return to Munster, he resumed in his church his religious conferences, less to attack the doctrines than the person of the Catholic priest. On the feast of St. Lambert, the Franciscan John of Deventer had preached upon purgatory : at the conclusion of his discourse

¹ Meshovius, lib. vi.

Rothmann excited the passers-by against the friar, whom he denounced as an infidel and son of perdition. The bishop suspended him, but Rothmann set the prelate's threats at open defiance, and sketched out thirty articles of belief which every Christian must adopt if he wished to gain heaven. The rector of St. Maurice closed the church doors against the mad preacher; but beside the church was a charnel-house, in which, by means of some rotten planks, Rothmann soon erected a temporary pulpit, whence he thundered against the images. Scarcely had the preacher concluded his dithyrambic, when his audience rushed into the churches, and broke down the altars.

But Rothmann had been in a special manner seduced by Zwinglius. He was a thorough fanatic of the tropical sense revealed to the curate of Einsiedlin. To defame the Catholic dogma, he mixed in the same dish bread and wine, of which he made a sort of porridge, which he distributed to his communicants. On one occasion, to prove that the body of Christ is not under the species of bread and wine, he took a consecrated wafer, which he broke and trampled under foot, exclaiming, "Where then is the flesh and blood? If God were there, you would see him rise from the ground, and take his place on the altar."¹

Generally of an evening, Rothmann and some of his disciples met in the gardens of the syndic Wigger, to discuss the articles of the new creed which should rule the heavenly Jerusalem, the empire of which God was to give to his disciple. Among his auditors was the syndic's wife, who was seized with a violent passion for Rothmann, whom she married after getting rid of her husband by poison.²

¹ "Anfangs hatte er Semmel und Wein in eine grosse Schtissel gethan, und die Communicanten daraus zugreifen lassen. Nachmals hielt er das Abendmahl mit Oblaten, war aber so eifrig dabei die Lehre von der leiblichen Gegenwart zu widerlegen, dass er wohl die Oblaten zerbrach und mit den Worten zur Erde warf: Seht, wo ist hier Blut und Fleisch? Wenn das Gott wäre, würde er sich wohl von der Erde aufheben und an den Altar stellen."—Dopff, *Wahrhaftige Historie wie das Evangelium zu Münster angefangen*: 1536.

² "Habebant conjugem mirabilem quæ coepit insanire amore Rothmanni, quapropter et virum veneno interemit."—*Locorum communium collectanea à Johanne Manlio excerpta*, p. 483. M. Ranke, in the third volume of his *History of the Reformation*, p. 557, note, finds a great analogy between the religious doctrine which Rothmann professed in his *Von tidliker und irdischer Gewalt*, and that which Robespierre proclaimed on 8 June, 1794.

Meanwhile some Anabaptists, expelled from different parts of Germany, came for shelter to Munster: they were disciples of Melchior Hoffmann, the prophet of Suabia, who for some time had exhibited his foolish ecstasies in Belgium and Holland.¹ They had several conferences with Rothmann, who, convinced by their arguments, or perhaps irritated with Luther for condemning the disturbances at Munster, became a convert to Anabaptism and one of its most enthusiastic apostles. But this fresh apostasy injured his fortunes. John Bockelson, tailor at Leyden, and John Mattys, brass-founder at Haerlem, who had recently come to Munster, and boasted of an intimate communication with the Deity, soon became the idols of the populace. As Hoffmann, who had for some weeks returned to Munster, had a ready, ornate, and extempore flow of language, and was pretty well versed in the Scriptures, Bockelson, who soon assumed the name of John of Leyden, selected him for his orator and secretary. Henry Rulle, a monk of Haerlem, gave the signal for those epileptic scenes, in which the wretched inhabitants of Munster were for so long to discover divine manifestations. He rolled on the ground, twisted about his arms, roared, foamed, and with mud-stained lips called upon Christ; and Christ, according to the fanatics, immediately descended from heaven. The crisis ceased, and the demoniac announced that God had appeared to him, and that it was now time to do penance. To do penance, was to demolish the churches, raze the monasteries, break the images, and melt the sacred vessels to distribute the money obtained for them to the poor; to pillage the rich, and hasten the kingdom of the heavenly Jerusalem, where the children of God should have community of goods and wives. Another prophet fell with his face to the ground, and from the gutter in which he rolled, announced that God commanded the people of Munster to choose John of Leyden for their head; and Munster had its king.²

John of Leyden soon had a royal mansion; before him walked two young men of family, one bearing his majesty's crown, the other his bare sword; and in the public square was set a

¹ Ranke, l. c. tom. iii. p. 531.

Menzel, Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. ii. p. 52.

throne, covered with cloth of gold, on which he sat to administer justice.

On the 27th February the Anabaptists assembled at the town-hall. Whilst they knelt in prayer, the prophet appeared to be plunged in a deep sleep; suddenly John of Leyden awoke, and casting a wild look on the multitude, declared that God had revealed to him his divine will. "Away with the children of Esau," he exclaimed, "the Lord's inheritance belongs to the children of Jacob." Then the multitude, as if it had received a message from heaven, cried with one voice: "Away with the children of Esau!" and all the Anabaptists precipitately descended the steps of the town-hall, burst open the doors which were closed upon them, and drove before them all who refused to be re-baptized. Kersensbroik, an eye-witness of those frightful violences, committed at the time when a hot sun was melting the snow that covered the ground, depicts to us the poor little children holding their fathers' hands, mothers carrying in their arms their new-born infants, and old men leaning on their staves, who at the city-gate were forcibly deprived of their last farthing and last morsel of bread.¹ The Anabaptists were masters of Munster.

An edict was issued which, in the name of Christ and his Gospel,² commanded that all the churches should be razed to the ground. The people obeyed; and a mob, who asserted themselves to be filled with the Spirit of God, might be seen breaking with axes the church-doors, burning the organs and pulpits, dragging the statues and pictures into the market-place, where a huge fire soon reduced them to ashes, tearing the relics from their shrines, tossing to the winds the bones of the early martyrs, drinking out of the sacred vessels, and ending, by the light of the altar candles, by fulfilling in the sanctuary the injunction given to our first parents to increase and multiply.

On this day of profanation, Munster was styled the new Sion, and a rescript posted by order of John of Leyden, decided that as only one book—the Bible, was necessary for salvation, all others should be burnt as useless or dangerous. Two hours after

¹ Kersensbroik, *Historia Anabaptistica*, MSS.

² Catrou, *Hist. des Anabaptistes*, book ii.

the library of Rodolph Langius, almost entirely composed of Greek and Latin manuscripts, perished in the flames.¹

After this double victory over the living and the dead, the Anabaptists bethought them of organization. An order of the prophet, posted and proclaimed in every street, commanded each inhabitant to carry to the town-hall all the gold and silver he possessed: this was obeyed without murmur. In the new society no one could any longer have private property: all goods were common, and woman was considered a treasure which every member might enjoy. The titles of smith, tailor, and shoemaker were considered as honourable distinctions. At mid-day and evening large tables were spread, at which they ate together. To every table a brother and sister were appointed to serve the guests by turns, while from a wooden pulpit one of the number read portions of the Bible.² Meanwhile, a few of the citizens, under the guidance of a goldsmith named Mollenhœch, endeavoured to organize an opposition to the prophets. At first they were somewhat successful; but the people, especially the operatives, who had tasted the sweets of life without labour, united, attacked, and routed Mollenhœch's associates, after a sanguinary combat. The prophet's vengeance was terrible. Knipperdolling was appointed executioner: and every morning he cut off the heads of some of the vanquished.³

But at length God had compassion on his old church of Munster. She had for her bishop a man still young, of masculine courage, ready if needs were, when his chapter made it a law for him, to gird on the soldier's sword in defence of his flock. At the sight of those German prelates, armed from head to foot and bestriding their war-steeds, our surprise is great: but this astonishment ceases when we have studied the constitution of the German empire. We then know that at the voice of the

¹ Meshovius. Catrou, *Hist. des Anabaptistes*, book v. p. 101.

² *Ordinatio politici Regiminis à 12 senioribus recens introducta (§ 9). "Ut in rebus administrandis legitimus servetur ordo, præfecti hujus rei, officii sui memores, ejusdem generis fercula usi hactenus, fieri consuevit singulis diebus fratribus sororibusque in disjunctis et disparatis mensis modesti et cum verecundiâ sedentibus apponent."*—Kerssenbroik, p. 218.

³ *"Pœnæ executio Knipperdollingo committitur, qui singulis diebus aliquos pro arbitrio suo productos et tandem ad unum omnes capite plectit."*—Kerssenbroik, l. c.

chapter, the bishop, who, in those remote times, both blessed and fought, had in his stables a horse always saddled, and armour ever ready, to defend, even to bloodshed, the rights of those under his authority. The new bishop was the count of Waldeck, who laid siege to Munster.

The besieged believed themselves bound to strict obedience to John of Leyden, as to another Moses. He mustered them in the public square, and offering to them a piece of bread: "Take this," he said, "and announce the Saviour's death." And men, women, and children threw themselves on their knees, munched the bread which the prophet gave them, drank the wine which the women distributed to them, and rising up, exclaimed, "Here we are!" "Will you obey God's word?" "Yes!" "Well then, our heavenly Father orders that twenty-eight doctors immediately go forth to teach the nations. And of the thousand who offered themselves, six set out for Osnaburgh, six for Warenburg, eight for Susat, and eight for Coiffeld. They were all captured, put to torture, and led to the scaffold, pouring forth with their dying breath anathemas on all unbelievers.

The city was sore pressed: the people were famishing, and one of John of Leyden's wives murmured and complained. He led her to the market-place, made her kneel down, cut off her head, and then intoned a canticle of thanksgiving, in which his other queens joined.¹

Munster could hold out no longer: the garrison, decimated by famine, was soon reduced to eat vermin, and men were appointed to hunt for rats. Every sick person who died was immediately devoured; and people even killed their children and ate them.²

Spring had covered the ramparts and the gardens of the city with a little verdure. John of Leyden caused it to be cut and distributed to his soldiers; but a violent wind, accompanied with snow and frost, swept away those blades of grass; and had the besieged not made a successful sally, in spite of the prophet's orders, they would have perished with hunger. Not one voice,

¹ Sleidan, lib. x. Chytræus, l. c. lib. xiv. Conr. Heresbach, *Hist. Anab. Van de Vornaemste Hoost-Ketteren*: Lyden, 1608.

² "Scio pueros comedos ibi esse, id quod ab iis auditum mihi est qui in reliquias quædam captâ urbe ejus rei testes inciderunt."—Corvinus ad Spalatinum.

however, from among the famished crowd was raised for mercy. The bishop who pressed the siege had compassion on these wretches, and sent a soldier to John of Leyden, to summon him, in God's name, to surrender; but in vain. The Anabaptists encouraged each other to die: one of them, mounted on a white horse, like that of the Apocalypse, sounded a trumpet, and proclaimed that the dead would rise from their graves and come to the assistance of the town. But the dead slept their eternal slumber. For a month the cannon battered the walls of the rebellious city without effect; when treachery opened its gates, and the bishop's army marched into the great square. There remained no more than three hundred Anabaptists, who, intrenched behind waggons, sought death singing hymns. Hunger made their arms fall from their hands; and they were spared.¹

John of Leyden still fought: the lance of a soldier unhorsed him. He was seized, bound with cords and chains, and dragged before the bishop. The prelate was on horseback, upon an eminence from which his eye could command the whole town, and his ear catch the groans of the dying. "This is your work," he said to John of Leyden; "look at all these churches and palaces reduced to ashes, those houses destroyed, the grass of the streets moistened with the blood of your brethren." "Waldeck," replied the Anabaptist, "what great harm have I done? Your city was dismantled: I have fortified it. Do you wish to know an excellent plan whereby to reimburse yourself for your outlay in besieging Munster? Put me in a cage and take me to all the cities of Europe, and, at a florin per head to see the king of Sion, you will have as many spectators as will give you wherewith to pay off your debts and increase your revenue." "That I shall do," said the bishop.

John of Leyden and the other leaders who were intended for execution, were taken to the castle of Bevergen.² The people crowded from all quarters to see and insult the vanquished.

¹ Lamb. Hortensius, *Tumultuum Anabaptistarum liber unus*; in Echard. *Script. Rer. Germ.* tom. ii.

² Catrou. *Ant. Corv. De miserabili Monasteriensium Anabaptistarum Obsidione et Excidio, memorabilibus rebus tempore obsidionis in urbe gestis regis Knipperdolli, ac Krechtongi confessione et exitu. Epistola Antonii Corvini ad Georg. Spalatium.* De Wette, 1586.

To quench their thirst, a man presented them a phial filled with blood. The Lutheran preachers sometimes made them halt, and, surrounded by their disciples, offered to dispute with these wretched creatures. The prophet accepted the challenge of Corvinus, one of the ministers of the landgrave of Hesse: the debate principally turned on the plurality of wives. "Read St. Paul," said John of Leyden; "what does he teach? that a bishop should be the husband of one wife: therefore, in the time of the apostles, he who was not a bishop might have two or three wives."

"But," replied Corvinus, "marriage is a matter of policy, and the civil law, which regulates the present state of society, not being the same as that in the times of the apostles, we can only lawfully have one wife: you condemn yourself."

"I fulfil the precept of the old law," said John of Leyden; "were I to listen to your doctrines, I should be clearly mad."

"But," continued Corvinus, who left both the Church and tradition to shelter himself in the civil law, "the authority which comes from God having power to regulate the external policy, it is much better to obey it than the old law, which is abrogated."¹ Then, as if he felt he had done wrong in exalting a matter merely human, he added: "Is it not written, that a man shall leave father and mother, and cleave to his wife; to his wife, and not to his wives; and has not St. Paul said: 'Let every man live with his wife;' and not with his wives?" "Ah!" replied the king, "St. Paul did not speak of all wives, but of each in particular: the first is my wife, I live with her; the second is my wife, I live with her; the third is my wife, I live with her; that is very simple; and besides is it not much better that I should have several wives than several concubines?"²

The last argument of the king of Leyden is precisely that which will soon be made use of by Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, and to which neither Luther nor Melancthon will be able to reply!

Three men were to terrify the world by their awful punish-

¹ This was the doctrine of Luther, who only looked upon marriage as a civil contract.—*Ranke*, l. c. tom. iii. p. 452.

² *Gespräch oder Disputation Antonii Corvini und Johann Kymeit mit Johann von Leiden.*

ment—John of Leyden, Knipperdolling, and Krechting—for Rothmann had died fighting. A scaffold was erected in the market-place of Munster, opposite the very palace where John of Leyden used to appear in all the splendour of his regal attire, and surrounded with a seraglio of wives.¹ He was then between his two accomplices, a little more elevated, that he might be seen at the greater distance. The executioner had burning pincers, with which he tore off his flesh, while John of Leyden prayed. The punishment lasted for nearly an hour; and at last was ended by a sword thrust through his body. His two companions suffered the like death. The remains of John of Leyden were placed in an iron cage, which was placed on the top of the tower of St. Lambert, as a terror to the Anabaptists. The ashes of Knipperdolling and Krechting were scattered to the winds.

The Protestants could not conceal their joy at the fall of the Anabaptists at Munster: they hoped to get possession of the ruins of that unfortunate city; but the old worship, which had suffered so much in its struggle with John of Leyden, was, by a decision of the diet of Worms, restored in all its rights; only it had to restore the ruins which heresy had made. For a time the name of Anabaptist was a mark of reprobation, and whoever bore it could not find an asylum in any Protestant city.

One of Rothmann's disciples adopted, with considerable modifications, the doctrines of the prophets of Munster: like John of Leyden, David George or Joris boasted of being in communication with the Holy Spirit. He asserted that the Holy Spirit which had descended upon Mary, had, in like manner, overshadowed him; and that he was the son of God in body and soul. He had many followers; but being expelled from Germany, he took refuge in Switzerland, where for some years he taught his reveries undisturbed. He had predicted that on the third day after his death he would rise from the grave. At sunrise, on the day foretold, some simple souls joyfully watched the prophet's tomb: but the tomb did not open.²

¹ Des Münsterischen Königreichs An- und Abgang, Bluthandel und Ende. Samstag nach Sebastiano, anno 1536.

² David Georgen aus Holland, des Erzketzers, wahrhaftige Historie: Regensburg, 1560, 4to. Aufgedeckte Larve Davids Georgii, von M. Fried. Jensen: Kiel, 1670, 4to. Laur. Surius, Chr. ann. 1556, p. 254. Nicol. Blesdikius, in Historia D. Georgii, edita per Jacob. Revium, p. 15 et seq.

The Anabaptists still refer to these stormy times, in which their constancy wearied the arm of the civil power, as times of trial sent by God in favour to the Church of his predilection. They recall with pride the names of some of their confessors who preferred to suffer imprisonment, exile, and even death, rather than deny the word of Jesus: they have hymns for their first martyrs, and words of contemptuous pity for the Saxon monk, who, in 1528, in his book "*De Cœnâ Christi*,"¹ and in another treatise, "*Contra Pædobaptismum*," had at first so energetically defended liberty of conscience. And their only revenge is to recall to memory the tears which Luther one day shed, when Balthazar Hubmayer, one of their brethren, was executed by order of Ferdinand of Austria, and the language, even more eloquent than his tears, of his letter to his parishioners: ² "In God's name, let there be no flames or gibbets, no bloodshed among us! let every one believe as his conscience dictates. Are not the flames of hell sufficient punishment for the heretic? Wherefore punishments in this world, if he has committed no other crime than error in faith?"³

Anabaptism would never have ensanguined Germany, had Luther taken it under his protection, and left its disciples at liberty to teach their visions. In the Catholic point of view, the question is quite different: Anabaptism, at the bar of authority, is a rebel which the law must punish; but in the eyes of Lutherans, what is an Anabaptist? at most, a Christian who deceives himself, and not a heretic; since his faith is the result of his reason, and the light of his own intelligence explains every interpretation of the controverted texts. Rothmann at Augsburg, is Luther at Worms.

At Worms, Luther was permitted to be heard before a Catholic tribunal: at Augsburg, Luther imposes silence on Rothmann.⁴

¹ Op. Luth. tom. iii. Jense, p. 458, a.

² Op. Luth. tom. iv. Jense, p. 319. Cochl. in Act. p. 198.

³ "Cui libet permittendam esse libertatem credendi quod lubet. Quod si quisquam de fide non rectè sentiat, eum in inferno satis habiturum supplicii, ubi sit ignibus sempiternis cremandus."

Like Melancthon and Luther, Brenz was of opinion that fire and sword might be used against the Anabaptists. See Unterricht Philipp Melancthons wider die Lehre der Wiedertäufer durch Feuer und Schwert vom Leben zum Tod richten lassen. Johann Brenz. 1535.

⁴ Consult, Der Wiedertäufer, Lehre und Geheimnisse aus Heiliger Schrift,

CHAPTER XXIX.

LAST EFFORTS OF THE PAPACY. 1535—1541.

Efforts of Clement VII. to restore peace to the Church of Germany.—Paul III. sends Vergerio to Luther.—His interview with the nuncio.—He laughs at the legate.—Diets of Schmalkalden and Ratisbon.—Vain attempts of the Catholics to reconcile the Protestants with the Church.—Melancthon strives in vain against Luther's obstinacy.—Luther's rage against Charles V. and Eric, duke of Brunswick.—Death of George, duke of Saxony.

AT the diet of Augsburg, the emperor had engaged to request from the pope the session of a council, to bring back, if possible, the dissenters to unity.¹ The Catholics, simple souls, deluded themselves into the belief that an œcumenical council of the prelates would extinguish the last germs of rebellion. Luther was always appealing to a future council. How often, since his theses, had he proclaimed to his country that he was ready to give an account of his faith in a national synod ! The reformers, who knew not these alehouses in which Luther laughed every evening at what he had taught during the day, believed in his sincerity. The emperor had great projects : but at the very time when he was about to realize them, he found himself impeded by a monk. To put an end to the schism which increased daily, he had tried his imperial authority, which was slighted, and in the Low Countries even executioners, who were braved. There remained yet one means,—the voice of the Church in a general council. He wished his Germans to hear it, in the hope that it

widerlegt durch Justum Menium, in the Works of Luther : Wittenberg, tom. ii. p. 262 ; Dass weltliche Obrigkeit den Wiedertäufern mit leiblicher Strafe zu wehren schuldig sey : Etlicher Bedenken zu Wittenberg. 1536.

Neue Zeitung, wie die Stadt Münster erobert und eingenommen durch die Landknechte, am Freytag nach Johannis, zu Mitternacht, mit einem Anfall. Hermann von Mengeriffen : 1535.

Widerlegung der Münsterischen neuen Valentinianer und Donatisten Bekenntniss. An die Christen zu Ossnabrück in Westphalen. Durch D. Urbanum Regium. Mit einer Vorrede Dr. Martin Luthers : Wittenberg, 1535.

Widerlegung etlicher unchristlicher Artikel, welche die Wiedertäufer fûrgaben : Wittenberg.

Etliche Propositiones wider die Lehre der Wiedertäufer, gestellt durch Phil. Melancthon : 1535.

¹ Osiander, Hist. Eccles. lib. ii.

would work some miracles, as in the primitive Church. Twenty years before, when Luther stormed against indulgences, perhaps this sovereign voice might have been omnipotent: now it had been too long silent: would it not demand the restitution of ecclesiastical property? and all, princes as well as subjects, had stolen the property of others. The most difficult commandment was, not to render to God the things that were God's, but to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's. Luther himself would not have been heard, for the German nobility had already sold the bishops' horses, the tapestries of the churches, the sacred vessels, the pictures, the statues, and, for future subsistence, expected that the Reformation would make farther progress and farther ruins. It was the sincere wish of the pope, that the session of one of these great assizes, in which the voice of the Church could be heard, should show to the Christian world all that her visible head on earth had done for twenty years, by persuasion and tears, to bring back her rebellious children to her pale.¹

If the tiara has ever been honoured, it was by Clement VII.; an unprejudiced and dispassionate pontiff, gentle and high-hearted, the sincere friend of learning, learned in sciences unimpersonated in preceding popes,—at once mechanician, engineer, and architect! And yet he was unhappy: his policy was timid and anxious; and he was afraid both of France and of Charles V. He was always haunted by the idea of weakening the empire by France, and France by the empire. He threw himself into the arms of Charles when the star of France seemed to burn too brightly, and in those of his rival when the emperor's star prevented him from heeding France. He died of grief; having as vicar of Jesus Christ, no cause for self-reproach, and sleeping in the Lord after a life of purity; but as a temporal sovereign, mourning over that timorous policy which he had adopted for the sake of his earthly crown.² And see, remarks Ranke, the powerful vitality of Catholicism! it seems that it must have

¹ All the Catholics were unanimous in demanding a general council. Cochleus, the warm opponent of Luther, said to the pope, in dedicating to his Holiness his treatise, *De Matrimonio Serenissimi Regis Angliæ*: "Si quando dederit nobis Sanctitas tua generale concilium, id quod omnes pii ac fideles Christiani longis desideriiis, magnisque gemitibus et suspiriis abs te petunt et efflagitant," etc. 1525, 4to.

² Maimbourg, *Hist. du Luthéranisme*, 4to. pp. 123, 131, et seq.

perished or become enfeebled in the weak hands of this pontiff, and yet it springs up with increased splendour under his successor, Paul III. Scarcely had he ascended the throne, when kings and nations equally admired his noble and easy manners, his elegance without pomp, and mildness without infirmity. The papacy was exalted by that noble reply of Paul to the emperor, who asked him for the cardinal's hat for his two grandsons: "I shall give it," he said, "when I have been shown that children have been made cardinals." Clement left to his successor a great task to perform: to overcome Protestantism, or at least to oppose a barrier to its encroachments, to repair the Catholic edifice, restore what it had lost of vitality and renown in men's eyes, and stamp it with unity. He had to rouse the Catholic south against the Protestant north; to oppose a Catholic to a Protestant league, and when this should be effected, to impel Europe against the Ottoman Porte, and extinguish the quarrels of princes friendly to the Holy See, which did injury to the cause of Christianity, by reconciling France and Spain. Of almost all these grand thoughts which were present to his mind, he had the glory to labour in the accomplishment. - Time, more powerful than Paul, prevented him from triumphing everywhere in the same degree; but his great work, which has crowned him with honour, even in the eyes of honest Protestants, is the council which he opened at Trent,¹ and of which the name will for ever be associated with the fame of his pontificate. If at Trent an insurmountable barrier arose between the two religions, Catholicism acquired new strength and force, by uniting, with an indissoluble bond, all the nations that belonged to her. The North might detach itself from the union; but the chain which bound the South was for ever riveted. Next to the creed of St. Athanasius, no book is more revered among Catholics than the "Catechism of the Council of Trent," which is itself but the luminous development of that creed; by it the inviolability of doctrine, the papal supremacy, and Christian unity have been secured from all the assaults of error and novelty. Ranke,

¹ Fessler has, in like manner, commended the importance of the Council of Trent. "Auch das Werk der zu Trient versammelten ehrwürdigen Paters war die durchaus folgerichtige Festsetzung der katholisch-kirchlichen Glaubenslehre ausgemittelt aus der H. Schrift und Apostolischen Ueberlieferungen."

whom we love to quote, justly observes that the Saxon hammer seemed to have broken the last stone of the modern Babylon, but at Trent it was clearly seen that the Catholic edifice had not even been chipped. Then it was that, to compensate for the defection of Germany, there arose religious orders whose mission was to go to all parts of the globe, to bring souls to the Holy See, to fill up the places which the Reformation had left vacant, and carry to the verge of creation the glorious name of Rome. Whatever is great in modern history, says the same author, is the work of these orders, and especially of the Jesuits, a republic which equals in power and wisdom that of Romulus. If Luther took from Rome two millions of Christians, Ignatius of Loyola gave her ten.

Paul III., of the family of the Farnese, sought to effect a work of conciliation which unforeseen events had prevented his predecessors from accomplishing. Vergerio, his legate, had orders to go to Germany and announce to Charles V., his brother Ferdinand, and the princes of Christendom, that the council which the people had so long demanded would at length be opened at Mantua.

In the beginning of November, 1535, Vergerio arrived at Wittemberg, and evinced at once a desire to converse with Luther. The doctor waited for the legate, and laughed with his friends at him: "They have announced to me," he writes to Melancthon, "a most reverend cardinal, a legate, who will resemble all other legates, a sharper, a robber, the devil in person. I wish that there were many kings like Henry VIII. of England, who knows so well how to get rid of this rabble."¹

An old Protestant writer of the time has preserved an account of this interview: "As soon as Doctor Martin Luther knew the hour of meeting, he called his barber. 'Master,' said the barber to him, 'what means this, that you call me so early to shave you?' The doctor replied: 'Because I am about to be received by the envoy of the holy father; and you see, I must appear with a smooth chin, that I may resemble an Adonis, and the legate will think: The deuce, if Luther who is so young has

¹ "Utinam haberent plures reges Angliæ qui illos occiderent."—Melancth. 1535. Im Dezember. Martin Luther's Leben von Gustav Pfüzer, p. 705. Historia de Vita Martini Lutheri, p. 515, Aut. Ulenbergio.

caused us so much trouble, what will he do in the vigour of age?' When Henry had soaped and shaved him, Luther put on his best coat and a gold necklace. 'But you are going to joke,' said the barber, stifling a laugh. 'You are right,' replied the doctor; 'they have laughed at us long enough, it is now our turn to rouse them. Thus foxes and serpents must be treated.' 'Go in peace,' added the barber; 'May the Lord be with you and convert them by your lips.' 'I shall not do that,' said Luther, 'but that might happen, and I propose to rebuke him.'"

This said, he and Pomeranus entered the carriage which the legate had politely sent for him, and drove to the citadel. As he took his seat in the vehicle he laughed, and said to his companion, "Here is a real miracle; the pope of Germany and Cardinal Pomeranus seated side by side!"

Luther omitted the ceremony usually paid to the papal legates. He caused himself to be announced; the legate took him by the hand and led him into his apartment. After some indifferent conversation, Vergerio began to speak of the council. "Bah!" said Luther, shaking his head, "your council will be nonsense: if the pope holds one, it will be to treat of monks' cowls, the tonsure of the clergy, meats and wine, and other such trivial fooleries; but nothing, absolutely nothing of faith, repentance, justification, or the bond of charity which should unite all who lead the same life; with which grave and solemn doctrines the Reformation has hitherto been occupied, illuminated by the light of the Holy Spirit. What need then have we of your council, which is only good for the poor nations which you hold in captivity? You papists do not even know what you believe. Go on, go on: assemble your council if you will; I shall go to it, I promise you, even if I knew that the gibbet or the stake awaited me."

The legate did not retort by any harsh word; he merely bowed his head in sign of satisfaction, as if he had obtained all that he wanted from Luther. "But tell me, doctor," he asked, "where would you wish the council to be held?" "I," replied the Saxon, smiling, "where you please; at Mantua, Padua, or Florence, it matters little to me." "Or Bologna?" said the legate. "To whom does that city belong?" inquired Luther. "To the pope," replied the legate. "Good God!" exclaimed Luther, "this is another city which the pope has stolen. Well,

I will go to Bologna." "The pope himself would come to Wittemberg," returned the legate, "if the salvation of souls required it." "Oh, by G—! let him come," said Luther, "we shall receive him as well as we can." "And how would you wish him to come," asked Vergerio, "with or without armed attendants?" "As he pleases," said Luther, interrupting him, "he will be always welcome."

The conversation changed. The legate asked Luther if there were any ordinations among the Protestants. "Certainly, we ordain, since the pope forbids his subjects to confer the priesthood on us. And there, my lord," said he, pointing to Pomeranus, "is a bishop of our making, Doctor Pomeranus, who has received episcopal consecration."

The whole of this interview was an insolent mockery,¹ in which Luther treated the papal nuncio as "a sharper and a rogue." When Vergerio mounted his steed to leave Wittemberg, he gave his hand to Luther, reminding him of his promise on the preceding day. "Adieu, my lord," said Luther; "I shall go, and bring my head on my shoulders." Next day he related to Melancthon and Justus Jonas his interview with the legate.

"Our legate has gone away: he only showed himself here. This man flies, and does not walk. He asked me and Pomeranus to breakfast; I had refused to sup with him. I have eaten at his table. No human being can recount what took place between us: during the whole time I was Luther."²

It is certain that he wished to amuse himself at the expense of the Catholics, and that he had no intention of keeping his promise to be present at the council. In his view this council was a work of Satan, to which he refused to be instrumental. The pamphlets which he published at that time clearly demonstrate that he would not be reconciled with Rome at any price.³

The Protestant princes had an interview at Schmalkalden to oppose every effort that Rome might make for the sake of peace

¹ Pallavicini, lib. iii.

² Justo Jonas, 10 Nov. 1535. Vergerio afterwards apostatized from the Church, and from that moment was ranked among faithful and enlightened men.—M'Crie, *History of the Reformation in Italy*.

³ *Locus ex jure canonico de Donatione Constantini Magni*. *Epistolæ aliquot J. Huss*. *Narratio de Johanne Chrysostomo*.

of conscience. At the instigation of the elector of Saxony, Luther, Justus Jonas, Gaspard Creuziger, John Bugenhagen (Pomeranus), Nicholas Amsdorf, Melancthon, and John Agricola, met at Wittemberg to draw up a formulary of belief, that should thenceforward be the unalterable basis of the doctrines of the new church.¹

Luther examined one by one the twenty-four articles of the Protestant creed, which he approved and sent to Spalatinus, who transmitted it to John the elector.

Melancthon subscribed the formulary, but with this express reservation, that if the pope would acknowledge the Gospel,² he would admit the pontiff's supremacy over the bishops. It was somewhat bold in the professor to recognise, even in the terms which he laid down, the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope, whom his most moderate colleagues looked upon as Antichrist.

Luther, although unwell, then went to Schmalkalden in order to maintain the Saxon creed,³ a human work imposed on the consciences of all who bore the name of Protestants, but which beyond the Rhine was resisted as an outrage on the liberty of thought. On this occasion he no longer travelled on foot: he had horses of his own,⁴ which he lent to Bugenhagen and Melancthon, who accompanied him.

On the 2nd February, 1537, the travellers reached Altenburg, where Spalatinus entertained them sumptuously: this hospitality Luther repaid with a few indifferent verses.⁵ At Weimar he preached on the 4th of February, Sexagesima Sunday, a

¹ Dan. Laur, Salthenius, de Art. Smalk. p. 15.

² "Ego Philippus Melancthon hos articulos suprâ positos probo tanquam veros. Ad pontificem autem quod attinet sic sentio: Si admittere velit Evangelium, quod tunc pacis et publicæ concordie gratiâ propter Christianos qui sub ipso jam sunt et futuris temporibus esse forsan possunt, superioritas in episcopos, quam aliquin habet, jure humano per nos illi sit quoque concedenda."—Oper. Luth. Jenæ, Germ. fol. 522.

³ Laurent. Reinhard, Comm. de Vitâ Jonæ, cap. vii. § 4.

⁴ Und zwar mit seinen eignen Pferden, Lingke, l. c. Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften: Halle, tom. xxi. p. 392.

⁵ "Ut tua sunt Christo gratissima facta, Georgi,
Sic sit grata cohors hæc peregrina tibi.
Tendimus ad celebrem pro nostro Chalcida cœtu;
Magna Dei cogit causa per istud iter.
Tu quoque nostrarum pars magna, vir optime, rerum,
Nobiscum venies duxque comesque viæ."

violent sermon against the kings and bishops. He accused them of conspiring to destroy the word of God ; and insisted that the pope was worse than the Turk, and wished to extinguish the Gospel.¹ His holiness's nuncios heard the monk's insults, without the power of suppressing them.

On the 15th of February, Luther was at Schmalkalden, where a great number of persons of distinction were assembled ;—the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, Dukes Ernest and Francis of Luneburg, Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg, Princes Wolf, George and Joachim of Anhalt, Counts Gebhard and Albert of Mansfeld, the counts of Nassau and Beichlingen, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Princes Rupert of Deux-Ponts and Philip of Grubenhagen. Among the Protestant theologians were Gabriel Didymus, Urbanus Regius, Frederick Myconius (Mecum), Brenz, John Langius, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, Boniface Wolfart, John Fontanus, and Ambrose Blaurer, nearly all of whom abandoned the doctrines which they came to defend at the diet.²

Mathias Held, vice-chancellor of the emperor Charles V., who was preparing to go from Genoa to Spain, left Vienna in January, and on the 15th of the following month opened the diet with a long harangue. To the complaints and demands drawn up by the Orders since the former diet, on the question of liberty of conscience, and expressed so energetically by certain people of Germany, he replied that the emperor his master would take them into consideration ; but, in the meanwhile, he demanded that the treaty signed at Nuremberg should be observed. He added, that at the council summoned by the pope they would soon have an opportunity of discussing religious matters, and that it was his majesty's intention to be personally present there, as a guarantee to his subjects of his desire for their liberties.³

At Schmalkalden, we find Melancthon timidly endeavouring, but in vain, to excite a desire for peace in the theologians animated with Luther's sentiments. Melancthon did not object

¹ "Er klagte dass die Könige und Bischöfe gegen das Evangelium in den grössern Hass hätten, als die Türken, welches die Gefährten des päpstlichen Nuncii mit anhörten."—Lingke, l. c. p. 234. Melanchth. Ep. lib. v. p. 40.

² Lingke, l. c. pp. 236, 237. Acta Hist. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 372 et seq.

³ Sleidan, Hist. de la Réformation, tom. ii. pp. 4, 5. Christ. Münde, Hist. Vorbericht zu den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln.

to a council ; he admitted the pope's right to summon it, but he denied the pontiff's right to be supreme judge. His opponents declared, in opposition to his counsels, that a reconciliation with the Catholics was impossible ; and then Melancthon, as he usually did, returned to his lodgings sick in head and heart, and consoled himself by embosoming to a friend his griefs and fears.¹

Meanwhile the Holy See, with the emperor's concurrence, once more attempted a reconciliation between the two religions. They hoped, by means of words, to reunite the parties whom words had separated. To this end the emperor multiplied diets, and the pope constantly changed nuncios. At the diet of Ratisbon, the Catholic speakers were all either profound theologians or brilliant orators. To Faber, Nausea, and John Eck, was intrusted the defence of Catholicity. All arrived by different routes at the place of rendezvous ; and at the same time might be seen leaving Wittemberg Luther's beloved disciple Melancthon, who without murmuring set out, after tenderly embracing his father, to endeavour to perform that which was impossible. Had you looked in his face, you would have beheld it emaciated by afflictions of the heart, of all others the most cruel, his eyes dim, his beard grey and unshorn, and his whole frame moving painfully : he walked to martyrdom. At Wittemberg one man remained, an evil spirit, who had previously given his lesson to this Protestant messenger ; let there be no peace with the wicked, he had said to him ; and lest while at Ratisbon he might be worked upon, he almost daily sent to him a fresh courier with written orders, so implacable, that we suffer while we read them.

"Away with Cæsar," he writes, "such is my advice ; hasten to leave that Sodom, for in the end the wrath of God will fall upon our heads. I have prayed enough for the emperor ; if he will not have our blessing, let him be accursed ! There is no one more guilty than this devil of Mayence ; Cæsar is of no consequence, he is a hypocrite who pretends to be deaf, and to have

¹ "Nostra sententia semper fuit ne simpliciter recusaretur synodus : quia etiamsi papæ non liceat esse judicem, habet tamen jus indicendæ synodi, deinde judicium constitui à synodo. Sed homines acutiores disputabant has meas rationes argutas quidem esse et veras, sed inutiles. . . . Periculum esse video ingentis motûs, nisi Deus succurrerit."—*Epist. ad Camerarium*, p. 279. Ulenberg, *Vita et Res gestæ Ph. Melanchth.* l. c. pp. 135—137.

gone to Ratisbon to listen to debates which he has no intention to hear; as if, for the sake of religion, he was not sometimes forced to eat or"¹

At Ratisbon, the dispute on the Eucharist was resumed. Calvin came from Geneva to mix in the controversy, with a view to promote his own doctrines, and, if possible, convert Melancthon to the figurative system which he had succeeded in making prevalent in Switzerland; he was an incarnation of the serpent's cunning and wiles, who was never more happy than when he had succeeded in involving his opponent in the folds of a captious argument. Melancthon was like one entangled. If he struggled, it was because the eye of his master was upon him, and that he was more afraid of his anger than of the Genevan reformer's craft. It is easy to perceive, in reading the formula as to the real presence which he laid before the conference, that the figure or trope perplexed him. Had Luther died at that moment, Wittemberg would have had a fresh apostasy to deplore.

Charles V., who presided at the diet, often saw Melancthon, who invariably returned from his conferences with a more profound respect for the qualities of the prince, whom he admired, and almost loved. Wherefore Luther, who knew Philip's blind side, omitted nothing which might ruin Charles in the opinion of the deputies from Wittemberg, and of his dear disciple especially. His threat of cursing the emperor was merely momentary. Five days after, it was no longer a question of leaving off prayer in behalf of his majesty, such punishment would not be enough; he threatens him with his hatred, and the sword and arm of all his adherents.

"The people," he writes to Melancthon, "will soon be unable to bear Cæsar's pusillanimity longer. I hate this Cæsar, who, spoiled by our praises, torments us daily more and more. I shall do against him as much as I have done for him."²

¹ "Spero vos advocari à principe, id enim consului. . . . Cogitate et festinate egredi ex istâ Sodomâ, venit ira Dei super nos in finem. Oratum est satis pro Cæsare; si nolit benedictionem, ferat maledictionem. Non potest esse culpa solius diaboli Moguntini, si ipse non esset purus hypocrita. Tot querelas hausit surdâ aure, fingens se religionis causâ isthuc deferre, quas nunquam cogitat audire, quasi pro religionis causâ non interim etiam comedere cogatur, aut cacare."—De Wette, tom. v. pp. 340, 369. Melancthoni Epistola.

² "Ego planè odium concepi in Cæsarem verè . . . et agam, si qua potero, contrâ eum, quanta pro eo feci."—De Wette, l. c. p. 372.

The effect of these insults to the royal dignity of Charles V. was, that some princes who had at first been carried away by Luther's theories, ended by deserting his doctrines and returning to the Church; such was Eric II., duke of Brunswick, who, not satisfied with making a rough onslaught on the Protestant princes, attacked in a writing, of which the tone doubtless might have been more moderate, John, the elector of Saxony, and Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, both of whom were the warm protectors of the Saxon monk.¹ It was a daring act in Duke Eric to bewail as he did that old faith of his ancestors, which was outraged and insulted openly in that Germany which the Catholic religion had rescued from pagan darkness. He was well aware of the castigation which Luther would bestow upon him; but he said, like his father, Brunswick Calenberg, "My conscience is above Poltesberg, and God above my conscience." Luther took his revenge; but who will venture to employ the language in which he did so? Daring for daring, that of Luther is the most startling²

Next came the turn of his father, lately deceased. The decorator of Pompeii would never have represented in his mosaics such images as the monk of Wittemberg does not hesitate to use. In honour of the Latin language, we would not be compelled to reproduce them; we leave it, therefore to the German: at least, we shall not injure the dead.³

You remember that generous Catholic who, at the diet of Worms, when Luther was exhausted with fatigue, sent him a huge can of ale, which the monk swallowed at a draught?—that was Eric I., duke of Brunswick.

Luther now attacked Henry of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, and

¹ Sleidan, *Hist. de la Réform.* tom. ii. p. 120, 4to.

² [Here, as in previous instances, the text must remain untranslated.—T.]

"Du Herzog von Braunschweig solltest nicht ehe ein Buch schreiben, du hättest denn ein Fortz von einer alten Sau gehört, da solltest du dein Maul gegen aussperren und sagen: Dank habe, schöne Nachtigall, da höre ich einen Text der ist für mich."—Op. Luth. Jena, tom. vii. fol. 428.

³ "Ein schönes Ebenbild deines englischen Vaters; dieser verzagte Schelm . . . wäre besser ein Frauenhut, der nicht thun soll, denn wie ein Eunuckus, das ist ein Frauenhut, stehend in einer Narrenkappen mit einer Kugelwedel. . . . Der beste Segen des Ehestands sind die Kinder, welcher er hat niemahls wiederfahren mögen, so die schönsten Fürstin mit Dreck schwängerten." Jena, tom. vii. fol. 438, 439, 441. Nuremb. fol. 425, 426, 428. Altenb. tom. vii. fol. 465, 466, 468. Ann. 1662.

his language, which previously wallowed in the mire, is now steeped in blood. To all who bear the name of Christian, he cries: "Henry deserves not the name of prince; it is not with wine that Henry drowns himself, but with devils; he has been condemned by God after this life as a thief, a cut-throat, an incendiary, a hangman. If in this world he escapes the halter or the stake, let all take care to have nothing to do with such a pestilence." On this denunciation, the Protestant princes united to persecute him whom Luther called a "mad dog," took possession of Wolfenbittel, his most important fortress, and then of his states, in which they abolished the Catholic religion.¹

When the old Teutonic royalties thus fell under the blows of a German monk, did no prince come forward to defend them? Duke George of Saxony was dead, and had died as he lived, fearless and irreproachable. Shortly before his death, he received from George of Anhalt a long letter, beseeching him to cast aside the superstitions of popery, and become a convert to Protestantism. The duke thought it not enough to have practised for sixty years the faith of his fathers; he considered that a Catholic of his quality ought to die with the pen in his hand, since he could no longer serve his God with the sword. And he replied: "I will die faithful to my Redeemer. A single word added to the text of St. Paul, *sola*, has plunged my country into an abyss of misery; Luther will have to answer for the bloodshed which he has occasioned. I am old, and about to depart, and you know that old dogs are unbreakable: 'Alte Hunde sind übel händig zu machen.'"² The old Saxon dog died, acknowledging and licking the hand of him who had trained, and fed, and caressed it. At the moment when death stared him in the face, he rose upon his couch, his eye beaming with a heavenly light, and turning to the priest who watched beside him: "O Lord, my God!" he said, "by Thy blood and death, have mercy upon me!" and he fell back on his pillow to rise no more. He was an admirable prince, a model of virtue, knowledge, and courage; who never once faltered before an insult of Luther, or a menace of his foes.³

¹ Ulenberg, Vita Mart. Luth. pp. 588—590. Osiander, lib. ii. cap. xlviii.

² Seckendorf, l. c. tom. iii. p. 510.

³ Seckendorf, l. c. tom. iii. p. 510. Seckendorf has said of this prince:

The landgrave of Hesse, to be free from the emperor's yoke, associated himself to all Luther's wicked designs; and so, by his compliances with the Reformation, procured that license which was granted him to be at one and the same time the husband of two wives.¹

CHAPTER XXX.

BIGAMY OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE. 1539—1540.

The Landgrave's morals.—His letter to Luther, desiring that the Wittenberg reformers would sanction his intended bigamy.—Motives which he assigns for having two wives.—Consultation and reply of the members of the Evangelical Church.—The Landgrave's marriage with one of his wife Christina's maids of honour.—Luther's repentance.

PHILIP had been sixteen years married to Christina, daughter of George duke of Saxony, and was the father of eight children. The marriage was not a happy one, as the duke was violent and passionate, debauched and superstitious.² He was afflicted, while at the religious synod of Frankfort, with a nameless disease.³ Like all the Protestants, he was fond of reading the Bible, which he always had by his bedside. He opened it at the chapter of the New Testament where St. Paul threatens for-

"Hunc finem habuit Georgius, princeps multis virtutibus inclytus, sed ob spretam lucem evangelicam infelicissimus" (l. c. p. 212).

¹ Consult, as to the Diet and religious questions of the time, *Acta in Conventu Ratisbonensi, &c. cum Præfatione Phil. Melancthonis*: Witt. 1541; *Von der Concilien Gewalt und Autorität*, durch Ant. Corvinum. 1537; *Dialogus, ein lustig und nützlich Gespräch vom zukünftigen Concilio zu Mantua, durch Urbanum Regium*: Wittenb. 1537; *Pasquillus novus, Romæ his diebus loco solito exscriptus, hinc festinanter veniens de rebus Caroli*: Witt. 1537; *Consideratio Articulorum Lutheri quos nomine suo vult Concilio proponi*: J. Cochleus; *Epistolæ R. D. Cardinalis Jacobi Sadoleti ad Joh. Sturmium*; *Epistola Cochleæ ad Mauritium ab Hutten*, Cathedralis Eocl. Herbipolensis præpositum: Misnæ, 1539; *Vom Tag zu Hagen an, und wer verhindert habe, dass kein Gespräch von Vergleichung der Religion daselbst fûrgangen*: Auch was aus Billigkeit man den Protestirenden der Kirchen Gûter Restitution oder in getraute Hand-Erlegung, oder Bewilligung im Rechten beghehet hat: Durch Waremundi Luitholben, 1540.

² Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. i.

³ The prince had caught it at Schmalkalden.—Melanct. *Epist. ep. ii. lib. xiv.*

nicators with eternal fire, and he was afraid. On his recovery, he continued in his usual course of life ; but the apostle's sentence constantly alarmed him ; he ceased to go to communion, and he had no rest. He was then desperately enamoured with Margaret de Saal, maid of honour to his sister Elizabeth. This young lady, pretty, coquettish, and versed in the intrigues of courts, repelled his advances ; and the landgrave's passion became more and more violent. He could neither eat nor sleep, and even forgot his ordinary debauchery. Christina felt aggrieved, and openly complained. The courtiers who profited by the prince's adulterous amours encouraged him in his licentiousness ; and he was resolved, cost what might, to have Margaret.

He again turned to the Bible, and this time it opened at the fourth chapter of Genesis, where he read : " Now Lamech said to his wives." Philip believed it to be an admonition from Heaven, and, like the patriarchs of the old law, he wished to have two wives.

It was necessary to legalize this bigamy. The landgrave wished that some powerful authority would stifle in his heart the germs of remorse, and banish those visions which he dreaded as much as death. He knew what he had done for the work of the new gospel, and that if he withdrew his support it would be in great danger. The leaders and apostles of the Reformation lived on his bounty ; to some he had publicly given money, to others church-plate, to several bishops' mitres, to enable them to marry. He had only to appeal to his courtiers, and there were plenty of them ready to absolve, and, if necessary, eulogize his adultery ; but he wished the sanction of the Wittemberg doctor and his disciples.

A Catholic priest, formerly a Dominican, then a Lutheran, and next a Zwinglian, undertook to draw up the case, which the prince was to submit to the Saxon Church. But Philip himself wished to write. His letter was short, haughty, and indecent ; he said that he required a wife, and if Margaret refused him, he could find others to consent.¹

Luther was angry at this insolence, having been accustomed

¹ Menzel, l. c. tom. ii. p. 181.

to greater obsequiousness on the part of the civil power. In his reply, he expressed his desire that the question should be carefully examined by the clergy of Hesse. The landgrave wished to carry a high head, and desired to have some other approbation than that of this inferior clergy, who submissively obeyed his humours, but whose ignorance the people despised.

Bucer again came to the landgrave's assistance. He was a learned theologian, a mellifluous and florid speaker,¹ a thorough serpent, who changed his creed, as the reptile does its skin, every spring. He had betrayed the monastery in which he had learned all that he knew of theology; betrayed the poor priests, who had clothed and fed him in his infancy; betrayed the Church, which had made him a priest; betrayed Luther, who had fostered, praised, and introduced him to notice; betrayed Carlstadt, whose creed he had embraced; betrayed the Sacramentarians, whose doctrines he had cried up. Once more the disciple of Luther, he had recently left him to join those of Strasburg. It was this mouth, stained with so many perjuries, that was soon to pronounce the most awful wish that ever escaped from the lips of a priest,—that he might behold the entrails of Servetus, who thought differently from him on the Trinity, torn out and scattered.²

Bucer, who was never at ease and could not rest, was fond of money. The landgrave, who lavished it on his mistresses, treated Bucer as one of them, and Bucer drew up a memorial to the great theologians of Wittemberg, which he undertook to present to them and support. It was a soldier's confession.³

"Now, acknowledging that although I have a wife I cannot abstain from women, I must expect, unless I change my life, to be eternally damned.

"When I married Christina, it was neither from inclination nor passion. The officers of my court and her maids of honour may be examined as to her temper, her charms, and her love for wine.

¹ "In Bucero calliditas vulpina."—Just. Jonæ Epist. ad Reiffenstæmum.

² Calvini Epist. Farello, tom. ii. p. 9.

³ "Instructio quæ Martinus Bucerus apud D. M. Lutherum et Ph. Melancthonem sollicitare debeat, et si id ipsis rectum videbitur, postmodum apud Electorem Saxonie."—Bossuet, *Hist. des Variations*, tom. i. p. 281.

"I am of a warm temperament. Accustomed to the irregular life of a camp, I cannot exist without women. I have not kept my conjugal fidelity more than three weeks. My clergy wish me to approach the holy table, but I shall exercise my judgment there, because I do not wish to change my life.

"If I must fight for the sake of the confederation, a stroke or a shot may kill me, and then I say to myself, 'You will go straight to the devil.'

"I have read in the Old Testament that holy persons, such as Abraham, Jacob, David, and Solomon, had many wives, and yet all believed in the coming of Christ.

"Neither has God in the Old Testament, nor Christ in the New, nor the prophets or apostles, forbidden a man to have two wives; never have the prophets or the apostles blamed or punished bigamy, and St. Paul has never excluded from the kingdom of heaven him who has two wives. The apostles, in laying down a rule of conduct to the Gentiles what they ought to practise and what they should avoid when they had received the faith, as we read in the Acts which bear their name, never forbade them to have two wives. When St. Paul tells us so expressly that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, he would have laid the same injunction on the laity, had he wished that a layman should have one only also.¹

"Besides, I know that Luther and Melancthon have advised the king of England not to divorce his first wife, but to take a second: '*Præter aliam ipsam; præter,*' that is a counsel.

"But let them not suppose that, because I should have another wife, I shall treat the first one ill, cease to cohabit with her, or show her less friendship than before; as hitherto, I should resign myself to carry my cross, to render her every kind of duty, even the conjugal debt; let them, then, in God's name, grant me what I demand, so that I may live and die cheerfully for the honour of the Gospel, and as a good Christian; all which they ask that is just and reasonable I shall grant to them, even the property of the monasteries, or similar things.

"Further, I only wish and ask for two wives. What matters it what the world says? we need not pay attention to it; we

¹ The landgrave stole this argument from John of Leyden.—See the chapter entitled *The Anabaptists*.

must look to God in all this, what He prescribes, prohibits, or permits. The emperor and the public would allow me to keep concubines, but never to have two wives; what God allows they forbid."

The landgrave was pressing. The opinion of the clergy of Wittenberg soon appeared, divided into twenty-four articles.¹

The 21st article is in these terms: "If your highness is determined to marry a second wife, we judge that it ought to be done privately, as we have said on speaking of the dispensation which you ask; that is to say, that there should be no person present but the celebrant and a few others as witnesses, who shall be bound to secrecy, as if under the seal of confession. Hence there will be fear neither of opposition nor of great scandal; for it is nothing uncommon for princes to keep concubines; and although the common people will be scandalized at it, the more enlightened will suspect the truth. We need not be very anxious about what the world will say, provided the conscience is at rest. Thus we approve of it.

"Your highness has therefore in this writing not only our approbation of your wish in all the exigencies that may occur, but also the reflections which we have made on it."

This advice is signed by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Corvinus, Adam F——, John Leningen, Justus Winther, and Dionysius Melander; that is, by all the distinguished Protestants of Wittenberg and Hesse.

The marriage-contract between Philip and Margaret de Saal was undoubtedly drawn up by a Lutheran doctor; the notary merely appeared to affix his signature; the theologian, to justify the landgrave's bigamy.²

His highness therein declares that he does not take Margaret lightly, nor for singularity, nor contempt of the civil law, but for certain necessities of body and soul, and because without two wives it would be impossible for him to live godly and merit heaven.

All the respectable members of the reformed party were grieved at this great scandal. John, the elector of Saxony,

¹ Bossuet, *Hist. des Variations*, tom. i. p. 289.

² "Instrumentum copulationis Philippi Landgravii et Margaritæ de Saal."
—Bossuet, l. c. p. 306.

covered his face the first time he saw Bucer, on his return from Wittenberg. "If the landgrave required women," he said, shrugging his shoulders, "he had enough of them at his court!"

Bucer, like a man of tact, allowed this indignation to evaporate. He then eulogized the prince's piety, his love for his people, and, in Philip's name, promised the elector the aid which he required to oppose the emperor, and ended by showing him a writing in which the landgravine herself consented to the marriage. The elector was inflexible, and Bucer was in disgrace.¹

The marriage was celebrated on the 3rd of March, 1540; at Rothenburg on the Fulda, in presence of Melancthon, Bucer, and other theologians. They wished to keep it a secret; but the young lady and her mother, tempted by the demon of vanity, divulged it. The prince's family, Duke Henry of Dresden and his sister, were offended, less on the ground of morality, than for these vain worldly considerations which are so much thought of in Germany. Margaret's mother, at Dresden, was subjected to the ridicule and mortifications of a haughty court, that sought to make her expiate the elevation of her daughter, by all that could wound the heart of a mother and a woman.

The landgrave had closed his Bible, and, at peace with God, his conscience, and his Church, walked with his two wives publicly to service, sat between them at table, and presented them at the same time to his courtiers. Christina, after this second marriage, made him the father of two sons and a daughter, and Margaret of six sons, who bore the title of counts of Diez.

The Protestant Church was dumb. She wished to throw a veil over this shameful proceeding, too happy that no Catholic hand drew it aside.

Melancthon kept the secret; but indiscretions and appearances blabbed; and, about June of that year, it was rumoured that the queen's former maid of honour was confined. Lauterbach, the pastor of Pirna, greatly concerned, hastened to inquire of Luther, not if another child had been really born to the

¹ Menzel, tom. ii. pp. 179—192.

landgrave, but if the prince's marriage with the young lady was not a mere fable? Luther's reply is both singular and embarrassed.

"My dear Antony, I can give you no precise information as to the landgrave's marriage; I have only heard that one of the queen's young women has been confined of a son. Is it true? If it is so, and the father acknowledges the child, and supports it and the mother, he will do well. If the report is very current, there is probably some foundation for it; all that I know is, that the official declaration of the marriage has not been shown to me."¹

It was certainly not frank; but Luther very dexterously punished the curiosity of Lauterbach, who, not seeming to feel his punishment, continued his indiscreet queries, and invariably received the same answer,—“I know nothing about it.”²

There was yet a greater disgrace to conceal,—that of the two stars of the Reformation, Luther and Melancthon, who authorized the prince's bigamy, and in God's name said to him: “Sleep in peace, approach when you will the communion-table, eat the flesh and drink the blood of your God.” This page they would have wished to tear out at any cost; and for awhile they thought they had succeeded, when God permitted it to be drawn from the archives of Hesse. It was a Protestant hand who thus revealed the dishonour of the sect.³

¹ “De novis nuptiis Landgravii quod petis nihil possum scribere, mi Antoni. Hoc quidem audiavi esse natum puerulum ex virginalibus de Sala. An sit verum nescio, et si verum esset, et ipse agnosceret se esse patrem, et matrem et prolem aleret, jure videretur facere. Si hinc natus est rumor, non sine causâ est rumor. Tantum scio, et publica testimonia nuptiarum non sunt mihi ostensa.”—Venerabili Antonio Lauterbach, pastori in Pirnâ. 2 Jan. 1540.—De Wette, l. c. tom. v. pp. 290, 291.

² See De Wette, l. c. p. 304.

³ Daphneus Arcuarius (Laurence Berger) was the first to make known Bucer's memorial, the opinions of the Wittenberg doctors, and the contract of marriage, in a work which appeared in 1679, under the title of *Kurze, doch unpartheische und gewissenhafte Beurtheilung des in dem Natur- und göttlichen Recht gegründeten heiligen Ehestandes, in welcher die seither streitigen Fragen vom Ehebruch, der Ehescheidung, und sonderlich von dem vielen Weibernehmen, mit allem beiderseits gegebenen Beweisstumb dem christlichen Leser vorgestellt werden*. It may be seen in Latin, and translated, in Bossuet's *History of the Variations*, &c. vol. i. p. 242, edit. of Dublin, 12mo. 1845. M. de Wette has also given the opinion, in his *Collection of Luther's Letters*, vol. v. pp. 237, 242. This version, more accurate than that in Bossuet, we include among the Confirmatory Evidence, at the end of this

Farther, Protestants have united with the Catholics in stigmatizing the cowardice of Luther and Melancthon, whose hands should have withered sooner than have signed that scandalous deed. Both suffered in this life the punishment due to their fault. Melancthon attributed to it his sudden illness; and Luther attempted to deny his own work, by proclaiming on all occasions the indissolubility of marriage!

When a person vile enough was found to defend the landgrave in a pamphlet which appeared under the name of Huldreich Neobulus, the doctor of Wittenberg cast from him the infamous book, and exclaimed: "Rascal that you are! may the devil prepare a bath of fire in the lowest part of hell for whoever listens to you, and is tempted to take more than one wife; this is my fixed opinion; and though you, you wicked wretch, and all the devils were to teach me another doctrine, I would not listen to you; I hold that a man cannot leave his wife, unless for flagrant adultery."¹

He forgot, then, what he had said formerly,—that there was no text in the Bible which prohibited polygamy!

CHAPTER XXXI.

LUTHER'S AFFLICTIONS AND SUFFERINGS.

Luther falls sick at Schmalkalden.—His wishes against the papacy.—He never knew how to pray.—Death of his father.—His servant Dietrich.—Death of Magdalene.—The father's affectionate care for his child.—His last will.

OLD age came prematurely on Luther. For his latter days were reserved the greatest afflictions which he had yet experienced:—the death of his father and mother, to whom he was much attached; the loss of two of his daughters, especially

volume. It will be found, likewise, in the edition of Altenburg, vol. viii. p. 977; of Leipsic, vol. xxii. p. 469; and of Halle, vol. x. p. 886. [See also the remarks of the high-hearted, impartial, and illustrious Sir William Hamilton, in his *Discussions on Philosophy*, &c. p. 497: London, 1852.—Tr.]

¹ "Wer diesem Buben und Buche folget... dem gesegne der Teufel das Bad im Abgrunde der Hölle."

Magdalene, whom he ever after lamented; the banishment of some of his friends; the conversion of many of his disciples; the deterioration of his doctrines, and constant sickness. These strokes of Heaven, which succeeded each other at brief intervals, cast him into a sort of despair, which sometimes vented itself in complaints wherein it is difficult to recognise the "child of Christ." In 1537, when sick of the stone at Schmalkalden, in momentary expectation of death, he found sufficient strength to sit up in bed and address to God a prayer, the model of which he certainly did not find in the Bible: "Master of heaven, my God and my Lord!" he exclaimed, "I, the enemy of thy enemies, the terror and the scourge of Antichrist, am about to die, and thou art now to pronounce our sentences. Give to the pope endless pains and sufferings; to me, thy poor creature, who have proclaimed thy name and majesty, glory and eternal happiness!"¹ The deathbed, which ordinarily inspires us with such tender wishes for all whom we must leave behind us on earth, was for Luther a pulpit, whence he preached his hatred. In the midst of all the kisses of peace which he sent from his bed to her who had always "served him as a faithful attendant," to his domestics, his disciples at Wittemberg, and all whom he had loved in this life, he found room for the name of the pope, but only to curse him! "I am ready to die," he writes to Pomeranus, "when it shall please God, my Saviour; but I would wish to live only till Pentecost, that I might stigmatize before the whole world that Roman beast whom they call the pope, and his kingdom!" That Roman beast was Paul III. His pains were so acute, that he one day said to his nurse: "I wish there was a Turk here to kill me!"² His friends despaired of his recovery; they looked on his return to Wittemberg as a miracle; the very physicians despaired of him.

Luther had never known how to pray. Prayer implies love, and he could only hate. In the midst of his effusions to God there always arises something of the old man, which checks the pity that we are disposed to feel for his sufferings. How is it that the prayer which at first comes from his lips like pure

¹ "Dieser dein Feind und Widerchrist zur ewigen Schmach und Pein; ich aber, deine arme Creatur, zur ewigen Gloriä und Herrlichkeit."—Gustav Pfizer.

² "Wenn nur ein Türke da wäre, der mich schlachtete."—Ibid.

incense, becomes changed so soon into wormwood? "My sins, death, Satan, and all his angels, never leave me any rest! What remains for my consolation and my hope, but thy grace, O my God! Ah! let it not abandon the most miserable of men, the greatest of sinners."

Does it not seem as if the heavens will open, and that the mercy which he so fondly invokes will descend on him with angels' wings? But the heavens are of brass, because he who implores it has so much gall in his heart that it escapes in words of hatred. "Oh! my God," he adds, "how I wish that Erasmus and the Sacramentarians did for a moment experience the pains which I suffer; I should then become a prophet, and foretell their repentance and conversion!" We prefer the prayer of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who as he fell at the foot of the altar under the assassins' blows, raised his eyes to heaven and said, as he expired: "Forgive them, my God, they know not what they do." And yet this Thomas was a papist, whom Luther more than once damned!

Luther was at Coburg when he learned the death of his old father, Hans.¹ To support him under this heavy blow, his wife had sketched their children in a letter full of consolation. As Luther read it, he lifted his eyes to heaven. He believed in the Lord, and the sight of that firmament where he hoped that his father rested sufficed to assuage his grief; for he loved his father much. And Hans was proud of his son, and spoke of him with enthusiasm.

In the letter written on this occasion by his servant to Catherine, we find some interesting details:—

"My dear and good lady, my beloved mistress, be consoled, and do not fret about your husband, the doctor. Thanks be to God, he is well, and received the account of his father's death with firmness. As soon as he had broken the seal of Hans Reinicke's letter, he turned to me, and said, 'My poor father is dead.' Then he took his psalm-book and retired to his

¹ He died on 20th May, 1530. See, in De Wette, vol. iii. pp. 32, 33, two letters which Luther wrote on the subject, on 5th June, to Linck and to Melancthon, of same date. Hans died in his son's creed. "*Gaudeo sanè vixisse eum in hæc tempora ut lucem veritatis videret,*" says Luther to Melancthon.

chamber, where he wept so much, that next day his head appeared swollen : after that he was as before.”¹

Some weeks before his death, and when stretched on the bed from which he was never to rise, Hans had received this last letter from his son :—

“ My brother James tells me that you are very sick ;² the air, the season, all make me tremble. God has truly blessed you with a robust frame and an iron constitution ; but your age alarms me. None of us are sure of an hour’s existence. I should have been very glad to go and see you ; but my friends advise me not to tempt God by risking the journey ; you know how I am beloved by the nobles and the peasantry. There would not be much difficulty in going, but the danger lies in returning ; if it were possible, I should prefer that you and my mother would come to me ; my Ketha desires it with tears.”

Every morning and evening Luther recommended to God in his prayers, his father, mother, and friends, especially Melancthon, and his excellent and old servant Veit Dietrich.

This was a devoted domestic, who almost worshipped his master, looked after all his wants, carefully brushed his clothes, and repaired them when necessary, dusted his books, and put in order the papers with which his table was always covered. During his preaching Veit Dietrich sat opposite to him, listened with silent admiration, seemed annoyed when the door of the church was opened too noisily, and retained with wonderful memory his master’s discourse.³ Luther readily admitted him to his table, and he was a disciple rather than a servant. It was Dietrich’s duty to replenish the empty glasses ; he possessed the knack of pouring out ale, like a thorough German toper, to the very brim without suffering a drop to overflow. Dietrich, from his custom of sitting at the same table with Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, and Aurifaber, became imbued with the theological atmosphere amidst which he had spent every evening during ten years. He also discoursed upon indulgences, purgatory, and church matters. He delighted to attack some servant of a Catholic clergyman whom he would boast of having nonplused, *ad saccum*

¹ Gust. Pfizer, *Martin Luther’s Leben*, p. 676.

² Gust. Pfizer, p. 676.

³ Mathesius.

reducere, because he had poured upon his head the epithets of Antichrist, lecher, ass, theologaster, Thomist, that fell from the lips of the party at every bumper. Luther had perverted him, like all the rest in his service. He was one of those worthy Germans such as we find in the romances of Augustus Lafontaine, who devote to their master an affection which even death does not dissolve; for at his master's death, the domestic retired from service, and lived in some obscure abode, where he mourned and blessed the memory of his benefactor.

Dietrich wrote to Melancthon: "Pray do not glance lightly over the lines which the doctor has written to you. I cannot sufficiently admire his constancy, his faith, and his hope, in these evil days in which we live: these gifts he doubtless obtains by prayer. No day passes, in which he does not mutter three long hours between his teeth. I have had the good fortune to see him pray. My God! what faith, what soul is in every word! it is like a son addressing his father. 'Ah! yes, Lord,' he prays, 'I know that Thou art our Father and beloved Saviour; therefore have I confidence in Thee; I firmly trust that Thou wilt cause thy servants to overcome temptation, and, if Thou wilt not permit it, whatever happens, it is Thou who hast wished it, and we ought to submit to thy will.'"¹

"The first time that I heard the doctor's powerful voice pronounce these beautiful words, my whole heart was moved and inflamed with a holy gladness. I doubt not but that his prayer was a mighty aid to us in that unhappy diet at Augsburg."

That prayer which a zealous servant has preserved, and to which he attributes such might, could not, however, calm the agonies of him who addressed it to God. It is very remarkable that prayer, the balm for all the wounds of a Christian's heart, could never instil a drop of roseate dew in that of Luther. He himself it is who tells us of that unaccountable sterility of prayer. Was he then abandoned by God, who refused to listen to him? Is not this the mark of a conscience which seeks God, but cannot find Him, because it flies from the light which God sheds upon it?

¹ Gust. Pfizer, *Martin Luther's Leben*, pp. 677, 678.

The most severe trial to which he had to submit was the death of his little Magdalene.

Luther bore the blow with admirable courage. He tenderly loved his little daughter ; but, lifting his eyes to heaven, he said : " My God, if Thou desirest to take her from me, Thy will be done ! " One day when she was in much pain, he drew near the child's bed, and covering her small wasted hands with kisses : " My little Magdalene, my good dear child," he said, " you know well that you have a fond father on earth ; but in heaven there is one waiting for you who is still fonder. Is it not so ? " " Oh yes, dear father," answered the little sufferer, " let the will of God be done ! " " Poor dear ! " said Luther, " the flesh is weak, but the spirit is strong. Oh, how I love you ! "

Then turning to one of his friends who sought to console him : " See," said he, " there is not a bishop in all the world whom God has blessed like me ; but I feel that I cannot acknowledge his mercies."

Meanwhile the agony came on, and the dark shadows of death passed over the child's face. When the doctor perceived these mournful signs, he threw himself on his knees, clasped his hands in prayer, and burst into tears. The child lost all consciousness, and was leaning on her father's arms, when death sealed her eyes for ever. Catherine was in a corner of the room, not daring to look upon her daughter's bed. This afflicting event happened at nine o'clock of a Wednesday morning, in 1542.

The doctor laid her still lovely head gently on the pillow : " Poor child ! " he said, " you have a father in heaven. O God, thy will be done ! "

She was interred on the following day. Luther accompanied the body to the cemetery. As the body was lowered into the grave :—" Adieu," he said, " Lennichen, adieu : we shall meet again, my sweet little star ; you will rise again, and sparkle in heaven as a diamond, as a beautiful sun ! " The sexton had made the grave too small. " Your bed here is very narrow, my dear child," said Luther, " but that which is above will be much better."

The people who crowded to the cemetery entered into the father's sorrow, and endeavoured to console him, by saying,

"Poor friend, you suffer much!" "I thank you for your sympathy," said Luther; "I have sent a beautiful angel to heaven: I wish you all such a happy death, and myself also." "Amen," said a bystander. To whom Luther replied: "Flesh is flesh, and blood is blood; joy in the heart, and sorrow in the countenance; it is the flesh that weeps and mourns."

Others drew nigh to console him: "No, no," he said, "I am not sad; my dear angel is in heaven." Some labourers came to sing at the verge of the grave: "Lord, remember not our former iniquities." "Lord, Lord," muttered Luther, "neither our sins of to-day, nor those of to-morrow."

When the sexton threw the earth on the coffin: "See," said Luther, "the resurrection of the flesh: my daughter is in heaven,—body and soul. That is God's order and promise; why should we repine? Is it not His will that is accomplished? We are the children of eternity; I have begotten a saint for the Lord."

When the coffin was covered with earth, a small stone was placed on the grave, bearing the name of the child, her age and day of death, with a text from Scripture. Some time after, when Luther could apply himself to work, he composed for the monumental slab the following Latin inscription, which breathes a spirit of tender melancholy and resignation to God's will:—

"Dormio cum sanctis hic Magdalena Lutheri

Filia, et hoc strato tecta quiesco meo;

Filia mortis eram, peccati semine nata,

Sanguine sed vivo, Christe, redempta tuo."

Here with the saints repose I, Magdalene,

Great Luther's daughter, in this peaceful bed:

The child of death I was, begot in sin,

But now redeem'd by Christ, our living head.¹

We sought for this tomb in the cemetery of Wittenberg, but could not find it. This affliction struck Luther to the heart. He looked on it as an admonition from heaven: it was another thunderbolt. The first had carried off the young Alexis, the friend of his youth; the second had deprived him of an idolized daughter, the joy of his age. From this moment, all his letters

¹ Tisch-Reden, pp. 495, 496.

are tinged with melancholy ; the wings of death are stretched over all his thoughts.

On receiving a letter from the elector, who wished him many years of long life, he shook his head, and replied to his royal friend : "The pitcher has gone too often to the well ; it will break at last."¹

One day while preaching, he drew tears from his audience by announcing to them his approaching end. "The world is weary of me," he said, "and I am weary of the world : we shall soon be divorced. The traveller will soon quit his lodging."

For some time he had wished to regulate the affairs of his family ; and shutting himself up in his room he wrote his testament.

"I, Martin Luther, doctor, by these presents, signed by my hand, give and bequeath to my dear wife Catherine, for her life-rent, and subject to her disposition, 1st, my small property of Zeilsdorf, such as I purchased it, furnished and fitted up ; 2ndly, the house of the fountain (*zum Brunnen*), which I purchased under the name of Wolf ; 3rdly, my goblets, jewels, rings, and chains, and my ornaments of gold and silver, which may be worth about 1,000 guilders.

"I make these dispositions : 1st, Because she has always loved and cherished me ; because she has always conducted herself with dignity and propriety ; and because, by special grace from the Lord, she has given me and brought up five children, still alive, whom may God preserve !

"2ndly, That she may take upon herself to discharge my debts, if I am not able to do so before my death : these may amount to 450 guilders, and perhaps more.

"3rdly, And especially because I wish that she shall not be dependent upon her children, but her children upon her, according to God's precept.

"I beseech all my good friends to act as protectors to my dear Ketha, and to defend her against the evil tongues which may accuse her of keeping for herself the money to the injury of my poor children ; for, excepting the said goblets and jewels, I

¹ "Der Krug ist zum Brunnen getragen worden, und wird auf einmal brechen."

declare that I have no treasure of any kind. That may be very easily understood ; for there is not a single particle of my revenues which has not passed away in building, purchasing, or house expenses ; and it is truly a great blessing of Heaven that I have been able to do all without contracting more debts.

“ Finally, I demand that, if I have not employed the forms of law in drawing up this testament, the handwriting of a man, well known in heaven, earth, and hell, may possess more credit than that of any notary. If God has been pleased to trust me, a poor creature laden with sins and stains ; if He has permitted me to announce the Gospel of his dear Son ; if He has blessed my fidelity ; if, by my means, many have embraced the Gospel and recognised me as their apostle, notwithstanding the excommunication of popes, emperors, kings, princes, and monks, and the wrath of the devil ; my testimony is well worthy of credit in these trifling dispositions, especially as my signature is so well known. I hope that it will suffice to say : ‘ This is the handwriting of Luther, notary of God, and witness of His Gospel.’ ”¹

CHAPTER XXXII.

TEMPTATIONS AND DOUBTS.

Doubt, the most cruel temptation to which Luther is a prey.—The doctor’s mental prostration.—Disclosures on this subject, derived from his private correspondence.—His farewell to Rome.

Of all Luther’s sufferings, doubt was the most cruel. There are two great epochs in the life of the Reformer ; the one, which dates from the time of his posting his Theses on All Saints at Wittemberg, and extends to the rebellion of Carlstadt, his first apostle ; the other, which begins at the cradle of Anabaptism, and ends at Augsburg. In the first half of his life of incessant warfare, he has no adversaries but the “ Papists,” and, as he had previously damned them both in this world and the

¹ Seckendorf, lib. iii. p. 651.

next, he is not much moved by their criticism or their arguments: they are so many evil spirits. In the latter period, he has for antagonists his own children, those whom he believes he has begotten for his Christ. It is only then that doubt, with his agonies, bodily and mental, torments him incessantly: and hence those moral tempests which he has described with such truthful poignancy.

In vain does he endeavour to delude Germany as to the nature of his affections: it is doubt which nails him to his couch. At every fresh neology that is produced in the religious world, we see that an invisible hand throws around his bed clouds which he vainly tries to dispel. He must see at the same time Denck, Hetzer, Kautz, and others rebel against the dogmas which he has constantly defended: the divinity of Christ, justification by faith, redemption by the blood of Christ. Such audacity, the source of which lies in the rationalism to which he opens the gates, causes him almost to lose his senses. He lies on his couch stupified, and unable to read or write. Justus Jonas and Bugenhagen, who sit by his pillow, think to console him, but they are ignorant of the cause of this prodigious depression of body and mind in their mutual friend; they treat the complaint as bodily, while it is the mind that is diseased. Luther, in two lines, explains to us the cause of his mental prostration: "I have almost lost Christ in these great billows of despair in which I am as it were engulfed."¹

From all his friends, present and absent, he entreats their prayers: these are not refused, but they do not ascend to heaven. There are moments when, falling back upon the bed which he has watered with his tears, he seems to acknowledge that he has tortured the meaning of various passages of the Bible. "In truth," he writes to Nicolas Hausmann, "it is not a mere soldier, but the king of hell whom I have for antagonist, so great is his power, so formidable is his knowledge of the Scriptures. If I had not other arms to defend me, my knowledge of them² would be insufficient." He is so dejected, that he is

¹ "Amisso ferè toto Christo agebar fluctibus et procellis desperationis et blasphemise in Deum."—Melancthoni, 2 Aug. 1527. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 189.

² "Ego sanè suspicor non gregarium aliquem, sed principem istum Dæ-

nearly casting away the Bible and ceasing to write; "for," he says to Linck, "Satan wishes me to split my pen, and follow him to hell."¹ Then a thick veil falls from his eyes; it appears to him that his doctrines are condemned by God, and that his apostate disciples have discovered the truth. "O my God!" he murmurs in Brisger's ear, "it is wonderful how Satan transforms himself into Christ: if I yield, if I have so often obeyed Satan, I hope that the Lord will forgive me."² At that moment he no longer relies upon the Redeemer's blood; Satan strives to snatch Christ from him.³ What then has become of that pearl which he found in the dunghill of his monastery, and which he styled Faith, by the light of which he was to attain to heaven? "I," says he, "who have saved others, yet cannot save myself!"⁴ Strange avowal! He has, therefore, either ceased to believe, or his pearl has lost its redeeming virtue: he no longer knows what idea to attach to his great word—Faith. Here, faith is a concealed, incomprehensible knowledge; there, faith is the true confidence and assurance of the heart; elsewhere, it is dialectics, and hope is rhetoric; which of the first makes something speculative, and of the second something purely practical.⁵ Thus it is that, notwithstanding all his efforts, he slips upon the descent on which he first took his stand, and which necessarily casts him into the fatal abyss of rationalism, into which the most of his disciples have already fallen. Listen to him endeavouring to sift the words of the Apostle: "And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive." (1 Cor. xv. 22.) But "it is a ridiculous commentary which St. Paul has given us there in his death and resurrection by Adam and Christ. In the eye of reason, it is a mockery that the whole human race should be

moniorum in me insurrexisse, tanta est ejus potentia et sapientia scripturis in me armatissima, ut nisi alieno verbo hæream, mea scientia in scripturis non sit satis."—Nicol. Haussmann, 27 Nov. 1527. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 222.

¹ "Satan agit et vellet ut nihil amplius scriberem, sed secum ad inferos descenderem."—De Wette, tom. iii. p. 225.

² "Etiam si multa feci et facio quæ Satanas sunt, ipse enim misericors est et ignoscit."—27 Nov. 1527. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 225.

³ "Nam Satan solutus in me mihi Christum eripere tentat."—Brenzio, 28 Nov. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 230.

⁴ "Ego alios salvos feci, me ipsum non possum salvum facere!"—Germ. Vitokam. 1 Jan. 1528. De Wette, tom. iii. p. 24.

⁵ Mœhler, Symbolism, translated by Robertson, vol. i. p. 214, note.

involved in the sin of one man ! It seems unjust and absurd to suppose that God had played a similar comedy, and that on account of one apple which Adam ate, he should have condemned to eternal death generations upon generations. But Adam was innocent either of murder, adultery, theft, or blasphemy. He ate an apple, enticed by his wife, who allowed herself to be deceived by the tempter. What ! for a single apple, is the whole human race, even the saints, prophets, and sons of God, to be doomed to death ? Even, if it were not death, still it is suffering and damnation which we all incur on account of the sin of another. Such injustice causes the heart to rise : it is a gratuitous cruelty which we ascribe to a just and good God ! This is the incredible enigma which St. Paul proposes to us, in affirming that death and life depended on one man ; so that to avoid the sentence, virtue, wisdom, good works, all are powerless. Nothing can save us or preserve us from it ; neither the piety of monks, the holy teaching of the apostles, nor the blood of the martyrs.

“ When we reflect on it, this seems very astonishing, and very often surprises me ; it is very difficult to convince the human heart ! In the eyes of every one, such a doctrine is false. Nobody can believe that God has been so foolish or unjust, as to damn all men for the sake of one ; or should for one have saved all the rest, who have done nothing to deserve their lot ! Common sense teaches us that every creature here below must live or die according to his works. But to maintain that one man is to be accountable for all, that we are all to live and die in consequence of the deeds of others than ourselves, is irony as cruel as it is ridiculous.”¹

You will soon see him pass under review the whole dogmas of Christianity, and start back from them all. The Trinity appears to him a great scandal ; three Gods who only form one : one of

¹ See the entire passage in Walch's edition, vol. vii. p. 1290. M. Karl Hagen has quoted it at pp. 412, 414, of his work on the Spirit of the Reformation, vol. i. ; and he remarks on this subject, that “ there are in Luther's writings, various pages in which he adopts the rationalistic ideas of his opponents.” “ Aus diesen Anfechtungen Luthers sind nun manche Stellen in seinen Schriften entsprungen, wo er sich in die Ansichten der Gegenpartei in die Vorstellungen des gesunden Menschenverstandes so gut hineinsetzt, dass wohl keiner derselben hätte besser wiedergeben können.” —P. 412.

these, the Son, a man born of a virgin, and this man, who suffers as God without the Father or Holy Ghost, causes no change in their being! And the incarnation and resurrection of Christ are extravagant absurdities against reason, which no one can understand without a grace from the Holy Spirit; no one, any more than he, who has so often lost God and Christ.

He must have been grievously troubled by these temptations, since he is ready to forgive his dissenting brethren. "As if," he says in a fit of compassion, which denotes in him a complete disorganization, "it would be just to punish those who think differently from us; as if hell had not flames enough to torment poor wretches, without our delivering them to the hands of the executioner."¹

From the time of the diet of Augsburg, these great troubles, which so often assailed Luther, seem to subside. Inured to the assaults of doubt, he voluntarily, and almost without effort, closes his eyes to the light. He will not understand all these severe blows with which God at intervals smites him. He enjoys a calm which he regards as a gift of the divine mercy, but which is only the punishment of a wilful blindness. It is certain that in this providential somnolence, he has lost his original strength of mind: when he takes up his once fervid pen, his fingers can scarcely hold it: he seeks to stimulate his brains, but his head is dull: he would make his style impassioned, but his fury is prosaic.

Suddenly, in 1545, both mind and body become rejuvenescent. He resumes his pen, but it is to write his last will.

See him at his desk, labouring on his farewell to Rome.² Paul III. is at this time endeavouring to bring back the wanderers to their ancient mother the Church. Luther is in arms;

¹ 14 July, 1528. De Wette, vol. iii. p. 347. Planck has acknowledged that, when assailed by cruel maladies, Luther more than once fell into error and injustice. "Und der Mässigung hinaus riss, und selbst in mancher Verletzung der Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit verleitete."—Geschichte der Entstehung, &c. p. 35.

² A fine work has been published in Germany, by the title of *Seitenstück zur Weisheit Dr. Martin Luthers, aufgestellt von einem Katholischen, zum Jubeljahr der Reformation Luthers: 1817, 8vo.* It is a commentary on the last pages of Luther's *Contrà Pontificatum à Diabolo fundatum*; wherein the author shows the gross blunders of the reformer, in relation to history, chronology, civil and canon law, and the Holy Scriptures.

he desires to die in battle with Rome ; and here are some of the last accents of a voice that is about to expire in a torrent of blasphemies.

“ The miller’s ass that eats thistles can tell what Rome is ; for the ass knows that he is an ass, and not a cow ; that he is a male, and not a female. A stone knows that it is a stone ; water, that it is water ; and so with every other creature. But these furious pope-asses do not know that they are asses, or whether they are males or females. . . . Now then, in the name of all of us, I ask if you are men or women ? If you are men, prove that you are so, to us heretics. If you are women, I tell you in the words of St. Paul, that a woman should be silent in the Church. What find you at Rome ? The kings and queens who live there are hermaphrodites, *androgyni*, *cynædi et pædicones* Now then, emperors, kings, princes, and lords, lay hands upon the pope ; may God withhold his blessing from lazy hands ! Take from him Rome, Romandiola, Urbino, Bologna, and all that he possesses : he is a possessor by erroneous title. . . . He has robbed the empire. Hang up the pope, the cardinals, and all the Roman rabble, tear out their blaspheming tongues, and fix them on a gibbet, as they clap their seals on their bulls.

“ Truly, if I were emperor, I know well what I should do. Of all this rabble of pope, cardinals, and the papal tribe, I should make a bundle, and stuff it into a sack. At Ostia, about three miles from Rome, there is a small river, called *Mare Tyrrhenum*, an excellent bath for the cure of every kind of papal disease. There I should gently drop them in. If they were afraid of the water, for persons possessed and fools are hydrophobic, I should add to them a rock, that on which the Church is founded, and then the keys which bind and loose all things in heaven and on earth. . . . To their necks I should hang the decrees, decretals, Clementines, Extravagants, bulls, indulgences, butter and cheese, and I answer for it that in half an hour they would be cured of all their diseases.

“ Glory to God ! I have shown that the pope, who boasts of being the visible head of the Church, and Christ’s vicar, is only the head of the church accursed, of the wicked wretches of this world, the vicar of Satan, the enemy of God, the adversary of Christ, a doctor of lies, blasphemy, and idolatry, an arch-thief, a

regicide, a keeper of brothels, Antichrist, the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, a bear-wolf. So help me God! Amen!"¹

¹ "Si imperator forem, scirem profectò quid essem acturus. Scelestos nebulones, papam, cardinales, et universam papæ familiam, unà simul omnes, colligarem et cingerem, nec ultrà tria ab urbe Romæ milliaria distantia Tiberina Ostia ducerem (nam non cincti et non ducti, ituri non essent, quò nollent) ibidem est aquila quæ Latine Mare Tyrrhenum dicitur, pretiosum valde balneum contra omnem luem, vulnus, morbum pontificiæ sanctitatis, omnium cardinalium, et totius Sedis. Huic vallem eos sensim immittere et balneare. Quod si horrent aquam (nam communiter enervumeni et fatui aquas horrent) eis pro securitate adderem petram, super quam eorum Ecclesia fundata est; uti et claves, quibus omnia ligare possunt et solvere, quæ sunt in celo et in terrâ; ut aquis possent imperare. Jungerem et pedum pastorale clavemque, quæ aquæ faciem valerent percutere, ut sanguinem per os et nares emitteret. Postremò et pascua secum ducant pro haustu refocillatorio et exhilaratorio in balneo. Omnia quoque decreta, Decretales Sexti, Clementinæ, Extravagantes, bullæ, indulgentiæ, butyrum, caseus cum Epistolis lactearibus, à collo suspendantur, ut undique essent securi: quid valet, si horæ unus dimidium in salutifero hoc balneo transgissent, omnium eorum luem, vulnera et morbos essent cessaturi? Pro eâ re me prædam sisto, et Dominum meum Christum oppignoro. . . .

"Tam clarè et potenter demonstravi, papam non esse caput Christianorum, ut, laus Deo nulla boni Christiani conscientia aliter credere possit, quàm quòd papa nec sit, nec esse possit caput Ecclesiæ, nec vicarius Dei aut Christi; sed sit caput maledictæ Ecclesiæ, omnium pessimorum nebulonum terræ; vicarius demonis, inimicus Dei, adversarius Christi, dissipator Ecclesiæ Christi, doctor omnium mendaciorum, blasphemiarum et idololatriarum; Ecclesiæ archifur, Ecclesiæ expilator, clavibus omnium bonorum, tam ecclesiasticorum, quàm secularium; latro regum, incitator ad omnigenam sanguinis effusionem, leno omnium lenonum, ac omnigeni etiam innominabilis lenocinii; Antichristus, homo peccati, filius perditionis, verus ursolupus. Hoc qui nolit credere pergat, quò velit, cum suo Deo, papâ. Ego tanquam vocatus doctor et predicator Ecclesiæ Christi, qui ad dicendam veritatem obstringor, feci mea. Qui vult fetere, fetat: qui perire vult, pereat: sanguis ejus super caput ejus. Asino-papa vult esse Ecclesiæ dominus, quamvis non sit Christianus, nihil credat, nihil ampliùs possit, quàm crepitus ventris edere instar asini. Petrus papæ est, sub nomine S. Petri, dæmon infernalis; sicut Christus papæ est, sub nomine Christi, mater diaboli.

"Papa-asinus furit in suis drecketis. Est spectrum diabolicum, blasphemus, actor totius idololatriæ, homo peccati, filius perditionis, cujus opera sunt opera diaboli. Propterea quilibet infans in baptismo est constitutus iudex non solius duntaxat papæ, sed et papalis Dei, diaboli. Hinc præceptum est baptizato quòd judicare debeat et possit papam, diabolum, et omnem ejus appendicem, eum condemnando, declinando, fugiendo, conculcando, juxta Psal. xci. Super aspiciem et basilicum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem, etc.

"Est aperta veritas, papam, cardinales, universam aulam Romanam et turmam, aliud non esse, quàm stabulum plenum magnis, crudis, rudibus probroisquæ asiniis, qui nihil intelligunt in S. Scripturâ; qui ignorant, quid sit Deus, quid Christus, quid Ecclesia, quid episcopus, quid verbum Dei, quid Spiritus, quid baptismus, quid sacramentum, quid claves, quid bona opera. Hujus ignorantissimos testes sunt sat fortes, eorum libri, decreta, decretales, Sextinæ, Clementinæ, Extravagantes, bullæ, et libri innumeri.

"Testantur juristæ publicis verbis, jus canonicum fœtere meram ambitionem, horrorem et violentiam, ac canonistam esse asinum; et utrumque est verum. Juristæ hoc judicium habent ex humanâ et naturali ratione, quòd papa sit ambitiosus, superbus, insatiabilis helluo, servus ventris et Mamoniæ,

We know not who at this moment may be reading these words of Luther. If he has received the sacred waters of baptism, it

facto et doctrinâ à dæmone obsessus et actus. Magister fidei, regula Ecclesiarum, hoc est, doctor Mamonsæ, avaritiæ et merissimæ idololatriæ, doctor luxuriæ.

"Naturalis asinus, qui saccos in molendinam asportat, et spinis vescitur, potest S. Aulam Romanam judicare, quin et creaturæ omnes cum ipso. Etenim asinus novit, quodd sit asinus, et non vacca; idem novit se esse masculum, et non femellam: lapis scit se esse lapidem; aqua est aqua, et sic deinceps per omnes creaturas. Ast furibundi papæ asini Romani nesciunt se esse asinos; quin imo nesciunt, an mares sint, an feminae. Summa: nihil possunt, nisi fundationes monasteria, et bona mundi vorare, regibus coronam furari et prædari, meraque innaturalia opera perpetrare: propter quæ omnis creatura perterretur, tremat, conculcitur, et vociferatur super hoc stabulum asinorum ad eum, qui illam huic exitiali servitio addixit. Rom. viii. ut liberet eam.

"Sufficit nobis nôsse papæ-asinum à Deo ipso, ab omnibus angelis, ab omnibus Christianis, ab omni intelligentiâ, ab omnibus creaturis, à propriâ conscientiâ suorum, ab omnibus quoque diabolis esse condemnatum: ut nos ab ipso, et ejus idololatriâ et blasphemâ liberi, jucundâ conscientiâ contrâ eum valeamus docere et orare, ac eum conspuere, declinare et fugere veluti ipsum dæmonem, et ex toto corde deponere, et in abyssum inferni demergere, et doctrinam ejus maledictam, quâ clamat (qui Romanæ Sedi non obedit, non potest fieri salvus) evertere, et contrarium ponere. Qui obedit papæ, non potest salvari: qui vult salvus esse, declinet, fugiat, damnet papam, velut dæmonem, cum omnibus operibus et substantiâ ejus; prout nos sanctum baptismum nostrum docet et hortatur.

"Provoco et appello omnium nostrum nomine ad sanctam Sedem Romanam, illam scilicet, in quâ explorantur papæ, an sint viri vel mulieres; si sunt viri ostendant testes contrâ nos hæreticos. Si sunt mulieres, dicam illud Pauli: Mulier in ecclesiâ taceat. Hoc facere cogit vulgata fama per omnem jam veterem Europam, quæ mores extirpat honestos. Reges enim et reginæ in curiâ Romanâ dicuntur ut plurimum esse palâm hermaphroditæ, androgyni, cynædi, pædicoones et similia monstra in naturâ. At illis non competit iudicium de hæreticis facere. . . .

"Hæc verba non ausus est inverecundissimus impostor Germanicè scribere, sed Latinè; ne, dum quis suorum tam nefanda et evidentia legeret mendacia ac convitia, compelleretur ad detestandum eorum auctorem.

"Hic etiam papa à suis theologis judicatur et reprehenditur velut mendax, quodd nos dicat hæreticos: illi autem negant. Nec ego judico et reprehendo papam, ohn dass ich sage, er sey vom Teufel hinten ausgebohren, voller Teufel, Lügen, Gottes-Lästerung, Abgötterei, Stifter derselben, Gottes-Feind, Widerchrist, Verstöhrer der Christenheit, Kirchen-Räuber, Schlüssel-Dieb, Huren-Wirth und Sodomä-Vogt. Das heisst aber nit geurtheilt, gericht, noch verdammt, sondern seynd eitel Lobe-Sprüche, und Ehren-Wort, damit niemand zu ehren ist ohne der Satanisimus der Papst, und wäre fein, dass er sie müste an seiner Cron und Stirn begraben und gebrandt tragen, das solt seiner Satanitati viel ehrlicher anstehen (weil es die lauter reine Wahrheit ist) denn dass er ihme die Füß küssen lässt. Hoc est: Nec ego judico et reprehendo papam, quin dicam, eum ex posterioribus diaboli natum esse, plenum dæmoniis, mendaciis, blasphemis, idololatriis, auctorem earum, inimicum Dei, Antichristum, turbatorem Christianitatis, Ecclesiæ expilatorem, furem clavium, lenonem, et præpositum Sodomæ, et cætera plura, quæ superius dicta sunt. Hoc autem non est judicare aut condemnare; sed sunt meri tituli honoris et encomia, quibus nemo exornandus est, nisi solus papa Satanisimus; pulchrumque foret, si ea deberet coronæ et fronti suæ insculpta et inusta portare:

is impossible but that his heart, like ours, beats with fear at these expressions of a dying man who thus preaches robbery and murder!

And yet, even in the present time, people write and print, that Luther was an apostle blessed by God!

idque suæ Satanitati multò honestius accideret (cùm sit pura purissima veritas) quàm osculum pedum.

"Ait papa: Non ita intelligo pascere. Liebes Jungferlein Bäpstein, wie verstehst du es denn? Dilecta virguncula papista, quomodo ergo intelligis? Sic intelligo, ut sub nomine S. Petri vellem omnes reges et totum mundum perterrefacere, ut æ mihi pascendos, et ad mihi serviendum traderent, egoque inde dominus mundi evaderem, atque ita antiquam Romanorum monarchiam Romæ restituerem, eamque potentiorẽ et majorem, quàm fuerit temporibus Augusti, seu Tiberii: egoque verus Romanorum imperator appellarer: dominus omnium dominantium, et rex omnium regum, Apoc. xix. prout mei mihi prophætæ dicebant. Ja ja, Jungfer Bäpstein, bist du da zerrissen, so flicke dich der Teufel und seine Mutter. Ita, ita, virgo papissa, hic ne lacerata es, ergo resarciat te diabolus, et mater ejus.

"Eia! Inijciant manus pape, imperatores, reges, principes et domini, ac quicumque injicere potest! Deus pigras manus non fortunet! Et quidem primò auferatur papa Roma, Romandiola, Urbinum, Bononia, et omnia quæ quâ papa possidet; est enim possessor pessimæ fidei: mendaciis et dolis omnia acquisivit. Quid dico: mendaciis et dolis? blasphemias et idololatriâ cuncta acquisivit et imperio furatus et prædatus est, sibi que subjecti. Pro mercede autem ad æternum incendium innumeras per idololatriam suam animas traxit; prout ipse gloriatur. Sic papa Christi regnum dissipavit: unde vocatur abominatio desolationis, Matth. xxiv. Post hæc papa, cardinales, et universa ejus idololatriæ ac papalis sanctitatis colluvies arripiantur, eis que ceu blasphemias lingue per cervicem eripiantur, et in patibulo per ordinem suspendantur, sicut ipsi sigilla sua bullis per ordinem affigunt. Et hoc totum nimis leve est blasphemiarum et idololatriarum papalium supplicium. Deinde permittantur concilium, vel plura, quotquot velint, celebrare in patibulo, vel inter dæmones in inferno." . . .

The following is the judgment of the Reformed Church of Zurich on Luther, in 1545:—

"Neminem unquam mortalium Luthero vel fœditis, vel incivilitis, vel inhonestis idque præter omnes Christianæ modestiæ ac sobrietatis terminos in negotio illibate religionis nostræ et aliis magnis et arduis disputationibus scripsisse luce claris constat, nec à quoquam etiam negari potest. In omnium manibus enim versantur Lutheri Heinzius Anglicus, contra regem Angliæ editas, et alius nescimus quis Heinzius cum Meinzius quodam in spurco suo libro quem Hannswurst appellari volunt. Accedit his ejusdem contra Judæos liber ubi fœda et spurcissima quedam deblaterat. Existat præterea ejus Schemhamphoras liber prodigiosus, porcorum frequenti mentione, et oleti ac sterquilini crebrâ ac fœdâ commemoratione spurcus ac fetens, quem si fortè subulcus aliquid scripsisset aliquam fortassis, quamvis non adeo splendidam excusationem mereretur."—Orthodoxa Tigurina Ecclesiæ Ministrorum Confessio, folio, 1545, p. 10.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LUTHER'S LAST MOMENTS. 1546.

Quarrels in the family of the Counts of Mansfeld.—Luther goes to Eisleben to suppress them.—Incidents on his journey.—He sits for the last time at table with his disciples.—His prophecy regarding the papacy.—His last moments and death.—His funeral.

ENMITIES, which arose out of some wretched questions of territory, divided the noble house of the counts of Mansfeld. In 1545, Count John George, on a visit to Wittenberg, requested Luther to use his influence in reconciling the princes. Luther promised to mediate; but Albert repelled his interference as offensive. It was a melancholy spectacle for the Protestants that such quarrels should defy all exhortations. The elector of Saxony, who was desirous of peace, entreated the doctor to go to Eisleben; a noble mission, which Luther might have refused, for his health was bad. Some days before, he had written to the pastor of Bremen: "I am old, decrepit, indolent, fatigued, tremulous, and blind of an eye; I hoped for repose in my old age, and I have nothing but suffering."¹ He set out on the evening of the 23rd of January, the weather being cold and rainy.²

Luther trembled for the fate of his creed. There was only one man who could support it, and that was Melancthon, whose incessant vacillations alarmed him. He said to him with a sigh: "Brother, I am about to leave this world, and God's work will depend entirely upon you. Should the Church relapse into popery, it will be your fault. All that we have constructed together will perish; and woe, then, to the poor souls whom we have taken so much trouble to preserve from it!"³ Melancthon was silent.

¹ Söckendorf, *Comm. Hist. de Luth.* lib. iii. sect. xxxvi. § 153, p. 634 et seq.

² Lingke, l. c. p. 277.

³ "Wenige Tage vor seinem Tode sagte Luther zu Melancthon in ermahnendem Tone: Bruder Philipp, ich sterbe bald, und die Sache Gottes beruht auf dir. Wirst du die Kirche wieder unter des Papstes Gewalt bringen, so ist

Luther had not much confidence in physicians, and had never been very willing to follow their advice. At length, he became so weak, that he could not move a step without fear of falling ; his eyes became dim, and his brow hot as a burning coal. He was obliged to allow a blister to be applied to his left leg ; when the dizziness left him, his head became clear, his language unembarrassed, and his ideas luminous and copious.

On leaving Wittenberg, he neglected the prescriptions of the faculty, and suffered the issue to close which had been opened to carry off the humours, as medical science then so expressed it. His headaches returned, accompanied by the whole train of inconveniences which he had suffered during the preceding twelve years ; the peccant humours flowed back to the brain. The disease with which Luther was affected was an erosion of the ventricle.

There was at Landsberg a small chapel which Catholic piety had built on the summit of a hill, whence the eye, after the heart had been raised to God's throne, could survey a scene of magnificent verdure. Luther ascended this hill, entered the little chapel, knelt down, and wrote upon a marble pillar this prayer to God :—

“ Lieber Gott von Ewigkeit,
Erbarm dich deiner Christenheit :
So seufzet mit Hand und Mund
Martin Luther. D.”¹

That God, who reigns eternally,
May watch o'er Christianity,
Is Martin Luther's latest sigh !

The weather was cold, with a violent wind. Halle, whither he journeyed, was inclosed, as it were, with a girdle of glaciers ; for the Mulda had overflowed its banks, and its waves floated down enormous masses of ice, which impeded the progress of the boat in which the doctor was seated. Luther calmly surveyed this stormy scene. Under each mass of ice he saw at one time the shoulders of Satan, who raised them up to immerge the boat ;

es deine Schuld. Alles was wir gearbeitet haben, ist dann verloren, und die Seelen die kaum aus dem Elende heraus sind, werden unglücklich.”—Effner, l. c. tom. i. p. 95.

¹ Sächs. Priestersch. tom. ii. p. 685.

at another, the arm of some Anabaptist, who would have wished to administer for a second time the purifying waters to him who had warred so fiercely with the prophets. He narrated to his wife, with a charming liveliness which reminds us of Sterne, this elemental warfare against his little skiff.¹

At Halle, he dined with Justus Jonas, who had invited the burgomaster Beyer, Joachim Uhlemann, and Gregory Parsit to meet him. Each guest brought with him a book, in which Luther wrote a few lines of valediction or remembrance.²

After being detained three days at Halle, in consequence of the inundation of the Sal, Luther left that city, accompanied by Justus Jonas and his three children; his wife being unwell, could not go with him. As they were crossing the river, the boat inclined to one side, in consequence of the swell of the waves, which alarmed the children, who clung to their father. Luther smiled: "You must acknowledge, Jonas," said he, "that the devil would laugh heartily if Luther, his children, and Doctor Jonas, were to be drowned in the Sal."³

The princes of Mansfeld awaited his arrival at the gates of the city with a military escort; the banners of the city were unfurled, and more than a hundred knights were under arms; while the cannon roared, and trumpets clanged, as if a dignitary of the empire had arrived.

He had scarcely discerned the steeples of his dear Eisleben, when he was seized with a sort of fainting-fit; his heart sank, and he fancied himself dying, and looked up to heaven as if his last hour were come. They immediately conveyed him to a neighbouring house, where they chafed his body with warm cloths to restore circulation. He opened his eyes, and bade the bystanders not be astonished at this swoon, as it was "the work

¹ "Es begegnete uns eine grosse Wiedertäuferin, mit Wasserwogen und grossen Eisschollen, die das Land bedeckten, die droheten uns mit der Wiedertaufe; so konnten wir auch nicht wieder zurück kommen von wegen der Mulda, mussten also zu Halle zwischen den Wassern stille liegen."—Walch, tom. xxi. p. 506.

² Laur. Reinhard, *De Vita Jonæ*, cap. x. § 8. Unschuld. Nachrichten, ann. 1712, pp. 945, 953.

³ "Cum non procul ab urbe abesset horridis ventis eum afflantibus, questus est vehementer, se fœdi sævitiæ frigoris et ventorum et sentire se periculosas angustias pectoris. Adfuit Melchior (Kling), qui dicit eum quoque vix recreatum sumptis aromatatis."—Melanchth. *Epist.* lib. iii. p. 176.

of the devil, who never failed to assail him whenever he had a great mission to fulfil."

Next day he forgot his sufferings, ascended the pulpit in St. Andrew's church, and to a crowded congregation, collected from far and near, poured forth against the pope and the hierarchy the whole series of insults contained in his publications for nearly twenty years.

He was under the impression that, by dismissing the lawyers to whom the princes had committed their interests, he could restore peace to the family of Mansfeld; but his efforts were ineffectual.

The princes entertained him magnificently, and regaled him with the finest Rhenish wines, and the best game which the neighbouring forests could produce. Luther did honour to their hospitality, and on this occasion drank like a true German, but without becoming intoxicated.¹

In these large goblets, which he emptied as in his younger days, Luther regained all his juvenile animation, and looked as when at Wittenberg, in the time of Prierias and Miltitz. The merry guest vented his humour in sarcasms against his natural enemies,—the pope, the emperor, the monks, and also the devil, whom he did not forget. "My dear friends," he said, "we must not die until we have caught Lucifer by the tail . . . I saw him yesterday morning; he showed me his hinder parts on the castle-turrets."² Then, rising from the table, he detached from the wall a piece of plaster, and with trembling hand wrote upon the partition this Latin line:—

"*Pestis eram vivus, moriens tua mors ero, papa.*"

Living, O pope! I ever was your bane;
And, dying, your destruction shall obtain.³

He sat down amidst the uproarious laughter of the company, who looked as if God had pronounced sentence upon the papacy. But the mask fell soon, and Luther's countenance assumed an inexpressible character of concern. He felt that he was soon to

¹ "*Cibo atque potu hilariter usus est et facetiis indulsit.*"—Seckendorf, *Relatio Justi Jonæ*, lib. iii. p. 636.

² "*Wir müssen so lang leben, dass wir dem Teufel in den Arsch sehen und in den Schwantz.*"—Tisch-Reden: Einleben, p. 67.

³ Razebergius, in *Hist. MSS. Seckendorf*, lib. iii. sect. xxxvi. § 134.

bid farewell to the world, and said to his companions, who spoke to him of the long life which God had promised him : " Men do not live to grow old as they did formerly."

" Master," said Jonas, interrupting him, " shall we recognise each other in heaven ?"—" Adam," replied the doctor, " when he awoke from sleep, did not say to Eve, whom he had never before seen, ' Whence art thou ? Who art thou ? ' but said, ' This is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh.' How, then, did he know that this woman did not come out of a stone, unless the Holy Spirit told him ? And we shall put on a new existence in the next world, and shall recognise our parents and friends. To your health, Jonas," he continued, perceiving the sadness of his friend,—*" to your health ;"* and, handing him a bumper of ale, he extemporized this Latin line, an anacreontic allusion to the shortness of life :—

*" Dat vitrum vitro Jonas, vitrum ipse Lutherus."*¹

Glass unto glass : let Luther Jonas give

This brimming cup, emblem of all who live !

One of the guests, wishing to change the conversation, began to speak of the style of the Scriptures. Luther interrupted him : " It is a great and difficult thing to understand the Scriptures. It requires five years' hard labour to understand Virgil's *Georgics*, twenty years' experience to be master of Cicero's epistles, a hundred years with the prophets Elias, Eliseus, John the Baptist, Christ and the apostles, to merely taste the Scriptures . . . Poor human nature !"²

As they rose from table, one of his disciples arrived from Frankfurt, bringing with glee the news of the death of Paul III., which was reported in that city. " This is the fourth pope that I have buried," said Luther gaily ; " I shall bury many more of them. If I die, you will find a man who will not be so easy with the monks as I have been. I have given him my blessing ; he will take a sickle, and will shave them as with a sword."³

" Did you remark," said Coelius to Jonas, on going out of the dining-room, " how our father's eye gleamed with a dull fire,

¹ Ulanberg, p. 643.

² Colloq. Mens. f. 4, a and b, f. 290, ab.

³ Florimond de Rémond, book iii. c. 2, fol. 287. Bozsius, De Sign. Eccl. lib. xxiii. c. 3. Ling. in Vita Luth. fol. 4.

and how his chest was oppressed? The pulpit will inevitably kill him." They advised Luther to give over preaching at so cold a season. At first he would not listen to his friends' counsels; but the request of the count of Mansfeld was so pressing, that he was obliged to yield. He appeared no more in public.

On the 17th of February, 1546, Luther, wrapped up in a dressing-gown lined with fur, sat warming himself by the stove; his three children were sitting at his feet. Cœlius and Jonas were conversing with him about the future world, and laughing at that "papacy" whose last hour was about to strike.

Luther interrupted them, shaking his head. "If I leave Eisleben," he said, "it will only be to bury myself alive, and give food to the worms."¹ At that instant he felt severe pains, and his countenance shrivelled up. Aurifaber now came. Luther squeezed his hand affectionately, and pressed it to his heart. "My father," said Aurifaber, "the Countess Albert has an excellent remedy for pains in the chest; it is a mixture composed of brandy and powdered horn; if you wish it, I will go to the castle." Luther signified that he did. In the meanwhile, Cœlius and Jonas warmed cloths and applied them to his stomach.

Count Albert soon arrived with the potion. The immediate danger had passed off, and their fears were removed. Luther expressed his thanks in a low voice. The count went away; but Aurifaber, Cœlius, and Jonas remained with their father, whom they made to swallow the potion. He breathed softly, and expressed a wish to sleep: "You will see," said he, "that a little sleep will do me a deal of good." It was nine o'clock in the evening. They laid several feather pillows in the chair. The patient soon closed his eyes; his children slept by the stove. At ten o'clock the striking of the castle-clock awoke him. He looked round, and saw his friends asleep. "Why did you not go to bed?" he asked. Jonas replied that they must watch and take care of their master.

The sick man wished to lie down; the bed had been warmed, and was ready. Luther rose, and refused to accept the arm of his disciples. At the door of his room, he said in a smothered voice:

¹ Ulenberg, l. c. p. 646.

"Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit ;" and turning to his friends, whose hands he sought : " Doctor Jonas and Master Cœlius, pray for our God and our Gospel, for the wrath of the council is enkindled." Those present ranged themselves round his bed ; Cœlius was at the right, Aurifaber and Jonas at the left of his pillow ; at his feet were the three children ; some domestics and counsellors of Prince Albert were seated at the bottom of the room.

Luther slept till an hour after midnight, when he awoke and sat up in his bed, inquiring if the sitting-room was warmed, because he wished to return to his chair. Jonas asked if he still suffered : " Very much," said Luther. " Ah ! my friend, my dear doctor, I clearly see that I shall die at Eisleben, where I was born and baptized."—" Reverend father," replied Jonas, " call upon Jesus Christ, our Saviour, our Father, and Mediator, whom you have confessed. You have perspired, God will comfort you."—" A cold sweat," said Luther, passing his hand across his brow, " it is the forerunner of death ; I am going : ' In manus tuas, Domine ' (Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit) !"

His forehead and face had now become cold. He was placed in his chair, but spoke no more. The physician was immediately sent for, as well as Count Albert, who with his countess hastened to the room ; the count of Schwartzburg was already with the dying man. His friends and disciples murmured, " Father !" Luther heard them not. The countess rubbed his temples, and applied smelling-salts ; but he gave no signs of life. The physician raised his head, forced open his teeth, and poured into his mouth some powerful liquid. Luther opened his eyes. " Father," asked Jonas, " do you die in the faith and doctrine you have preached ?"—" Yes," muttered Luther, turning on his left side, as if to sleep. The countess's face began to beam with hope ; but the doctor pointed to his feet, which the cold of death had already benumbed, and to his face, which was becoming blue. The noble lady still hoped ; she rubbed the body, which grew cold under her hands ; and the breast, which made a hollow rattling. At that instant the lips of the dying man opened, and a slight breath escaped which made his friends grow pale, and interrupted the pious labour of the princess :—the heresiarch was before the tribunal of God.

The corpse was confined and brought in great state to the church of St. Andrew at Eisleben. Justus Jonas pronounced the funeral oration. The sobbing of the bystanders frequently interrupted the orator, who wept bitterly. Ten citizens watched the bier during the night. On the following day, February 20th, the body was placed in a hearse and conveyed to Wittemberg. During the whole journey the people ran in crowds uncovered, chanting the prayer for the dead.¹

By the elector's orders, the professors, clergy, senators, and citizens of Wittemberg, came to receive the body at the Elster gate, and accompanied it to the church, passing along College-street and the market-place, while the bells of all the churches were tolled. The procession advanced in the following order: the clergy, composed of four deacons and Doctor Pomeranus; the officers of the elector's household on horseback; the two counts of Mansfeld, with their servants and esquires. The corpse was inclosed in a leaden coffin covered with black velvet, and drawn on a four-wheeled car. This was followed by Luther's widow and some ladies in a small open vehicle; his three children, his brother James, the two children of his sister, George and Syriac the merchant, the Chevalier Magnificus, Philip Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Gaspard Creuziger, Jerome Schurf, and other professors, doctors, and masters. The procession was closed by counsellors, students, citizens, noble ladies, young women and children; all of whom were bathed in tears. The crowd was immense; all the streets were filled, and the roofs of the houses covered with spectators. When the body reached the church of the castle, and was deposited at the foot of the pulpit, the funeral service was intoned, and Pomeranus pronounced a discourse, which he frequently interrupted by tears and sobs. He compared Luther to the angel of the Apocalypse, and recalled the prophecy of Huss when at the stake, and the voice of the "martyr," who foretold the advent of Doctor Martin. He spoke of Luther's Christian death, sufferings, and sickness, the wishes which escaped from his half-closed lips, and the accomplishment of which God would hasten. He recorded the

¹ Balthazar Mentz, *Syntagma Epitaphiorum Wittenbergensium*, lib. i. p. 76 et seq.

anecdote of Luther writing upon the wall "Pestis eram;" and he reckoned with joy the few remaining years of the papacy!

Melancthon followed him, and gave a long description of the labours of "the apostle of Germany."

The funeral chants were resumed. On their being ended, the body was lowered into a newly-opened grave opposite the pulpit. The grave was then closed and made fast, and surmounted with a plate of copper, on which was engraved the following Latin inscription:—

"Martini Lutheri S. Theologiæ doctoris corpus h. l. s. e. qui anno Christi MDLVI, XII Cal. Martii Eysalebii in patria S. M. O. C. V. ann. LXII M II D X."¹

Next year Wittemberg was besieged and taken. Charles V. wished to see the Reformer's tomb. With his hands crossed on his breast, he was reading the inscription, when one of his officers asked permission to open the tomb and scatter the heretic's ashes to the winds. The monarch's eye flashed fire. "I have not come," said he, "to war with the dead; I have enough of living enemies." And he left the church.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CATHERINE BORA.—LUTHER'S RELICS.

Distress of Catherine Bora.—Her death.—Relics of Luther at Eisleben, Erfurt, &c.

THE Protestant princes soon forgot Luther's widow; after some years, the neglected Catherine Bora had not bread to give her children. The widow of the Reformer was reduced to beg alms; but her prayers and tears were unheeded. In a letter to his friend Justus Jonas, Melancthon complains of the hardheartedness of the great of this world: "They rise up against us," said

¹ Dr. Franz Volkmar Reinhard's *sämmtliche Reformationspredigten*, tom. iii. p. 441.

Melancthon had suggested the following inscription for his master's tomb:

"Qui Christum docuit purè et bona plurima fecit
Lutheri hæc urna molliter ossa cubant."

he, "or forget us. One only has had pity on us,—the king of Denmark, who has lately sent a small sum to the widow of our departed friend."¹

It appears that the monarch's pity was soon exhausted. A letter addressed by Pomeranus to Christian III. remained unanswered, notwithstanding the urgent terms in which it was expressed: "May your majesty condescend to cast your eyes upon a poor widow who has not wherewith to feed and bring up her children! We entreat you in the name of Luther, whose memory will live for ever."²

Catherine then resolved to move the prince's heart. She wrote to him a letter, in which, thanking him for the fifty thalers which he had sent her some few years before, she again appealed to his majesty's charity in behalf of a widow whom the misfortunes of the times had reduced to extreme misery, and who had not bread for her children.

This letter, which is dated 6th of October, 1550, was not more successful than those of Melancthon and Pomeranus.³ Catherine sorrowfully remembered the prophetic words of Luther, on the abandonment to which the princes would consign all that was dearest to him on earth.

In 1547, Wittemberg was besieged by the army of the Emperor Charles V. Bora was sick and starving; no one came to give her the bread which she called for. The pestilence compelled her to quit the city where the doctor's ashes reposed.

In 1552, on the feast of St. Thomas, the following notice was posted on the door of the parish church of Torgau, signed by the pastor, Paul Eber:—

"Catherine Bora is dead. This noble lady was exposed to all kinds of affliction. It was for her a great privation that she could not attend her husband in his last illness, or close his eyes, or pay him the last duties. . . . Then came war which drove her into exile, attended by the more bitter scourge, the ingratitude of her fellow-citizens. To escape the pestilence, she was obliged to take her children into another country. On her

¹ Epist. 93, Just. Jonæ.

² Relat. manusc. omnis Ævi, Joannis Petri de Ludewig.

³ Danisch. Bibl. p. 160.

journey, the horses took fright, and the carriage was upset; she was thrown into a ditch, in consequence of which, fear, rather than the fall, soon brought on a sickness, whereof, at the end of three weeks, she died. During all the time of her illness, she found consolation in God and His word, calmly aspiring after another life, recommending her children to the Lord, and imploring the Holy Spirit to re-establish that unity of doctrine which was the object of the efforts of her pious husband, and which, since his death, has been so unhappily broken.

"The funeral will take place to-day at three o'clock. We therefore implore our parishioners to assemble at the residence of the deceased, in the street leading to the castle, to pay the last duties to this worthy lady."¹

The remains of Catherine lie in the parish church of Torgau. They are covered with a stone, whereon Luther's companion is represented as large as life, holding in her hand an open Bible. Over her head, to the right, are Luther's armorial bearings; to the left, those of her own family,—a lion on a field of gold, and in the helmet a peacock's feather. On the four sides is the following inscription in German:—

"On the 20th December, 1552, Catherine de Bora, widow of Doctor Martin Luther, fell asleep in the Lord."²

The "Petites Affiches" of Altona, of 15th November, 1837, contained an advertisement headed, "Luther's Orphans."

"These are the children of Joseph Charles Luther, who was born at Erfurt, 11th November, 1792, and who returned to the Catholic Church. He died in Bohemia.

"M. Reinthaler, administrator of the institution of St. Martin, erected at Erfurt to Luther's memory, has taken these orphans under his care.

"On the 6th May, 1830, Anthony, the eldest, born in 1821,

¹ Meyer, in *Intimationibus Wittemb. ann. 1558. Nas, tom. i. Scriptorum publicè Propositorum*: Wittemb. p. 441.

² "Anno 1552, den 20sten December, ist in Gott selig entschlafen allhier zu Torgau, Herrn Dr. Martini Lutheri selige Wittwe, Catharina von Bora."—Bredow, in the *Almanack (Minerva)* for 1813, has given a detailed account of Catherine's life.

This sepulchral slab has been engraved in Juncker's work: *Ehrengedächtniss Lutheri*, p. 247.

came to the old Augustinian monastery. Being instructed in the principles of the Reformation, he made his first communion at Easter. He has since been apprenticed to a cabinet-maker. Mary and Anne, his sisters, are servants in an inn; Theresa, the youngest, is at school."

M. Reinthaler appealed to the sympathy of his co-religionists for the descendants of Luther. The subscription was not successful. Frankfort-on-the-Maine and Leipsic sent fifty thalers; and that was all.

Old Schœpfer, in a book entitled, "On Luther's Incombustibility,"¹ mentions seven great conflagrations which broke out at Eisleben in the seventeenth century. Six times the house in which the doctor was born was preserved, he says, by a special miracle from heaven. In 1693, the municipal council of the city set on foot a subscription among the Protestants, the produce of which was destined for the preservation of the Reformer's house.

On the door of the small apartment in which Luther came into the world, is the following inscription:—

"Consecrated for ever to the great man who first drew breath herein."²

Among the objects of curiosity with which the room is furnished, are to be seen a desk, supported by a swan, and which he used when a child; a pamphlet of forty-one pages, entitled, "On the Marriage of Doctor Martin Luther," and his portrait, "miraculously saved from the flames."

Long after his death, the bed in which Luther lay and the table at which he studied, were shown at Eisleben. People came from a distance to touch these relics: and every devout Lutheran carried off with him a portion for the cure of the toothache and headache.³ Arnold, who visited Eisleben in the seventeenth century, observes that the walls of the Reformer's chamber were broken in a thousand places by his superstitious disciples, who detached from them some grains of plaster, to

¹ Part i. p. 100.

² "Die Stätte, wo ein grosser Mann die Welt betrat,
Bleibt eingeweiht für jetzt und immerdar."

³ *De Reliquiis Lutheri diversis in locis asservatis*, à Georg. Henr. Goetzi. Fabricius in Centifolio Lutherano I. Joh. Kraus, In den curiosen Nachrichten, p. 3, §§ 28, 39.

which they attributed extraordinary virtues. This Protestant pilgrim, on witnessing such evidence of an idolatrous worship, could not help exclaiming, "May God destroy this house of Luther, where superstition has been introduced!"¹

Christopher Juncker, in a work dedicated to the memory of Luther, speaks in the gravest manner of a portrait of the Reformer, at Ober-Rossla, the forehead of which was covered with perspiration at the very time when the minister was lamenting over the melancholy fate of literature in Germany;² and of another portrait of the doctor which he saw at Artern, in the county of Mansfield, and which was found unhurt by the flames that totally consumed the apartment of which it formed the greatest ornament.

Every traveller who goes to Erfurt, visits the old Augustinian monastery, which Luther entered on 27th July, 1505, where, two years after, he was ordained by John Lasphus, and which he left to become professor in the university of Wittenberg. The places as well as the times are much altered. There are no longer any monks in the old Augustinian monastery, but poor orphans who sing the praises of the Lord in German, and a Protestant school, in which are taught other doctrines than those of the Reformer.

Luther's small cell still remains in its original state. The walls have been whitewashed, and, upon the plaster, the hands of pilgrims have written a number of Bible texts, and sentences in prose and verse in honour of the Reformer. On the right of the entrance hangs Luther's portrait, as large as life, with this Latin inscription:—

"Martinus Lutherus S. Theolog. D. Natus Islebie, anno 1483, ibique in Christo obiit anno 1546, d. 18 Feb. et Wittenbergæ sepultus est, ætatis 63. M. L. Northusanus, P."

The likeness was taken when he was in the flower of his age. His eyes are bright, and his lips slightly curled with a smile. We might fancy that he has just finished one of his impassioned letters against the papacy. The unknown artist has evidently

¹ In der Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie, part ii. lib. xvi. cap. v. § 22, p. 501.

² Ehren-Gedächtniss Lutheri, 1707, quoted by Fred. Keyser, in the Reformation-Almanach, 1817, p. 76.

intended to depict the inward satisfaction of an exasperated individual who has just avenged himself.¹

Unquestionably the most valuable relic in the oratory of Erfurt is Luther's travelling writing-case: a small article, which is carefully preserved in its original state, and in which he kept his money, and two inestimable treasures,—his pen and ink. "Golden ink," as one of his admirers terms it, "such as no chemist ever composed, in which Luther dipped his pen to trace those characters which have shone like the sun for three centuries, and will only be extinguished with that luminary: a diamond pen which he discharged like a dart against the then raging lion, and which deprived him of the triple crown that encircled his brow."²

The history of this writing-case, which the doctor carried with him when he went to the diet of Augsburg, and visited princes and legates, is this:—

When Luther, in February 1546, went to Halle, he took with him his writing-case well stored with ink, but very scant of money. He resided in the splendid mansion of the director of the salt mines, Joseph Tentzner, in the street called Schmeerstrasse, and on his departure forgot his writing-case and walking-stick, some family letters and loose papers on which he had written a few straggling thoughts. Luther died at Eisleben: war soon after broke out, and his executors never thought of asking for these valueless articles, which remained in the family of Tentzner, as *res derelictæ*, according to the law of Germany.

Martin Hessen, who had married a Tentzner, was reduced to extreme want, and obliged to sell the writing-case to Schuler, a schoolmaster at Lutzendorf. This relic subsequently passed into the hands of John George Zeidler, who was employed in the university of Halle, and then into those of Buttner, counsellor

¹ On the door of the cell are these lines:

"Cellula divina magno habitata Luthero,
Salve, vix tanto cellula digna viro,
Dignus erat regum qui splendida tecta subiret
Te dedignatus non tamen ille fuit."

[Hail, sacred cell, the mighty Luther's home!
Unworthy of such occupant as he;
Who, meriting a palace' gilded room,
Scorn'd not to spend his humble life in thee.]

² Friedrich Keyser's Reformation-Almanach, p. lxxx.

at Weissenfels, who gave it to the society of Natural Sciences. Finally, in 1754, it was placed in the museum-cell at Erfurt, where it has ever since been exhibited to the curiosity of travellers.

After having for some time contemplated this writing-case, and listened to the exclamations of the cicerone, we were shown another wonder. This is a copy of the Old Testament translated by Luther, to which are attached several leaves of paper containing the autographs of Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Creuziger, and Philip Agatho. They are Bible-texts, with a short interpretation. The following is Luther's on a verse of the Epistle to the Corinthians:—

1 Cor. xv. (55).

Absorpta est mors in victoriam.

Isaiæ xxv. (8).

“With Adam who lives, that is to say, sins, death swallows up life; but when Christ dies, that is to say, justifies, life swallows up death. Praise be to God, because Christ has died and effected our justification.

“MARTIN LUTHER, D. 1543.”

The autograph is now glazed, and hung like a picture on the wall of the house. Beside it is another of Melancthon: a paraphrase of the 21st verse of the 59th chapter of Isaiah. Those who are of opinion that a man's character can be traced in these mute signs which serve as the instrument of his thoughts, may find some support of their system in the different handwritings of the two Reformers: that of Luther is firm, straight, hard, and dashing; that of Melancthon indicates his indecisive, gentle, and pliable disposition.

It has been long intended to enrich the Lutheran museum with a wonder which would surpass all others;—his two rings; the one called the ring of his espousals, the other that of his nuptials, although both of these events occurred on the same day. But the proprietors of these two trinkets have hitherto resisted all the brilliant offers made to them for the sacrifice.

The spousal-ring belongs to a rich private individual at Leipsic: it is of gold, set with a ruby, and encircled with emblems of the Passion engraved with much skill: the dice, the reed, and the cross to which the Man-God is nailed; on the inside

is the name of the spouse and date of the espousals, 13th June, 1525. Will it be believed that long disputations have been written upon this ring, which German learning has treated with as much prolixity as would have been required for a text of Scripture or some verses of Orpheus?¹ This ring belonged to Catherine Bora, who, when in want of the necessaries of life, pledged it to avoid starvation.

The marriage-ring opened in two, and was surmounted with a ruby and a diamond. Within were the initials of the spouses, C. V. B., M. L. D.; on the outside was engraved the German device: "Whom God hath joined let no man separate."

The family of Mesen, of Zittau, preserves a crystal glass which Luther used: it is a beautiful piece of workmanship, and was purchased in the seventeenth century for sixty thalers.

At Dresden they show the doctor's spoon, which belonged to J. And. Gleich. It is of silver. On the handle is engraved, "Da Gloriam Deo." In the middle is the date 1540, and the letters D. L. united.

Dresden also preserves the ring which Luther received on the day of his obtaining the degree of doctor, and the medal which Catherine Bora wore round her neck.

At Frankfort-on-the-Maine the Reformer's shoes and walking-stick are shown in the library.

We have not been able to find the seal which he described in a letter to Spengler, and on which he had caused to be engraved a black cross, a symbol of his faith in Christ, and of a Christian's trying life; and a burning heart in the centre of a white rose, in an azure field within a circle of gold; emblems of the peace resulting from faith and hope in eternal happiness.

In the centre of Wittemberg, a statue of Luther has been erected. He is represented standing, with the Gospel in his hand. On the left side of the pedestal is this inscription: "If the work is of God, it will live; if of man, it will perish."

At Wittemberg, the only article of Luther's creed which has been preserved is that in which the pope is transformed into Antichrist.

¹ Junker's Ehren-Gedächtniss, p. 285. Reformations-Almanach, p. lxxi. H. de Hardt, Annulus Lutheri Doctoralis et Pronubus: Helmstedt, 1704, 4to.

CHAPTER XXXV.

LUTHER CONSIDERED AS AN ORATOR, AUTHOR, MUSICIAN,
AND TRANSLATOR.

Luther as an orator : he is the great preacher of the Reformation.—His style in the pulpit.—His *Haus postils*.—Luther as an author.—As a musician.—Has he, as has been alleged, effected any improvement in religious music?—As a translator.—His version of the Bible.

LUTHER holds a high and distinguished place in German literature. After he had become a doctor in theology, Scripture interpretation became his constant occupation. To facilitate his researches, he had not yet the resources which his subsequent knowledge of Greek and Hebrew laid open to him. He had commenced by studying the Latin language, by means of which he first attempted to comprehend the sense of the Sacred writings, so often obscure. It was not a simple interpretation which he sought, but a knowledge of the manners, customs, discipline, and traditions of the Christian Church, with the pre-existing idea of making the old and new laws contradictory of each other. His commentaries on the Sacred text assume the form of the familiar preaching of a country curate. His oral instructions were produced without any order, and made subservient to the caprices of the orator's imagination : like the sermons of a missionary. Somewhat later, Luther combined the treasures of the Oriental languages with the riches of the Latin : hence the marvellous success which he obtained by means of this language, which borrowed fascinations from Homer, Cicero, David, and St. Paul. Lest the diamonds which fell from the lips of the preacher should be lost, there were under the pulpit able reporters, who collected them as they fell, to set and arrange them afterwards under the artist's eye. On leaving the church, when the recollection of his discourse was fresh in their memory, Protestant neophytes hastened to commit it to writing, and hand to the printer the extempore effusions of Luther as soon as they were transcribed. It was in this way that the notes on the epistle to the Galatians were collected and given to the world,

where they acquired extraordinary celebrity. Luther corrected the proof-sheets. At the beginning of St. Paul's epistle is a preface, wherein he explains the appearance of this work, for which he always preserved a marked predilection. "I am astonished," says he, "and can scarcely believe that I have overwhelmed St. Paul's epistle with such a deluge of words; and yet, in this epistle I find all my thoughts carefully collected by some of my brethren; they might have been still more verbose. Although I have not been wanting in words, I find that I have given but an imperfect, bare, and spiritless representation of those doctrines which are so lofty, profound, and so full of wisdom. I have only extracted a few crumbs of bread from the rich mine of gold which I had to work. Indeed, I am ashamed to add my barren commentaries to the inspiration of this magnificent apostle."

Luther did not become vain or rich by his writings; he infinitely gave the preference to those of Melancthon,—that writer so elegant, but so cold, who never fires us with any inspiration; that finished rhetorician, who never extemporized, but took as much time to compose a prayer as his master did to write a book. Language was a favourite study which Melancthon misemployed. Luther took it such as it came to his lips, without troubling himself about its origin or etymology, without taking any pains to adorn it; like those old German chiefs of the time of Hermann, who threw themselves on their enemies in disorderly troops, and frustrated the tactics of Polybius. We must not expect to find in his phraseology the graceful drapery of a Grecian statue. He despised art; he spoke because he required to speak; and if he reviewed his labour, it was not to erase a word which might offend the ear, or a repetition, which might accuse him of carelessness. He treated his language as he did the Papists. Provided that he hit the monks, he cared not how; provided he excited his hearers, it was of no moment to him that he violated all the rules of grammar, or the precepts of rhetoric.

Luther is the great preacher of the Reformation. He possessed almost all the qualities of an orator; an inexhaustible store of thought, an imagination as ready to receive as to produce its impressions, an inexpressible abundance and flexibility

of style. His voice was clear and sonorous, his eye sparkled with fire, his head was of the antique cast, his chest large, his hands singularly beautiful, and his gestures graceful and abundant. He did not neglect his external appearance ; his robe was always exceedingly neat, buttoned to the neck ; his hair, which he turned back, fell in dark ringlets over his shoulders. He was particularly careful of his teeth, which he preserved white till the end of his days. With him it was the thought which produced the language ; if the thought was grand or common, the expression which conveyed it was noble or familiar. As he required to live with the people, because he perceived that every lasting revolution proceeds from the masses, he borrowed from the different occupations of the citizens a technical language which attracted the multitude, and from their old German idiom numerous expressions of startling simplicity. He was at once Rabelais and Montaigne ; with the droll humour of the former, and the polished and brilliant elegance of the latter.

Sometimes Luther had to preach thrice a day ; but he was never unprepared. He has been seen to ascend the pulpit, collect himself for an instant with closed eyes, open the New Testament, and from the first verse that caught his eye, take the text of an extemporaneous discourse which astonished every one by the suddenness of its expression, and the richness of its development. " I should imagine that I offended Providence," said Sterne, " if I thought on what I was about to write when I take up the pen." Luther felt like Sterne. You must not expect from him a discourse conformable to the rules of art ; it is not a sermon that he will give you, but a familiar conversation, in which the laws of rhetoric will perhaps be violated, but which will be warmed by the glow of inspiration ; in which all will proceed from the heart, and nothing from the lips ; where the language will not be required to conceal the sterility of the writer under vulgar ornaments ; where the speaker will never hunt after novelty, and yet where everything that will drop from his lips will possess the freshness of originality.¹

¹ "Nie dem Reize der Neuheit nachjagend, und doch immer neu und frisch."
—Martin Luther's Leben, von Gustav Pfizer, p. 328.

His sermons often resemble an ode in irregularity ; his text does not chain him down to the precision of the Catholic priest. Scarcely has he commenced, when he forgets his subject, and treats of the first that occurs to him ; a word is a flash of lightning, which discovers to him a new path into which he leads his auditory, until he abandons it a minute after, to follow some new inspiration. His disciples must have been very familiar with his language, or most vigilant in their attention to follow him through all his caprices. From heaven he suddenly descends to earth. When his eye rests on Germany, and becomes moist at the view of the evils which desolate it, it is impossible to remain unconcerned ; the heart is touched, and sympathises with the orator. The Saxon is then overwhelmed with grief ; we perceive that he has studied Jeremias, and knows the language of pathos.

The few specimens of his pulpit eloquence which follow will give us at once an idea of his style, and perhaps of the morals of his audience.

“ When I was young even the rich drank water and lived sparingly ; at thirty few had ever tasted wine. But it is very different nowadays, when they give to children even the fiery and brandied wines of the South.

“ We Germans are regular beer-bellies (*Bierbäuche*), jolly toppers, ever feasting and drinking. To drink, in Germany, means not merely to drink after the manner of the Greeks, who made gods of their bellies, but to cram ourselves to the throat until we discharge all we have eaten and drunk.

“ Every country has its own devil ; Italy, France, Germany, have theirs,—the bottle. What we call drinking, means distending ourselves with wine and ale ; we shall go on drinking, I am afraid, until the day of judgment. Preachers denounce it from the pulpit, and appeal to the word of God against it ; lords make ordinances, and sometimes the nobility make noble resolutions against it ; scandals, disorders, and all sorts of evils to body and soul come in their course as warnings to us ; but all to no purpose ; drunkenness, O Lord ! goes on like the ocean, which swallows up the rivers, and is ever athirst.

“ I should wish to speak to you to-day of the fatal propensity to drunkenness which our poor countrymen have ; but where

can I find language sufficiently strong to eradicate from us that hellish leprosy, which daily spreads more and more in every class of society, high and low, to such an extent that preaching and teaching are entirely useless? What can I say of it, when we see this child of the devil glide from the inhabitants of great cities into the cottages of the peasant, from the alehouse into the private abode? In my youth, to be drunk was accounted disgraceful in a nobleman; now the nobleman drinks even more than the clown. The princes and the great have received excellent lessons from their knights, and they drink unblushingly: drinking is a princely virtue. A nobleman or citizen who does not drink with them like a blackguard, is considered a contemptible fellow; he who gets drunk with those knights of the bottle, wins his armour and spurs in sleeping himself sober.¹

"Peasants, citizens, nobles treat ministers as they please. The preacher is not better treated, he cannot complain; if he does, he is not listened to. They give him just what they please, and rob him of his wheat and his fruit; the nobles make of him a thresher, a courier, a factor, and rob him of the means with which he should support himself and his family."²

Sometimes we might fancy our own Menot in the pulpit; as in this passage from his sermon on the last trumpet:—

"When Sodom and Gomorrha were overwhelmed in the twinkling of an eye, all the inhabitants of these cities,—men, women, and children, fell down dead, and rolled into the pit of hell. There was then no time for counting money, or gadding about with prostitutes; but in an instant every living thing perished. This was the drum and the trumpet of God; it is thus that it makes its poumerlé, poump! poumerlé, poump! pliz, plaz! schmir, schmir! This was the beat of drum of our God, or, as St. Paul says, 'the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God.' For when God thunders, it is like a beat of the drum, poumerlé, poump! This will be the war-cry and the taratan-

¹ Kirchenpostille, Luther's Werke: Walch, vol. xii. p. 784. Translation is impossible here.

² Doppelte Hauspostille. For an idea of society under the reformation, consult Luther's Schilderung der sittlichen Verderbniss der Deutschen zu seiner Zeit, aus Luther's Schriften zusammengestellt, von D. Bretschneider.

tara of God. Then all the heavens will resound with the noise : kir, kir, poumerlé, poup !”¹

On Sundays and feast-days, Luther was accustomed to assemble under his fine pear-tree, or, if it rained, in his study, his wife, children, and servants, and a small number of privileged friends, to whom he extemporized some pious instructions. These familiar effusions of the heart were not lost. Veit Dietrich has collected them under the title of “Hauspostille.” When the Reformer published them, in 1545, he added a preface, in which he explained his motive for doing so : “These,” said he, “are family sermons, the instructions of a grandfather to his children and servants, to teach them to lead a Christian life. God grant that they may not only reach their ears, but their hearts ! I flatter myself that they will bear fruit ; and I repeat with Isaias : ‘My word shall not return.’ The patriarchs were accustomed to preach in this manner. How is it that Veit Dietrich, my old table-companion, has been able to collect these commentaries ? truly, I cannot say ; still less can I conceive how they will be spread among the people. I thought that they would be condemned to oblivion. May those who read them find there the bread of life and celestial manna ! God be praised ! the Bible gains ground. The proverb says, ‘The cow has grass up to the belly.’ We also, in our time, have found rich pasturage in the word of God. God grant that we may seek our nourishment there before the day of the Lord arrives, and the wrath of Heaven punishes our infidelities ! May we not be again condemned to grind the stone with our teeth, as formerly under the papacy !”²

Luther foretold the decline of the Protestant pulpit, but without assigning its causes. He could not foresee that one day the Protestant preacher would dread to speak of dogmas, and that the minister of the Gospel would not venture to disturb the consciences of his auditory by exhibiting to their eyes those great images which alarm the soul, and make it pass from terror to repentance. This is a power which the Protestant minister has left to the Catholic priest. Listen to a Lutheran preacher, and

¹ Flügel, Geschichte der komischen Literatur, tom. i. p. 258, quoted by M. Peignot, *Predicatoriana*, p. 105.

² Gustav Pfizer, *Martin Luther's Leben*, p. 831.

say if you feel moved by his discourse. Luther had preserved the old traditions. He was not afraid to speak of the last judgment, of the wrath of God, of eternal pains. His eloquence frequently resembled that of Bridaine ; his reproaches to sinners from the pulpit were impassioned and impetuous.

He loved to talk upon an art in which, notwithstanding his affectation of modesty, he knew that he excelled. At table, his Sunium, his garden of the academy, his tribune of oratory, we see him often interrupt a conversation to speak about the poetry of preaching. Then the attention is redoubled, the silence is profound. The ale-cups stand on the table untouched ; Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Dietrich, Amsdorf, incline the ear, watchful to catch everything that he is going to say. On such a day they retire home earlier than usual, to commit their recollections to paper while fresh in their memory, lest they should be lost to posterity.

Luther would then say : " It is a difficult and perilous thing to preach Christ ; had I known it sooner, I should never have attempted it ; and, like Moses, would have said to God, ' Send whom thou wilt.' Nobody could have forced me to undertake so great a responsibility."

One day, when seated under his great pear-tree, he asked his neighbour Lauterbach how he liked the profession of preacher ? Lauterbach complained of his infirmities, temptations, weariness, and fears.

" My dear friend," said Luther to him, " you are telling my history ; I am as much afraid of the pulpit as you are ; but we must be resigned, and preach ; it is an imperative duty on us. You perhaps wish to be master, and wiser than me and others ? you look for glory, and are beset with temptations. Endeavour to preach God our Saviour, and do not care for what the world will think of you.

" What matter is it to me," he added, " if people say that I know not how to preach ? My only fear is that before God I may appear not to have spoken of His majesty and wondrous works as I ought. An enlightened, wise, and prudent preacher ought to announce the word of God with simplicity, and adapt his instructions to children, servants, and the poor ; to treat them as a mother does her child, whom she caresses and plays

with, and nourishes with milk instead of Malmsey wine. Such ought the evangelical preacher to do.

"I do not like to see Melancthon at my instructions or sermons. I cross myself then, and say, 'Avaunt, Philip!' Then I take courage, and fancy myself the first orator of Christendom.

"Sometimes, on coming down from the pulpit, I spit upon my preacher's gown: 'Fie! how you have preached; you have spoken long, without saying anything that you proposed to treat of.' The astonished people exclaim, 'What a fine sermon! we have not heard the like for a long time.' It is very difficult to keep to the text which one proposes to expound."

When Luther ascends the pulpit, a spectre rises before his eyes; it is the image of the pope, whom he sees as Macbeth does Banquo's ghost, where a corporeal eye cannot perceive it. These apparitions furnish him with striking images.

When he has to judge a majesty which has betrayed its trust,—at least in his eyes,—then his eloquence is splendid; then is enacted a drama in which the Christian believes he is a spectator of the judgment of the dead. The judge is there with flashing eye, holding in one hand the Bible, and in the other the pen with which he is to write his sentence. The crowned culprit appears in all his pomp of robes and insignia of royalty, which Luther strips from him one by one;—first the diadem, then the mantle, next the hand of justice, the sceptre, and, lastly, the sword. Nothing of the monarch remains, but a body of dust and clay, who has incessantly offended God, and whose iniquities and most secret thoughts are now laid bare. The earthly sovereign conceals his face, but he must drain the chalice to the dregs. He cries for mercy, but Luther stirs the wormwood. The monk's language burns and emits flames and lamentations which harrow and alarm. The illusion—for such it is—must needs be dissolved, else you would be completely fascinated.

Luther wrote in German and Latin; but his mother-tongue had most attractions for him. In proportion as he advances in years, and his labours become consolidated, he abandons the Latin idiom, notwithstanding its great services to him in his struggle with the papacy, and returns to the German. When he gets into a passion,—and that is very often,—he has need

of the language of artisans, street-porters, and soldiers, with which no Roman lexicon could provide him, and then his native tongue does not fail him. It possesses words for all his feelings, images for all his excesses, figures for all his rage.

The Latin style of the Reformer has neither the elegance, harmony, nor melody of the classic writers ; it is laboured and diffuse, like that of the schools ; it by turns copies St. Thomas and Scotus, and occasionally descends to barbarisms. When he wishes to contend with the scholars of the court of the Medici, as in his quarrel with Leo X., then, not to speak an ordinary language, he accumulates epithets, rounds his periods with redundancies, and fancies that he has found images when he falls into bombast. So Claudian would have written, had he been a theologian, or Lucan, had he magniloquently sung of commonplace matters. Anger alone inspires him ; but then he ceases to speak Latin, and uses a language that belongs not to the age of Augustus or the decline in the days of Quintilian, to the period of the schools or of the revival of literature ; it is semi-Saxon, semi-Roman, and resembles the German soldier, who, after the conquest, puts the sagum upon the toga. Luther makes use of expressions which are to be found in no writer of antiquity, and which Ducange, with all his lexicographical patience, could have found nowhere, and besides, would not have ventured to introduce into his glossary. He becomes low in expression in proportion to the greatness of the person whom he attacks ; if he wears the diadem or tiara, like Henry VIII. or Leo X., his style creeps and rolls in the mire.

Never, in so short a time, was the human mind more fertile. Three hundred works, of which the greater part may pass for perfect treatises on their subjects, were produced in thirty years ; and among them we do not include either his correspondence or his table-talk, which of themselves would form a sufficient reputation for a literary person of that period. This copiousness explains itself ; Luther wrote nothing except under excitement, and his whole soul was diffused in each of his works. He had no fear or anxiety for human eye ; he required no rest for his brain, nor to rub his forehead for ideas ; his pen could scarcely keep pace with his imagination. In his manuscripts no trace of

fatigue or hesitation is to be found ; no embarrassment or erasures, no ill-applied epithet or unmanageable expression ; and by the accuracy of the writing, we might imagine him to have been the transcriber rather than the author of the work. It is true that he had many sources open to him whence he could draw inspiration,—the fathers, the doctors of the Church and of the schools, the writers of Rome and of Athens, Moses and St. Paul, and the human heart, that volume of his predilection, but in which he often read what was not written there, especially when that heart beat within a Catholic bosom. Yet, notwithstanding this unheard-of consumption of ink, we cannot reproach him of sameness ; anger is at most the one sin into which he relapses when he speaks of the monks, the bishops, or the pope ; and he speaks of them always. From the day when Leo fulminated against him the bull “*Exsurge*,” the pope is always an ass or Antichrist ; the monks, libertines and blockheads ; the bishops, men without faith and God ; and Latomus or Prierias, fools and rogues. Put a fallen angel, if he agreed to it, in Luther’s place, and the angel will be condemned to turn in the same circle ; we only doubt if he would possess, like the Reformer, the poetry of insult. To heighten his insolence, Luther has new and bold turns, sallies which make a Catholic laugh, unwonted combinations of words, picturesque archaisms, which he scatters on his paper as others would gold-dust. Age did not correct him : when he had one foot in the grave ; when God intimated to him by various signs his approaching death ; and when he himself foretold his last hour ; he wrote, at the instigation of his friends, especially of the Elector, a pamphlet, in which he asserts of the then successor of St. Peter, that the devil enters into the body of the pope the day on which he puts on the tiara.¹

His friends, especially Melancthon, were afflicted at this choleric monomania, which no remonstrance could cure. Sometimes Luther himself let expressions of regret and repentance escape him : he said to Mathesius : “*My writings come down like a heavy shower ; I wish they would drop as gently as those of Philip and Brenz ;*” and, again : “*I have often left the highway ; the paternoster of which I make use, as a kind of*

¹ Das Papstthum, zum Teufel gestiftet.

bridge, is too flinty ; do not imitate me, but keep in the beaten track."¹

We may give unreserved praise to the hymns which he translated from Latin into German, and which he composed for the members of his communion. He did not travesty the Sacred Word. He is grave, solemn, simple, grand, and endeavours to reproduce the Latin image, without ever disfiguring it by capricious ornaments.

This collection had prodigious success ; the Latin hymns ceased all at once, and in the divine service nothing was heard but the musical stanzas of the Reformer, for Luther was at once the poet and musician of a great number of his hymns ; but the part of the poet is always better sustained than that of the musician. He arranged, rather than composed ; his most beautiful airs are Catholic reminiscences ; it is not even certain that the hymn which he sung with his companions on entering Worms, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott !" is entirely his own composition. It is a sacred melody, which he probably borrowed from the old Saxon Church, as he did from it his hymns and Latin proses.

We may consider the question of the improvement which Luther is said to have made on religious music in the double light of harmony and melody.²

As a harmonist, Luther, who was only imperfectly skilled in the knowledge of counterpoint, as his biographers admit, cannot be put in the same class with the Catholic composers, his contemporaries, or immediate successors. In Belgium, Josquin Deprez, who died in 1515, and Orlando di Lasso, in 1593 ; in France, Claude Goudimel, director of the pontifical chapel, the master of Palestrina, and who died in 1572 ; in Spain, Christopher Morales, cantor of the papal chapel, who flourished about 1540, are infinitely superior to the father of the Reformation with respect to musical science.

Luther, we know, so little understood music, that the greater

¹ "Dass seine Schriften so rauschten, wie der Platzregen, und er habe gewünscht, dass er so fein, und lieblich könnte regnen wie Philippus und Brenz."

² For this appreciation of Luther, considered as a musician, we are indebted to the Abbé Jouve, canon of Valence, and composer of various pieces of sacred music of high merit.

part of his chorals were arranged by his friend John Walther, and by Louis Senfel, master of the chapel of Louis duke of Bavaria.

As to melody, Luther's claims, less disputable, are nevertheless inferior to those of his rivals. In the first place, the Reformer is the real inventor of only a small number of musical phrases among all those which have been gratuitously attributed to him. He has derived many of them from the Catholic liturgy itself, and was inspired frequently by the popular airs which the children at that time used to sing beneath the windows of the rich for their daily bread. It is one of those airs, impressed with a gentle melancholy, which he one day heard under his window, and adapted to his hymn, "Es ist das Feil uns kommen."¹

But has the ancient solemnity of religious song gained by introducing into divine worship profane tunes adapted to pious words? We do not think that it has; and we cannot participate in the opinion of some writers, who perceive an improvement in an unfortunate innovation which still in our own time stamps the Lutheran service with a character different from that of our sacred office.

We have said that the most of Luther's melodies were reminiscences of musicians who had preceded him. Indeed, who is there that is ignorant that Rupf Selveccer, Speratus, Hermann, and many more, supplied him with numerous descants which he introduced into his lay hymns, without his even thanking the composers for them? He did not even his friend Walther, who regulated the melodies which Luther composed and sang to him, before adapting to them a very careful harmony besides.²

It results from the preceding: 1st, that Luther was not in a condition to stamp a successful movement on choral harmony; 2nd, that he had borrowed the greater part of the tunes attributed to him either from Catholic hymns already existing, or from popular tunes, or the personal inspirations of preceding or

¹ Mortimer, *der Choral-Gesang zur Zeit der Reformation*: Berlin, 1821, 4to. p. 8.

² "Luther selbst war ein Liebhaber und Kenner der Musik, und hatte tüchtige Gehülfen an Walther, Rupf, Selveccer, Nic. Hermann und andern mehr."

—Mortimer, *der Choral-Gesang zur Zeit der Reformation*: Berlin, 1821, 4to. p. 8.

contemporary composers ; 3rd, that by a compulsory result of his religious tendencies he suppressed, to the injury of sacred music, a great number of really beautiful hymns, particularly those of the offices of the dead and the Blessed Sacrament, and replaced others with hymns in the vulgar tongue.

Now, we would ask whether, on such grounds, Luther is to be considered as the restorer of sacred music ?

In justice, we must acknowledge that the Reformer, who was gifted with a fine voice, had studied sacred music successfully, and that we more than once meet with happy inspirations in his melodies. He had frequently musical parties at his monastery, where the works of the most celebrated Catholic composers,—Josquin Deprez among the rest,—were performed. But we may be certain that, unless it were for the extraordinary reputation which attached to all the Reformer's works, his reputation as a musician would never have crossed the boundaries of Upper Saxony. And even making every possible concession to his enthusiastic admirers by admitting that Luther was a musical genius, would his influence on the destinies of religious art, and his fame as a composer, have ever equalled that of a Palestrina or Allegri, and the other celebrated masters whose purely Roman inspirations have nothing in common with his ?

Placed between the great religious composers who immediately preceded or followed him, and whose works are intimately connected, and present a gradual succession of changes and improvements, he could neither arrest nor accelerate the movement of change and progress which would have been effected without him, and to which he could only have contributed his individual share, even though he had been forced to compete with the great masters of the Roman song. Consequently, the revival of music, which has been attributed to him exclusively, is one of those historical errors that will not bear strict examination.

In several chapters of this work we have considered many of the Reformer's works in a literary point of view. We cannot forget that of which Germany is so justly proud,—the German Bible, the noblest monument which he has raised to his native country. We shall be pardoned for recurring to this work, which engaged a considerable portion of his life.

As soon as he conceived the idea of translating the Bible into

the vulgar tongue, he applied himself with a youthful ardour to the study of Greek and Hebrew.¹

It was in the solitude of Wartburg,—of that castle “where he breathed like an eagle,” that he commenced his translation of the New Testament; ten years later the complete version of the Scriptures appeared. In 1522, he wrote from his prison to Amsdorf: “I intend to translate the Bible, although it is an undertaking beyond my power. I know, however, the profession of a translator, and I understand why no one hitherto has wished to put his name to a translation of the Bible. I should never attempt to publish the Old Testament, if I did not reckon on your assistance. Oh! if I had a little corner near you, with your assistance, I should complete my task; I hope to enrich my Germany with a better version than the Latin one. It is a great work, which deserves to occupy our minds, and which will serve our common salvation.”

Luther has initiated us into all the secrets of his torments as a translator; it will easily be seen that he must complain of the difficulty of the original, for the man always passes before the Christian, and faith does not impose silence on vanity.

“I am at length finishing,” he writes, in 1528, “the second part of the Old Testament, and I am at the most extraordinary portion of it. We are now endeavouring to make the prophets speak German. Great God! what a labour! to employ force to make the Hebrew poets express themselves in German. They resist, and are unwilling to forget their beautiful language to speak our barbarous idiom. It is as if you would force a nightingale to cease her charming melody, and sing like a cuckoo.”

Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Amsdorf, and Spalatinus, who were learned Hebrew scholars, in their turn offered him the tribute of their knowledge. Luther did not stand on ceremony with his friends; he borrowed from them when he had need, and he concealed neither his debts nor the number of his creditors. “The New Testament is finished,” he writes to Spalatinus, “Philip and I will occupy ourselves in polishing the work; it will be beautiful, if God wishes it; we have need of your assistance, that we may

¹ Th. Ecard has written a Dissertation on the Greek Manuscripts, of which Luther made use in translating the Bible (Lipsæ, 1723, 4to.). See, on this subject, Jani Lib. Hist. de Luthero Studii Bib. Instauratore: Halle, 1732, 8vo.

give the exact translation of some terms. We want some words in common use ; of courtly or refined language we have no need ; we wish this translation to be clear and comprehensible to every one. And therefore, to commence, give me the names and the colours of the precious stones described in the Apocalypse. Your court, if God pleases, will aid you ; you have the model before you." In another letter to Spalatinus, Luther inquires the names and species of certain animals, night-birds, and other inhabitants of the air, for which he cannot find synonymous terms in German. He did not know what the text meant by *tragelaphos*, *pygargus*, *oryx*, *camelopardus*.

He divided his great Bible work into several parts, of which each contained a particular subject, and might be considered as a complete work. To each fragment of this composition he added a preface, in which he examined the original as a rhetorician, and his translation as a grammarian. In the preface to his translation of the five books of Moses, he thus expresses himself : " I recommend all my readers to Christ, and I beg of them to obtain for me of God that I may successfully accomplish my difficult task of translating the Old Testament. The Hebrew language is but of little use here ; the Jews themselves do not always understand it, and I have found by experience that it is not always safe to trust to them. If the Bible is to be translated, it can only be by Christians possessed of the knowledge of Christ, without which all knowledge of language is absolutely worthless. If I cannot flatter myself with possessing all the necessary qualifications for the translator of so divine a work, I venture to say that this German Bible is clearer and safer than the Latin version. If the carelessness or ignorance of the printers does not spoil my work, I am sure that it will be preferable to the Septuagint. Now the mud sticks to the wheel, and there is not a tyro who would not give himself airs and remonstrate with me. Let them mind their own business ! I am prepared to find detractors. If any one boasts of being more learned than me, let him take the Bible and translate it, and then show me his work ; if it be better than mine, why should it not be preferred ? I believe that I have some knowledge. I have thought that—thanks to God—I could give lessons to all the high schools of the sophists, and now I find that I do not know even my mother-

tongue ; I declare that I have never seen a book or letter in which the German was written purely. Who can speak German well ? No one, and least of all the lawyers : great preachers, puppets of writers, who persuade themselves that they have the power to change the language, and daily invent new words ! In short, although we should combine all our efforts,—some their learning, others their language,—the Bible would give us enough to do to translate it properly. For mercy, then, a truce to calumny ; come to my aid, and be my auxiliaries in the work. If you refuse, take the Bible and translate it ; for all those who bark at me, and seek to scratch me with their nails, are neither pious nor learned enough, and are incapable of appreciating a pure text of the Bible ; only they would affect the mastership in a strange language, when they do not know even their own."

Job presented so many difficulties to him, that he was often on the point of abandoning his work ; nevertheless he had associated with him two great scholars, Melancthon and Aurogallus ; but, in spite of the aid of those two strong bulls,—as he termed his fellow-labourers,—the earth which they ploughed was so hard that they could scarcely make any daily progress.

Sometimes, in these short prefaces, setting aside the theological ideas of the Reformer, we are pleased to meet with the cultivator of art and poetry. In these slight sketches, which are models of style, the genius of the translator is tinged with the colours of the original. There are pages which flow spontaneously from his pen, so full of inspiration, that you might fancy you heard the prophet himself. For example, in this estimate of the Psalms, a book of which he was passionately fond :—

"The heart of man is a vessel on a lonely sea, agitated by the tempest. At one time fear and anxiety for the future urge him on ; at another, disappointment and present evils afflict him ; sometimes hope, or the desire of future good excites him ; and sometimes he is moved by the joys of this world. All these emotions are a grave lesson for man, who ought to learn to cast anchor on a firm word, and steer out of this life to a land of safety. In such tempestuous sea, what better pilot than the Psalmist ? Where else can he find sweeter language than in these hymns which exhale praise and gratitude ? There all the saints appear to us as in a garden, as in heaven itself, which will be open to

us, and their thoughts are like so many sweet flowers which bloom and expand for God their Creator! Where can we find a more affecting and acute melancholy than in the penitential Psalms? there we can read in the heart of the saints, as in death; there the face of the Eternal is covered with a sombre veil of wrath. If he wishes to express hope or fear, no painter has such brilliant colours, and Cicero would envy his treasures of imagery and eloquence. If you wish to see the Christian Church in all the pomp and garniture of life, although in a narrow compass, take and read the Psalms, the faithful mirror of Christianity; if you wish to know both God and his creatures, again turn to the Psalmist.”¹

He did not dissemble his own importance, and his high and magisterial tone gave lessons to his critics: “I have taught them,” he said, “the art of translating; I have taught them how to write; they rob me now of my elegant language, and in place of showing me gratitude, they abuse me. I forgive them. It is delightful to have taught my enemies to speak. God knows that I have not sought a vain reputation; that I am not stained with any earthly thought; and that I have not asked or received a single thaler for my work. This I call God to witness.”

If Luther was unjust to some Catholic critics, who, like Emser, detected in his translation a great number of errors, which disappeared in a new edition, though his fury towards his opponents increased, it cannot be denied that he took advantage of the friendly corrections which he received. He solicited them, and loved to extol the modest merit of some poor scholar who, to find a new interpretation, restore a word, point a passage more happily, or hit upon the meaning of an obscure paragraph, would often deprive himself of food and sleep.

Mathesius has recorded all that Luther did to improve his work. “When the Bible was finished, the doctor resumed his labours, revised it, and read it over page by page, comparing the texts, praying and meditating long. And as the Son of

¹ The whole of these short prefaces are contained in the select edition of Luther's Works, published at Hamburg by Frederick Perthes. But in order to form a judgment of the Reformer, we must not have recourse to such a collection, from which the editor has excluded all the angry and insulting expressions. Luther is made to write as if he had lived in the nineteenth century.

God has promised that he will always be where two or three are gathered in his name, Luther determined on instituting a sort of Sanhedrim, composed of select friends, who met together weekly in his room for some hours before supper. These were Doctor John Bugenhagen, Doctor Justus Jonas, Doctor Creuziger, Philip Melancthon, Matthew Aurogallus, and George Roerer, and sometimes foreign doctors and learned men."¹

Meanwhile Luther gave himself neither peace nor rest. He questioned Rabbins, Hebrew and Greek scholars, and Germans who knew all the mysteries of their mother-tongue. He sometimes visited a butcher's slaughterhouse, where he would cause a lamb to be cut up before him, that he might learn the name of each part of the animal, and then repair to the assembly of his friends, carrying his new version under his arm. Melancthon brought with him the Septuagint, Doctor Creuziger the Bible in Hebrew and Chaldee, Doctor Bugenhagen the Vulgate, and other professors rabbinical commentaries. When these expounders had assembled, the president selected a verse of the Bible, which he read in a loud voice, and each present gave in turn his interpretation. If some happy gloss was proposed, it was carefully noted, and afterwards appeared in the margin of the printed Bible, opposite the text which it explained or commented.

All such crumbs which fell from these banquets of the learned were carefully collected by Luther, and termed by him a celestial manna, while the Catholic interpreters have often rejected them as poison. Why should they have had more respect for these commentaries than Luther had for the glosses of the Catholic doctors? These doctors in like manner had obeyed the divine precept, had assembled in the cloister after imploring the light of the Holy Spirit, and laboured in common to elucidate God's word, just as the Sanhedrim of the Reformation did.

Luther compared the Catholic critics "to flies, who never light on the noble parts of an animal, but lodge, to torment him,

¹ According to a letter from Luther to Spalatinus, three presses of Hans Lufft threw off daily ten thousand sheets (Bogen) of the New Testament; in this statement there is either a mistake, or the printer worked a miracle. Each copy was sold for a thaler. From 1534 to 1574, Hans Lufft would have printed a hundred thousand copies of the complete Bible.—Effner, l. c. part i. p. 101, note.

in some secret spot: so they do with me; they pry into my work until they have found a place where they can bury their sting in my flesh." The comparison would have been more complete, if he had added that the lion with his mane and his tail knew very well where to find the insect. This importunate insect which stung him till he bled, and often made him cry for mercy, was Emser, who fastened upon the sore, and never left till he was filled with blood. It was of no use that the doctor cried out, "Papist, you are an ass; if it is a fault, let it remain; it is my will." The fault was discovered, and afterwards, whether he would or not, it was effaced.

When Luther had laid aside his translator's robe and returned to his conventual solitude among his disciples, and Ketha, his doctress, brought him his folio Bible bound in vellum, then he privately acknowledged the imperfections of his work.

After three centuries, see the state of matters; the German language has passed from the grammarian to the poet and the philosopher, who have treated it each according to his caprice. It has been altered, regenerated, transformed, grown old and become young again, so that Germany now complains of the insufficiency of Luther's translation.¹ The monk's production has been treated as he treated the Vulgate: a reform has been called for. The doctrines of Luther have long since had the fate of his translation.

The translation of Luther was fundamental in the formation of the German language.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE TRIBUNAL OF THE REFORMATION.

WE had intended to conclude our work by an examination into the influence which the Lutheran Reformation has had on the morals, learning, arts, and polity of Germany and Europe. But such an inquiry would demand a volume rather than a chapter; besides, the subject has already been profoundly treated

¹ Rössler (Carolus Godofredus philos. D. et diaconus), *De Scripturæ Sacræ Versione à Lutheri temporibus indè ad nostra tempora usque in Ecclesiâ Evangelico-Lutheranâ constanter usitatâ, cautè passim emandandâ*: Lipsiæ, 1837.

by Dr. Marx and M. Robelot. We ourselves, in proportion as the facts of history appear to us, have endeavoured to penetrate its causes, and judge of its effects. Nevertheless, it has seemed to us that a rapid analysis of the principal features of the Reformation, as traced by Protestant pens, which even the prejudiced reader cannot reject, should find a place here; and this evidence of dissentients must serve as a final judgment in favour of the Catholic historian. Once more, therefore, the Reformation shall judge itself.

The Reformation was a revolution, and they who rebelled against the authority of the Church were revolutionists.¹

However slightly you look into the constitution of the Church, you will be convinced that the Reformation possessed the character of an insurrection.²

What is the meaning of this fine word *Reformation*? Amelioration, doubtless. Well, then, with history before us, it is easy to show that it was only a prostration of the human mind. Glutted with the wealth of which it robbed the Catholics, and the blood which it shed, it gives us, instead of the harmony and Christian love of which it deprived our ancestors, nothing but dissensions, resentments, and discords.³

No, the Reformation was not an era of happiness and peace; it was only established by confusion and anarchy.⁴

Do you feel your heart beat at the mention of justice and truth? Acknowledge, then, what it is impossible to deny,—that Luther must not be compared with the apostles. The apostles came teaching in the name of Jesus Christ their Master; and the Catholics are entitled to ask us from whom Luther had his mission? we cannot prove that he had a mission direct or indirect.⁵

Luther perverted Christianity; he withdrew himself crimi-

¹ Bemerk. eines Protest. in Preussen über die *Tzschirner'schen* Anfeindungen, &c. 1824, p. 52.

² Steffens, quoted by Höninghaus, p. 354, tom. i.

³ Cobbett, History, &c. p. 4.

⁴ Lord Fitz William's Briefe des Atticus. In's Deutsche übersetzt von Ph. Müller, 1834, p. 33.

⁵ Bemerkungen eines Protestanten.

nally from the communion in which regeneration was alone possible.¹

It has been said that all Christendom demanded a reformation ; who disputes it ? But, long before the time of Luther, the papacy had listened to the complaints of the faithful. The Council of Lateran had been convened to put an end to the scandals which afflicted the Church.²

The papacy laboured to restore the discipline of the early ages, in proportion as Europe, freed from the yoke of brute force, became politically organized, and advanced with slow but sure step to civilization. Was it not at that time that the source of all religious truth was made accessible to scientific study, since, by means of the watchful protection of the papacy, the Holy Scriptures were translated into every language ? The New Testament of Erasmus, dedicated to Leo X., had preceded the quarrel about indulgences.³

A Reformer should take care that, in his zeal to get rid of manifest abuses, he does not at the same time shake the faith and its wholesome institutions to the foundation.⁴ When the Reformers violently separated themselves from the Church of Rome, they thought it necessary to reject every doctrine taught by her.⁵ Luther, that spirit of evil, who scattered gold with dirt, declared war with the institutions, without which the Church could not exist : he destroyed unity.⁶ Who does not remember that exclamation of Melancthon : " We have committed many errors, and have made good of evil without any necessity for it ? " ⁷

In justification of the brutal rupture of Germany with Rome, the scandals of the clergy are alleged. But if at the period of the Reformation there were priests and monks in Germany whose conduct was the cause of regret to Christians, their number was

¹ Novalis, *Höninghaus*, l. c. p. 356.

² Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte*, pp. 3, 5, et seq.

³ Schröckh, l. c. tom. iv. pref. ⁴ Vogt, *Historisches Testament*, tom. v.

⁵ Schröckh, l. c. tom. ix. p. 1805.

⁶ Kirchhoff, *Auch einige Gedanken über die Wiederherstellung der protestant. Kirche*, 1817.

⁷ Melancthon, lib. iv. cap. xix.

not larger than it had been previously. When Luther appeared, there were in Germany a great number of Catholic prelates whose piety the Reformers themselves have not hesitated to admire.¹

What pains they take to deceive us ! In books of every size they teach us, even at the present day, that the beast, the man of sin, the w—— of Babylon, are the names which God has given in his Scriptures to the pope and the papacy ! Can it be imagined that Christ, who died for our sins, and saved us by his blood, would have suffered that for ten or twelve centuries his Church should be guided by such an abominable wretch ?—that he would have allowed millions of his creatures to walk in the shadow of death ?—and that so many generations should have had no other pastor but Antichrist ?²

Luther mistook the genius of Christianity in introducing a new work to the world ; the immediate authority of the Bible as the sole criterion of the truth.³

If tradition is to be rejected, it follows that the Bible cannot be authoritatively explained but by acquired knowledge ; in a word, human interpretation based upon its comprehension of the Greek and Hebrew languages. So, by this theory, the palladium of orthodoxy is to be found in a knowledge of foreign tongues ; and living authority is replaced by a dead letter, a slavery a thousand times more oppressive than the yoke of tradition.⁴

Has any dogmatist succeeded in drawing up a confession of faith by means of the Bible, which could not be attacked by means of reason ?⁵

This formula, that the Bible must be the “*unicum principium theologiæ*,” is the source of contradictory doctrines in Protestant theology ; hence this question arises : “What Protestant theology is there in which there are not errors more or less ?”⁶ It was the Bible that inspired all the neologists of the sixteenth century ; the Bible that they made use of to persecute and condemn themselves as heretics.⁷

¹ Bretschneider, *der Simonismus*, p. 168.

² Cobbett.

³ Novalis, *Fr. von Hardenberg's Schriften*, 1826.

⁴ Schelling, *Vorlesungen über das akademische Studium*, p. 200.

⁵ Fischer, *Zur Einleitung in die Dogmatik*, p. 219.

⁶ Von Langsdorf, *Blützen der protest. Theol.* 1829, p. 623.

⁷ *Jenär's Allg. Literaturzeitung*, 1821, No. 48.

When Luther maintained that the Bible contains the enunciation of all the truths of which a knowledge is necessary to salvation, and that no doctrine which is not distinctly laid down in the Bible can be regarded as an article of faith, he did not imagine that the time was at hand when everybody, from this very volume, would form a confession for himself, and reject all others which contradicted his individual creed. This necessity for inquiry so occupies the minds of men at the present day, that the principal articles of the original creed are rejected by those who call themselves the disciples of Jesus.¹

But what are we to understand by the Bible? The question was a difficult one to solve even at the beginning of the Reformation, when Luther, in his preface to the translation of the Bible, laid down a difference between the canonical book, by preferring the gospel of St. John to the three other evangelists; by depreciating the epistle of St. James as an epistle of straw, that contained nothing of the Gospel in it, and which an apostle could not have written, since it attributed to works a merit which they did not possess.²

It was in the Bible that Luther discovered these two great truths of salvation which he revealed to the world at the beginning of his apostleship,—*the slavery of man's will, and the impeccability of the believer.*

It is said in Exodus, chapter IX., that God hardened the heart of Pharaoh. It was questioned whether these words were to be construed literally? This Erasmus rightly denied, and it roused the doctor's wrath. Luther, in his reply, furiously attacks the fools who, calling reason to their aid, dare call for an account from God why He condemns or predestines to damnation innocent beings before they have even seen the light. Truly Luther, in the eyes of all God's creatures, must appear a prodigy of daring, when he ventures to maintain that no one can reach heaven unless he adopts the slavery of the human will. And it is not merely by the spirit of disputation, but by settled conviction that he defends this most odious of all ideas. He lived and died teaching that horrible doctrine, which the most illustrious

¹ Wix, *Betrachtungen über die Zweckmässigkeit*, 1819.

² Menzel, l. c. p. 165.

of his disciples,—among others Melancthon and Matthew Albert of Reutlingen,—condemned.¹

“How rich is the Christian!” repeated Luther; “even though he wished it, he cannot forfeit heaven by any stain; believe, then, and be assured of your salvation: God in eternity cannot escape you. Believe, and you shall be saved: repentance, confession, satisfaction, good works, all these are useless for salvation: it is sufficient to have faith.”²

Is not this a fearful error,—a desolating doctrine? If you demonstrate to Luther its danger or absurdity, he replies that you blaspheme the Spirit of Light.³ Neither attempt to prove to him that he is mistaken; he will tell you that you offend God. No, no, my brother, you will never convince me that the Holy Spirit is confined to Wittenberg any more than to your person.⁴

Not content with maledictions, Luther then betakes him to prophecy; he announces that his doctrine, which proceeds from heaven, will gain, one by one, all the kingdoms of the world. He says of Zwinglius’ explanation of the Eucharist: “I am not afraid of this fanatical interpretation lasting long.” On the other hand, Zwinglius predicted that the Swiss creed would be handed down from generation to generation, crossing the Elbe and the Rhine. Prophet against prophet, if success be the test of truth, Luther will inevitably have to yield in this point.⁵

The Reformation, which at first was entirely a religious phenomenon, soon assumed a political character: it could not fail to do so. When people began to exclaim, like Luther, on the house-tops, “The emperor Charles V. ought not to be supported longer, let him and the pope be knocked on the head” (Opera; Jenæ, tom. vii. p. 278); then, “he is an excited madman, a bloodhound, who must be killed with pikes and

¹ Plank, tom. ii. pp. 113—181. The work of Albert Reutlingen is entitled, *Vom rechten Brauch der ewigen Vorsehung Gottes wider die hochfahrenden Geister, fleischliche Klugheit und Fürwitz*: August, 1525.

² Luther, *De Captivitate Babyl.*

³ V. Mathisson, *Prosaïsche Schriften*.

⁴ Œcolamp. *Antwort auf Luther's Vorrede zum Syngamma*: E. Halle, tom. xx. p. 727.

⁵ Plank, l. c. tom. ii. p. 764, note.

clubs ;”¹ how could civil society continue subject to authority ? It was natural that the monk’s virulent writings against the bishops’ spiritual power should be reduced by the subjects of the ecclesiastical superiors into a political theory. When he proclaimed that the yoke of priests and monks must be shaken off, we might expect that this wild appeal would be directed against the tithes which the people paid to the prelates and the abbots.² The Saxon’s doctrine being based solely on the Holy Scriptures, the peasant considered himself authorized in virtue of their text to break violently with his lord : hence that long war between the cottage and the castle. This it was that made Erasmus write sorrowfully to Luther : “ You see that we are now reaping the fruits of what you sowed. You will not acknowledge the rebels ; but they acknowledge you, and they know only too well, that many of your disciples, who clothed themselves in the mantle of the Gospel, have been the instigators of this bloody rebellion. In your pamphlet against the peasants you in vain endeavour to justify yourself. It is you who have raised the storm, by your publications against the monks and the prelates ; and you say that you fight for Gospel liberty, and against the tyranny of the great ! From the moment that you began your tragedy, I foresaw the end of it.”³

That civil war, in which Germany had to mourn the loss of more than a hundred thousand of her children, was the consequence of Luther’s preaching. It is fortunate that, through the efforts of a Catholic prince, Duke George of Saxony, it was speedily brought to an end. Had it lasted but a few years longer, of all the ancient monuments with which Germany was filled, not a single vestige would have remained. Carlstadt might then have sat upon their ruins, and sung, with his Bible in his hand, the downfall of the images. The iconoclast’s theories, all drawn from the word of God, held their ground in spite of Luther, and dealt a fatal blow to the arts.

“ When a gorgeous worship requires magnificent temples, imposing ceremonies, and striking solemnities ; when religion presents to the eye sensible images as objects of public veneration

¹ Kern, *Der Protestantismus und Kathol.* p. 32.

² Menzel, *l. c.* tom. i. pp. 167—169.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 174—178.

tion ; when earth and heaven are peopled with supernatural beings, to whom imagination can lend a sensible form ; then it is that the arts, encouraged and ennobled, reach the zenith of their splendour and perfection. The architect, raised to honours and fortune, conceives the plan of these basilicas and cathedrals, whose aspect strikes us with religious awe, and whose richly-adorned walls are ornamented with the finest efforts of art. These temples and altars are decorated with marbles and precious metals, which sculpture has fashioned into the similitude of angels, saints, and the images of illustrious men. The choirs, the jubes, the chapels, and sacristies, are hung with pictures on all sides. Here Jesus expires on the cross ; there he is transfigured on Mount Thabor. Art, the friend of imagination, which delights only in heaven, finds there the most sublime creations,—a St. John, a Cecilia, above all a Mary—that patroness of tender hearts, that virgin model to all mothers, that mediatrix of graces, placed between man and his God, that august and amiable being of whom no other religion presents either the resemblance or the model. During the solemnities, the most costly stuffs, precious stones, and embroidery, cover the altars, vessels, priests, and even the very walls of the sanctuary. Music completes the charm by the most exquisite strains, by the harmony of the choir. These powerful incentives are repeated in a hundred different places ; the metropolises, parishes, the numerous religious houses, the simple oratories, sparkle with emulation to captivate all the powers of the religious and devout mind. Thus a taste for the arts becomes general, by means of so potent a lever, and artists increase in number and rivalry. Under this influence the celebrated schools of Italy and Flanders flourished ; and the finest works which now remain to us testify the splendid encouragement which the Catholic religion lavished upon them.

“ After this natural progress of events, it cannot be doubted that the Reformation has been unfavourable to the fine arts, and has very much restrained the exercise of them. It has severed the bonds which united them to religion, which sanctified them, and secured for them a place in the veneration of the people. . . . The Protestant worship tends to disenchant the material imagination ; it makes fine churches, and statues, and

paintings unnecessary; it renders them unpopular, and takes from them one of their most active springs."¹

The peasants' war was soon succeeded by the spoliation of the monasteries; "an invasion of the most sacred of all rights, more important, in certain respects, than liberty itself,—property."² From that time not a day passed without Luther preaching up the robbery of the religious houses. To excite the greed of the princes whom he wished to secure to his views, he loved to direct their attention to the treasures which the abbeys, cloisters, sacristies, and sanctuaries contained. "Take them," he said; "all these are your own,—all belong to you." Luther was convinced, that to the value of the golden remonstrance which shone on the Catholic altars he was indebted for more than one conversion. In a moment of humour he said, "The gentry and princes are the best Lutherans; they willingly accept both monasteries and chapters, and appropriate their treasures."³

The landgrave of Hesse, to obtain authority for giving his arm to two lawful wives, took care to make the wealth of the monasteries glitter in the eyes of the church of Wittenberg, so that as the price of their permission he was willing to give it to the Saxon ministers.⁴ The plunder of Church property, preached by Luther, will be the eternal condemnation of the Protestants. Though Naboth's vineyard may serve as a bait or reward for apostasy, it cannot justify crime.

A laureate of the Institute has discovered grounds for palliating this blow to property. He congratulates the princes who embraced the Reformation for having, by means of the ecclesiastical property, filled their coffers, paid their debts, applied the confiscated wealth to useful establishments, clubs, universities, hospitals, orphanages, retreats, and rewards for the old servants of the state.⁵

But Luther himself took care, on more than one occasion, to denounce the avarice of the princes who, when once masters of

¹ Charles Villers, *Essai sur l'Esprit et l'Influence de la Réformation*, pp. 267—269.

² J. J. Rousseau, *Discours sur l'Economie Politique*.

³ Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments: Witt. 1528.

⁴ See the chapter of this volume entitled Bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse.

⁵ Charles Villers, *Essai*, p. 104.

the monastic property, employed its revenues for the support of mistresses and packs of hounds. We remember the eloquent complaints which he uttered in his old age against these carnal men, who left the Protestant clergy in destitution, and did not even pay the schoolmasters their salaries. He mourned then, but it was too late. Sometimes the chastisement of Heaven fell, even in this life, on the spoiler; and Luther has mentioned instances of several of those iron hands, who, after having enriched themselves by the plunder of a monastery, church, or abbey, fell into abject poverty.¹

Besides, we will admit that Luther never thought of consoling the plundered monks by asserting, like M. Charles Villers, that "one of the finest effects of these terrible commotions which unsettle all properties, the fruits of social institutions, is to substitute for them greatness of mind, virtues, and talents, the fruits of nature exclusively."²

If the triumph of the peasants in the fields of Thuringia might have been an irreparable misfortune to Germany and Christianity, we cannot deny that Luther's appeal to the secular arm, to suppress the rebellion, may have thoroughly altered the character of the first reformation. Till then it had been established by preaching; but from the moment of that bloody episode, it required the civil authority to move it. The sword, therefore, took the place of the word; and to perpetuate itself the Reformation was bound to exaggerate the theory of passive obedience.³

One of the distinguished historians of Heidelberg, M. Carl Hagen, has recently favoured us with some portions of the political code in which Protestantism commands subjects to be obedient to the civil power, even when it commands them to commit sin.⁴

Thus the democratic element, first developed by the Reformation, was effaced to become absorbed in the despotic. It was no longer the people but the prince who chose or rejected the Protestant minister. When the landgrave of Hesse consulted

¹ Symposiac. c. iv.

² Essai, p. 103.

³ Carl Hagen, Neues Verhältniss zu den öffent. Gewalten, tom. ii. p. 151.

⁴ "So müsse der Unterthan gehorchen, auch wenn die Obrigkeit etwas wider das Gebot Gottes befehle," l. c. p. 155.

Melancthon, in 1525, as to the line he should pursue in the appointment of a pastor, the doctor told him that he had the right to interfere in the election of ministers, and that if he surmounted the struggles into which the word of God had involved him, he ought not to commit that sacred word but to such preacher as seemed best to him (*vernünftigen*); in other terms, observes the historian, to him whom the civil power thinks competent (*den welchen die Obrigkeit dafür hält*). And Martin Bucer contrived to extend Melancthon's theory by constituting the civil power supreme judge of religious orthodoxy, by conferring on it the right of ultimate decision in questions of heresy, and of punishing, if necessary, by fire and sword innovators, who are a thousand times more culpable, he says, than the robber or murderer, who only steal the material bread and slay the body, while the heretic steals the bread of life and kills the soul.¹

Intolerance then entered into the councils of the Reformation. It was no longer with the peasants that Luther declared war. Whoever did not believe in his doctrines was denounced as a rebel; in the Saxon's eyes, the peasant was only an enemy to be despised; the real Satan was Carlstadt, Zwinglius, or Krautwald.²

His disciples were no longer satisfied with plundering the monasteries, they desired to live in ease; they must have servants, a fine house, a well-supplied table, and plenty of money.³ We are initiated into the private life of the Reformers by a zealous Protestant, a patrician of Nuremberg.

The struggle then was no longer with piety and knowledge, but with power and influence. Every city and town had its own Lutheran pope.⁴ At Nuremberg, Osiander was a regular pacha. Those who among the Protestants endeavoured to reprove his

¹ Carl Hagen, l. c. pp. 152, 154, et seq.

² "Und nun erst habe man mit dem eigentlichen Satan zu kämpfen." Luther an Joh. Hess, 22 April, 1526.—De Wette, tom. iii. p. 104.

³ "Sunt apud nos concionatores bini, qui sub initium centum aureorum stipendio ac victu tanto pro se et famulis suis professi, ceterum quum viderent, se jam populo persuasisse, centum quinquaginta exigerunt, ac paulo post ultra habitationem propriam et victum splendidum ducentos petiere aureos, aut se abituros sunt minati."

⁴ "... "Fast jede Stadt und jeder Ort hatte seinen lutherischen Papst."—Carl Hagen, l. c. p. 187.

scandalous ostentation were abused and maligned.¹ When he ascended the pulpit, his fingers were adorned with diamonds which dazzled the eyes of his hearers.²

The religious disputes which disturbed men's minds in Germany retarded rather than advanced the march of intellect. Blind people who fought furiously with each other could not find the road to truth. These quarrels were only another disease of the human mind.³ Although printing served to disseminate the principles of the Reformers, the sudden progress of Lutheranism, and the zeal with which it was embraced, prove that reason and reflection had no part in their development.⁴

M. Villers has drawn a brilliant sketch of the influence which the Reformation exercised over biblical criticism. It may be said that criticism of the Scripture text was unknown previous to the time of Luther; and if by this is meant that captious, whimsical, and shuffling criticism which M. de Wette has so justly condemned,—certainly so. But that which relates to languages, antiquities, the knowledge of times, places, authors,—in a word, hermeneutics, was known and practised in our schools before the Reformation, as is proved by the works of Cajetan and Sadoletus, and a multitude of learned men whom Leo X. had encouraged and rewarded. We have seen besides, in the history of the Reformation, what that vain science has produced. It was by means of his critical researches that, from the time of Luther, Carlstadt found such a meaning of “*semen immolare Moloch*,” as made his disciple shrug his shoulders; that Munzer preached community of goods and wives; that Melancthon taught that the dogma of the Trinity deprives our mind of all liberty;⁵ that at a later period Ammon asserted that the resurrection of the dead could not be deduced from the New Testament;⁶ Veter, that the Pentateuch was not written by

¹ “*Dienigen, welche sich über dieses Feilschen mit dem Worte Gottes aufhielten, wurden von ihnen gescholten.*”—*Ibid.* p. 187.

² . . . “*Er trug immer Ringe an den Fingern, selbst wenn er predigte.*”—*Epist. Erasmi*: Lond. Carl Hagen, l. c. p. 188.

³ Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations*, quoted by M. Maleville, *Discours sur l'Influence de la Réformation*, p. 141.

⁴ Hume, *History of the House of Tudor under Henry VII.* ch. iii.

⁵ *Loci Theol.* 1521.

⁶ *Biblische Theologie*, tom. iii. p. 367 (1841).

Moses ; that the history of the Jews to the time of the Judges is only a popular tradition ; Bretschneider, that the Psalms cannot be looked upon as inspired ;¹ Augusti, that the true doctrine of Jesus Christ has not been preserved intact in the New Testament ;² and Geisse, that not one of the four gospels was written by the evangelist whose name it bears.³

“ Since the days of Semler, Germany presents a singular spectacle ; every ten years, or nearly so, its theological literature undergoes a complete revolution. What was admired during the one decennial period is rejected in the next, and the image which they adored is burnt to make way for new divinities ; the dogmas which were held in honour fall into discredit ; the classical treatise of morality is banished among the old books out of date ; criticism overturns criticism ; the commentary of yesterday ridicules that of the previous one, and what was clearly proved in 1840 is not less disproved in 1850 ; the theological systems of Germany are as numerous as the political constitutions of France, —one revolution only awaits another.”⁴

¹ Bretschneider, *Handb. der Dogmatik*, tom. i. p. 93.

² *Theol. Monatschr.* No. 9.

³ Geisse, *Paradoxa über hochwichtige Gegenstände des Christenthums*, 1829.

⁴ *Le Semeur*, June, 1850.

CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE.

No. I.

*Epithalamia Martini Lutheri Wittebergensis Johannis Hessi
Vratislaviensis, p. 215.*

HYMNUS PARANYMPHORUM.

Io, Io, Io, Io, Dulces Lutheriaci cum júbilo
Gaudeamus cum júbilo; cæsus cæcam ducit.

Io, Io, Io,
Gaudeamus cum júbilo
Dulces Lutheriaci
Cum júbilo.

Noster pater hic Lutherus,
Nostræ legis hic sincerus,
Nuptam ducet hodie
Cum júbilo.

Qui cum sacra sacer junctus,
Quæ docebat est perfunctus,
Et confecit omnia
Cum júbilo.

Io, Io, Io,
Gaudeamus cum júbilo
Dulces Lutheriaci
Cum júbilo.

Tali namque jacta basi
Nuptiantur nostri rasi
.
Cum júbilo.

CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE.

Sed imprimis noster Hæssus,
 Cui spirat ut cupressus
 Uxor.
 Cum júbilo.

Noster est et Pellicanus
 Osiander, Pomeranus,
 Zwingel cum Dominico,
 Cum júbilo.

Et tu, bone Spalatine;
 Nostræ simul es farinæ
 Inclite Pomilio;
 Cum júbilo.

Noster luscus Gabrielus,
 Et cellensis Michaelus,
 Straus et Carlostadius
 Cum júbilo.

Lynck et Mizisch ventricosus,
 Lang et Frizenhaus pannosus,
 Et Œcolampadius,
 Cum júbilo.

His magistris licet nobis
 Omne nefas: licet probis
 Omnibus obstrepere;
 Cum júbilo.

Conculcare jura, leges,
 Infamare licet reges,
 Papamque cum Cæsare;
 Cum júbilo.

Sed et ipsos irridemus
 Christi sanctos, et delemus
 Eorum imagines;
 Cum júbilo.

At Priapum Lampsacenum
 Veneramur, et Sylenum,
 Bacchumque cum Venere;
 Cum júbilo.

Hi sunt veteres coloni
 Nostri ordinis, patroni

Quibus ille militat
Cum júbilo.

Septa claustrī dissipamus,
Sacra vasa compilamus,
Sanctus ante suppetat,
Cum júbilo.

I cuculla, vale cappa,
Vale Prior, Custos, Abba,
Cum obedientia,
Cum júbilo.

Ite vota, preces, horæ,
Vale timor cum pudore,
Vale conscientia,
Cum júbilo.

No. II.

Erasmus's Letter to Daniel Mauch, p. 225.

Amantem non redamare, Daniel optime, vix ferarum est. Amas Erasmus ex litteris cognitum. Ego redamo Danielem ex humanissimis modestissimisque litteris non ignotum. Dictus est Daniel vir desideriorum. Quid itaque mirum, si Desiderius Desiderium desideras? Sed quid narras? cæteri quietis desiderio relinquunt principum aulas, et tu velut e fluctibus temet in aulam, velut in portum tranquillum contulisti? Nausea sui similis est, tantum me faciens ubique suis laudibus, quantum esse me immodice amanti persuasit amor. Montini lepidissimis litteris nescio an vacet nunc respondere. Nunciabis illi rem lætam. Lutherus, quod felix faustumque, deposito philosophi pallio, duxit uxorem, ex clara familia Bornæ, puellam eleganti forma, natam annos 26, sed indotatam, et quæ pridem desierat esse vestalis. Atque ut scias auspicas fuisse nuptias, pauculis diebus post decantatum hymenæum nova nupta peperit. Jocatur ille in crisin sanguinis; verum ea crisis Orco dedit agricolarum plus minus centum millia. Nunc remisit paroxismus, et Nausea si venerit, reperiet malum aliquanto moderabilius. Bene vale, et meus esto, debes autem, si Nauseam diligis. Datum Basilæ, 6 d. Oct. anno 1525. Eras. Rot. tuus.

No. III.

On the Tisch-Reden, p. 264.

In 1566, John Aurifaber, one of Luther's disciples, published at Eisleben the doctor's table-talk, "*Tisch-Reden*." He dedicated this collection to the burgomasters and councillors of the imperial cities of Strasburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Lubeck, Hamburg, Lunenburg, Brunswick, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and Ratisbon.

In the preface to this work, which forms a folio volume of 1,254 pages, Aurifaber tells us that he has collected, for the instruction of his readers, everything which fell from Luther's lips at table,—questions, answers, anecdotes, opinions, thoughts, prophecies, consolations, and jokes; pious treasures, which ought not to remain buried, and which he publishes for the glory and triumph of the Reformation;—CELESTIAL FOOD, which fell from the doctor's table, and which will serve for the nourishment of those who hunger after God's word; a source of consolation and instruction for all Christians.

Aurifaber compares his master to Moses, Elias, and St. Paul, and with tears in his eyes complains of the discredit into which Luther's doctrine falls daily more and more. "These are the days when phrases," he says, "verbal disputation,—'bellum grammaticale'—are in fashion. Our universities and schools decay, and scholasticism revives. Politicians, jurists, courtiers, seek to govern the Church, assume the place of pastors, and rule the religious world as they please. Luther was a prophet. He said: 'I tell you that dense darkness will succeed to the pure light of the Gospel; the day is at hand when the Gospel will cease to be preached.' Luther was a prophet. His teaching is at the present moment despised,—Germany has had enough of it,—his very name almost fatigues the ear."¹

So, then, it was for the sake of men's souls, for the advancement of the reign of light and the triumph of the Gospel, that the pious disciple collected and published these pages, of which we have quoted only a few imperfect scraps.

The imperial cities to which Aurifaber dedicated his work had

¹ "Hierinnen ist nu Doktor Martinus Lutherus ein wahrhaftiger Prophet gewesen, den seine Lehre ist jetzt also verachtet, man ist ihrer auch also überdrüssig, müde und satt worden im deutschen Lande, dass man seines Namens schier nicht gerne hört gedencken."

all received the light of the Gospel. Luther incessantly boasted in his correspondence of their zeal and love for the truth. There was not one who objected to Aurifaber's collection when the "Tisch-Reden" appeared; all were edified by the conversations at table, and the zeal of the disciple who had taken so much pains to preserve them. Aurifaber tells us that he has formed the "Tisch-Reden" from the notes taken by the customary companions of Luther,—Lauterbach, Dietrich, Besoldi, Schlagenhauffen, John Mathesius, Rörer, John Stoltz, and James Weber. In 1566, when Aurifaber's collection appeared, several of Luther's messmates were still alive, and none of them made the least protest against that publication, or accused Luther's disciple of unfaithful reporting.

Frederick Mecum, clergyman at Gotha, wrote to the publisher of a re-impression of the "Tisch-Reden:"—"In my opinion, you have done a good deed in reprinting these comforting and affecting conversations which our beloved friend held at table, and which ought to be circulated among the people."

Now this Frederick Mecum (Myconius) was one of Luther's friends; his learning and piety have been praised by Seckendorf.

In 1567, two new editions of the "Tisch-Reden" appeared at Frankfort; one in octavo, the other in folio; in 1568, a fourth impression was published in the same city. Prefixed to this latter is an advertisement by Aurifaber, who congratulates himself on the success which his work has obtained.

The "Tisch-Reden" continued to be sold throughout Protestant Germany; Luther's disciples laboured to disseminate them; the booksellers loaded their stalls with them at the fair of Frankfort-on-the-Maine; the apostate monks hawked them in the monasteries; the binders clothed them in the richest style, as in the copy we possess, of which the vellum cover is embossed with the portraits of John Huss, Erasmus, and Luther. Listen as attentively as you will, you will not hear at that time any voice raised against the daring or unfaithfulness of Aurifaber.

This was because Aurifaber was still alive, and could, if necessary, summon as witnesses a crowd of frequenters of the Wittenberg alehouse, who at night, by the gleam of a small lamp, had heard with their own ears the conversations which one of the guests has faithfully reported. Prefixed to all the new editions of the collection was a dedication to the imperial cities of Protestant Germany; but the imperial cities were silent, like everybody else.

In 1569, John Finck published a new edition of the "Tisch-Reden," with an appendix. The book is dedicated to the Council of the city of Rauschemburg, in a letter dated 24th of March, 1568. At the end are "*Prophecyeen*, Prophecies of Doctor Martin Luther, to call and exhort to Christian repentance, collected with great care and order, by Master George Walther, preacher at Halle, in Saxony."

The "Tisch-Reden" was the "book of the season," and Finck's edition was soon exhausted.

Then appeared two others, also in folio, at Eisleben, in 1569 and 1577, which Fabricius has described in his "*Centifolium Lutheranium*," p. 301.

Still Germany preserved the same silence, and the "Table-Talk" continued to be the favourite book of that nation.

Stangwald, one of the continuators of the "Centuries of Magdeburg," met with a copy of the original edition of the "Tisch-Reden," annotated on the margin by Joachim Merlin, one of Luther's friends. He published two editions of it at Frankfort, in 1571, by the heirs of Thomas Rebart, and another in 1590, dedicated to the Council of Mulhouse. In his preface, Stangwald promises, if God wills, to give another part of the "Table-Talk:" this continuation never appeared.

Stangwald's text, revised and corrected,—for Aurifaber's edition is very faulty,—was published at Jena in 1603, and at Leipsic in 1621, in folio; but the editor substituted Aurifaber's preface for that of Stangwald.

In 1700, Andrew Zeidler published at Leipsic a new edition of the "Tisch-Reden," with George Walther's "Prophecies," and the two prefaces of Aurifaber and Stangwald. Zimmermann and Gerlach reprinted the "Table-Talk," still in German, in 1723, with the imprint of Dresden and Leipsic.

One of Luther's contemporaries, Nicolas Selneccer, who died in 1592, and who was a disciple of Melancthon, wished in his turn to give a more careful edition of Luther's conversations. He had equal admiration and gratitude for the doctor. Prefixed to his labour, which appeared in 1577, is a biography of the Wittemberg ecclesiastes, whom he considers to have been a man sent from heaven, another St. Paul. Selneccer's edition is deemed superior to that of Aurifaber.

The German language could not make the "Table-Talk" sufficiently popular; the Latin was employed to communicate these

tavern confidences to the learned beyond the Rhine, who were not familiar with the German idiom.

The first very complete edition of the "Table-Talk" in Latin was published by Rebenstock, minister of the Gospel at Echerseim. He was assisted in the work by the "*Silvula Sententiarum Reverendi Martini Lutheri ac Philippi Melanchthonis*," published by Etriceus at Frankfort in 1566, in 8vo. Rebenstock's book forms two volumes, entitled, "*Colloquia, Meditationes, Consolationes, Consilia, etc., D. Martini piæ ac sanctæ memoriæ, in mensa prandii et cœnæ et in peregrinationibus observata ac fideliter transcripta, 1571*;" a curious book, which only contains a portion of Aurifaber's, but several things not to be found in the German text,—the famous story of the bull, *inter alia*.

Rebenstock participated in Aurifaber's devotion to Luther. He calls these conversations divine food, living waters, from which the Christian may draw, as from a sacred fountain, the pure word of God.¹

For more than a century, the "Table-Talk" continued to be circulated in Germany without any one thinking to question their authenticity. Only, as the ear became more refined, the most complete text, that of Aurifaber, was subjected by the Lutheran editors to singular mutilations. Weislinger, in his "*Fris Vogel oder Stirb*," has noted some curious alterations of the original text.

In the Frankfort edition, which Weislinger had under his own eyes, we read, at page 330, "*Ich will ihnen die nehrlichsten Worten geben und sie heissen Marcolphum im Ars lecken*;" and in that of Dresden, folio 619, "*Ich will ihnen die nârrischten Wort geben, und sie heissen Marcolphum in der lateinischen Kunst lecken*." "*Lambere Marcolphi clunes*" were Luther's words, which at least are intelligible; but the modern Protestant, in their room, writes something incomprehensible: "*Lambere Marcolphum in Latino Sermonem*."

In the Eisleben edition, folio 360, Luther says of the pope: "If the pope were St. Peter himself, we should account him a rascal and a devil." This, by means of an interpolation, is entirely changed in that of Dresden: "If the pope were the devil himself, we should account him a rascal and a devil, so long as he persevered in his idolatrous practices."

¹ *Lutherus in mensâ Dei verbum thesaurum pretiosissimum fideliter docuit suisque distribuit.*

If you wish to know what the apostles were, Luther tells you in the Eisleben edition (1566), p. 133, "They were sinners and arrant rogues, 'gute, grobe, grosse Schälke ;'" but in the Dresden edition of 1723, the three epithets are expunged ; "the apostles were merely ordinary sinners."

And the jurists, "brokers, botchers," as you will see in pp. 557, 559, 561, 562 of Aurifaber's edition ; but in that of Dresden, fol. 781, 782, they are the executioners of great works, because at Dresden, as at Frankfort, what we call a hangman is a magistrate.

And woman, "The sweetest thing on earth, when we can please her," as you will find in Aurifaber's edition, p. 442 ; but, adds that of Dresden, p. 679, "in Gottes Furcht,"—in Dei timore, in the fear of the Lord.

The "Tisch-Reden" has been printed in England also : the translation appeared in 1652, in folio, by the title of "Luther's Divine Discourses at his Table." The translator was Henry Bell. Bell, as he mentions in his preface, had a friend in Germany named Gaspard von Sparr, who discovered in the foundations of an old house occupied by his ancestors, the "Tisch-Reden" carefully wrapped in a thick cloth. He opened it, and sent it secretly to his friend, who was well acquainted with German, urging him to translate it into English. Six weeks after, between twelve and one at night, an old man with a white beard suddenly appeared in the captain's bedroom, and taking him by the ear, said : "Sirrah ! will not you take time to translate that book which is sent unto you out of Germany ? I will shortly provide for you both place and time to do it ;" and the apparition vanished.

"Fifteen days after," says M. Brunet, "Bell was thrown into prison. During his five years' confinement, he occupied himself in translating the 'Table-Talk.' Archbishop Laud being desirous to know the work on which the prisoner was engaged, sent for the manuscript, and after perusing the book procured the captain's liberty."

In 1646, the House of Commons ordered his translation to be published. The order was somewhat in these terms : "Whereas Captain Henry Bell has strangely discovered a book of Martin Luther's, called his 'Divine Discourses,' which was for a long time marvellously preserved in Germany ; the House wills that this book shall be printed in English." And the translation appeared.

We are now at the seventeenth century, and Germany does not object to the zeal of the booksellers who multiply impressions of

the "Tisch-Reden." Should it happen that a Catholic endeavours to expose to the world the incredible temerity of these private gossipings, the pastor of Hamburg, Albert Fabricius, castigates the calumniator, and says: "Such effrontery is too bad! In the 'Table-Talk' there are no unmannerly expressions, no calumnies against the princes and magistrates, no scurrilities, no contradictions.¹ This has been completely proved by John Gerhard in his theological disputations."²

And the Protestants who, although they have read the book, have such faith in the modesty of the guests of the "Black Eagle" tavern, accuse the popes of having destroyed all the copies of the "Tisch-Reden" which they could find for sale. A singular charge, undoubtedly, of which Sparr was the organ, and which Captain Bell has simply recorded in the preface to his "Divine Discourses."

It is indeed very true that, notwithstanding the numerous editions, the "Tisch-Reden" have become scarce even in Germany! Who, then, has been at the trouble of destroying the copies? The question is of no consequence.

In our own time the Protestants, bolder perhaps than in the days of Fabricius, Juncker, and Gerhard, attempt to dispute the authenticity of the "Tisch-Reden." It is not long since we read in a journal conducted by learned Protestants, *Le Semeur*, that the "Tisch-Reden" were apocryphal. A minister of the Gospel in La Vendée has not hesitated to accuse us of having made use of a collection of fictions by some anonymous editor for the purpose of maligning Luther! Fictions by Aurifaber, who closed the doctor's eyes; twenty times reprinted by his favourite disciples, magnified as another gospel by Rebenstock, glorified by Fabricius, reprinted by Walch, but with alterations in his large edition of Halle; quoted in his "Lessons of History" by Hagenbach of Basle,—by De Wette, in his edition of Luther's correspondence,—by Carl Hagen, in his "Spirit of the Reformation!"

But wherefore this tardy disclaimer of a book which for so long a while was considered to contain the living waters of the Gospel? Have Mecum, Aurifaber, Mathesius, Fabricius, and Albertus deceived us in inviting us all, such as we are, regenerated by Christ's blood,

¹ "Ab his colloquiis quoque abesse spurcitiam, calumnias contra principes, et magistratus, scurrilitatem, et pugnantia invicem absonaque dicta, ostendit Dr. Joh. Gerhardus."—In Centif. Lutherano, part. i. cap. lxxxviii. p. 307.

² Disput. Theol. pp. 1210, 1222.

to revive our faith in a collection capable of offending the eyes of a Christian? We imagine, then, the shame of our adversaries; but in that case, let them disavow also the works of the Reformer himself, for there are more than two thousand folio pages in which we find all the grossest portions of the "Tisch-Reden." Let them, then, tear out the Reformer's letters to the archbishop of Mayence, his epistle to Henry VIII., his letter to the murderer of Dresden, his pope-ass and monk-calf, his long faction against Duke Hans Wurtz of Brunswick, and his papacy possessed by the devil, &c. Then, but only then, shall we say that the "Tisch-Reden" are not Luther's!

No. IV.

Consultation of the Theologians of Wittemberg, addressed to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, p. 406.

Gratia Dei per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum prævie, Sere-
nissime Princeps et Domine! Postquam Vestra Celsitudo nobis per
dominum Bucerum diuturnas suæ conscientiae molestia nonnullas,
simulque considerationes indicari curavit, addito scripto seu in-
structione, quam illi Vestra Cels. tradidit, licet ita properanter
expedire responsum difficile sit: noluimus tamen dominum Buce-
rum, reditum equo maturantem, sine scripto dimittere. Imprimis
sumus ex animo recreati, et Deo gratias agimus, quod Vestram
Cels. difficili morbo liberavit, petimusque, ut Deus Cels. Vestr. in
corpore et animo confortare et conservare dignetur: nam prout
Cels. Vestra videt, paupercula et misera Ecclesia est, exigua et
derelicta, indigens probis dominis regentibus, sicut non dubitamus,
Deum aliquos conservaturum, quantumvis tentationes diversæ
occurrant.

Circa quæstionem, quam nobis Bucerus proposuit, hæc nobis
occurrunt consideratione digna. Cels. Vestra per se ipsam satis
perspicit, quantum differat, universalem legem condere, vel in
certo casu gravibus de causis, ex concessione divina, dispensatione
uti: nam contra Deum locum non habet dispensatio. Nunc
suadere non possumus, ut introducat publicæ et velut lege san-
ciatur permissio, plures, quam unam, uxores ducendi. Si aliquid
hac de re prælo committeretur, facile intelligit Vestra Cels., id
præcepti instar intellectum et acceptatum iri, unde multa scandala

et difficultates orirentur. Consideret, quæsumus, Cels. Vestra, quam sinistre acciperetur, si quis convinceretur hanc legem in Germaniam introduxisse, quæ æternarum litium et inquietudinum (quod timendum) futura esset seminarium.

Quod opponi potest, quod coram Deo æquum est, id omnino permittendum, hoc certa ratione et conditione est accipiendum. Si res est mandata vel necessaria, verum est, quod objicitur: si nec mandata nec necessaria sit, alias circumstantias oportet expendere. Ut ad propositam questionem propius accedamus: Deus matrimonium instituit, ut tantum duarum et non plurium personarum esset societas, si natura non esset corrupta: hoc intendit illa sententia: *Erunt duo in carne una*, idque primitus fuit observatum. Sed Lamech in matrimonium pluralitatem uxorum inexit, quod de illo Scriptura memorat, tanquam introductum contra primam regulam. Apud infideles tamen fuit consuetudine receptum: postea Abraham quoque et ejus posteri plures duxerunt uxores. Certum est, hoc postmodum lege Moysi permissum fuisse, teste Scriptura, Deut. xxi., ut homo haberet duas uxores: nam Deus fragili naturæ aliquid indulxit. Cum vero principio et creationi consentaneum sit, unica uxore contentum vivere, hujusmodi lex est laudabilis, et ab Ecclesia acceptanda nec lex huic contraria statuenda. Nam Christus repetit hanc sententiam: *Erunt duo in carne una*, Matt. xix., et in memoriam revocat, quale matrimonium ante humanam fragilitatem esse debuisset. Certis tamen casibus locus est dispensationi. Si quis apud exterarum nationum captivus ad curam corporis et sanitatem sibi alteram uxorem superduceret, vel si quis haberet leprosam: his casibus alteram ducere cum consilio sui pastoris, non intentione novam legem inducendi, sed suæ necessitati consulendi, hunc nescimus qua ratione damnare liceret.

Cum igitur aliud sit, inducere legem, aliud uti dispensatione: obsecramus Vestram Cels., sequentia velit considerare. Primum ante omnia cavendum, ne hæc res inducatur in orbem ad modum legis, quam sequendi libera omnibus sit potestas. Deinde considerare dignetur Vestra Cels. scandalum, nimirum quod Evangelio hostes exclamaturi sint, nos similes esse Anabaptistis, qui plures simul duxerunt uxores: item, evangelicos eam sectari libertatem plures simul ducendi, quæ in Turcia in usu est. Item principum facta latius spargi, quam privatorum, consideret: item consideret, privatas personas hujusmodi principum facta audientes facile sibi eadem permissa persuadere, prout apparet, talia facile irrepere: item considerandum, Cels. Vestram abundare nobilitate efferri spi-

ritus, in qua multi, ut in aliis quoque terris, sint, qui propter amplos proventus, quibus ratione cathedralium beneficiorum perfruuntur, valde Evangelio adversantur. Non ignoramus ipsi magnorum nobilium valde insulsa dicta: qualem se nobilitas et subdita ditio erga Cels. Vestram sit præbitura, si publica introductio fiat, haud difficile est arbitrari. Item Cels. Vestra, quæ Dei singularis est gratia, apud reges et potentes etiam externos magno est in honore et respectu, apud quos merito est quod timeat ne hæc res pariat nominis diminutionem.

Cum igitur hic multa scandala confluant, rogamus Cels. Vestram, ut hanc rem maturo iudicio expendere velit. Illud quoque est verum, quod Cels. Vestram omnimodo rogamus et adhortamur, ut fornicationem et adulterium fugiat. Habuimus quoque, ut, quod res est, loquamur, longo tempore non parvum mœrorem, quod intellexerimus Vestram Cels. ejusmodi impuritate oneratam, quam divina ultio, morbi, aliaque pericula sequi possint. Etiam rogamus Cels. Vestram, ne talia extra matrimonium levia peccata velit æstimare, sicut mundus hæc ventis tradere et parvi pendere solet. Verum Deus impudicitiam sæpe severissime punivit. Nam pœna diluvii tribuitur regentum adulteriis: item adulterium Davidis est severum divinæ vindictæ exemplum: et Paulus sæpius ait: *Deus non irridetur, adulteri non introibunt in regnum Dei*: nam fidei obedientia comes esse debet, ut non contra conscientiam agamus, primo Timoth., et prima Joh. iii.: *Si cor nostrum non reprehenderit nos, possumus latè Deum invocare*: et Rom. viii.: *Si carnalia desideria spiritu mortificaverimus, vivemus: si autem secundum carnem ambulemus, hoc est, si contra conscientiam agamus, moriemur*.

Hæc referimus, ut consideret, Deum ad talia non ridere, prout aliqui audaces fiunt et ethnicas cogitationes animo foveant. Libenter quoque intelleximus, Vestram Cels. ob ejusmodi vitia angi et conqueri. Incumbunt Cels. Vestræ negotia totum mundum concernentia: accedit Cels. Vestræ complexio subtilis et minime robusta, ac pauci somni, unde merito corpori parcendum esset, quemadmodum multi alii facere coguntur. Legitur de laudatissimo Principe Scanderbego, qui multa præclara facinora patravit contra duos Turcarum Imperatores Amurathem et Mahometum, et Græciam, dum viveret, feliciter tuitus est ac conservavit. Hic sæpius suos milites ad castimoniam hortari auditus et dicere: nullam rem fortibus viris æque animos demere, ac venerem. Item quod si Vestra Cels. insuper alteram uxorem haberet et nollet pravis affectibus et consuetudinibus repugnare, adhuc non esset vestræ Cels. consultum ac prospectum.

Oportet unumquemque in externis istis suorum membrorum esse dominum, uti Paulus scribit : *Curate, ut membra vestra sint arma justitiæ*. Quare Cels. Vestra in consideratione allatarum causarum, nempe scandali, curarum, laborum ac sollicitudinum et corporis infirmitatis, velit hanc rem æqua lance perpendere, et simul in memoriam revocare, quod Deus ex moderna conjuge pulchram sobolem utriusque sexus dederit, ita ut contentus hac esse possit. Quot alii in suo matrimonio debent patientiam exercere ad vitandum scandalum? Nam nobis non sedet animo, Cels. Vestram ad tam difficilem novitatem impellere aut inducere. Nam ditio Cels. Vestræ aliique nos ideo impeterent, quod nobis eo minus ferendum esset, quod ex præcepto divino nobis incumbat, matrimonium omniaque humana ad divinam institutionem dirigere, atque in eo, quoad possibile, conservare omneque scandalum remove. Is jam est mos sæculi, ut culpa omnis in prædicantes conferatur, si quid difficultatis incidat, et humanum cor in summæ et inferioris conditionis hominibus instabile; unde diversa pertimescenda.

Si autem Vestra Cels. ab impudica vita non abstineat, quod dicit sibi impossibile, optaremus, Cels. Vestram in meliori statu esse coram Deo et segura conscientia vivere, ad propriæ animæ salutem et ditionem ac subditorum emolumentum. Quod si denique Vestra Cels. omnino concluderit adhuc unam conjugem ducere, juramus id secreto faciendum, uti superius de dispensatione dictum, nempe ut tantum Vestræ Cels., illi personæ ac paucis personis fidelibus constet Cels. Vestræ animus et conscientia sub sigillo confessionis. Hinc non sequuntur alicujus momenti contradictiones aut scandala: nihil enim est inusitati, principes concubinas alere: et quamvis non omnibus e plebe constaret ratio, tamen prudentiores intelligerent, et magis placeret hæc modesta vivendi ratio, quam adulterium et alii belluini et impudici actus: nec curandi aliorum sermones, si recte cum conscientia agatur, sic et in tantum hoc approbamus.

Nam quod circa matrimonium in lege Mosis fuit permissum, Evangelium non revocat aut vetat, quod externum regimen non immutat, sed adfert æternam justitiam ad æternam vitam, et orditur veram obedientiam erga Deum, et conatur corruptam naturam reparare. Habet itaque Cels. Vestra non tantum omnium nostrum testimonium in casu necessitatis, sed etiam antecedentes nostras considerationes, quas, rogamus, ut Vestra Cels. tanquam laudatus, sapiens et Christianus princeps velit ponderare.

Oramus quoque Deum, ut velit Cels. Vestram ducere ac regere ad suam laudem et Vestræ Cels. animæ salutem.

Quod attinet ad consilium hanc rem apud Cæsarem tractandi, existimamus, illum adulterium inter minora peccata numerare: nam magnopere verendum, illum Papistica, Cardinalitia, Italica, Hispanica, Saracenica imbutum fide, non curaturum Vestræ Cels. postulatum et in proprium emolumentum vanis verbis sustentaturum, sicut intelligimus, perfidum ac fallacem virum esse, moresque Germanici oblitum. Videt Cels. Vestra ipsa, quod nullis necessitatibus Christianis sincere consulit. Turcam sinit imperturbatum, excitat tantum rebelliones in Germania, ut potentiam Burgundicam efferat. Quare optandum, ut nulli Christiani principes illius infidis machinationibus se misceant. Deus conservet Cels. Vestram. Nos ad serviendum Vestræ Cels. sumus promptissimi. Datum Witenbergæ die Mercurii post Festum Sancti Nicolai, MDXXXIX.

Vestræ Celsitudinis

parati ac subjecti servi

Martinus Lutherus, Philippus Melanchthon,
Martinus Bucerus, Antonius Corvinus,
Adam F——, Johannes Leningus, Justus
Winther, Dionysius Melander.

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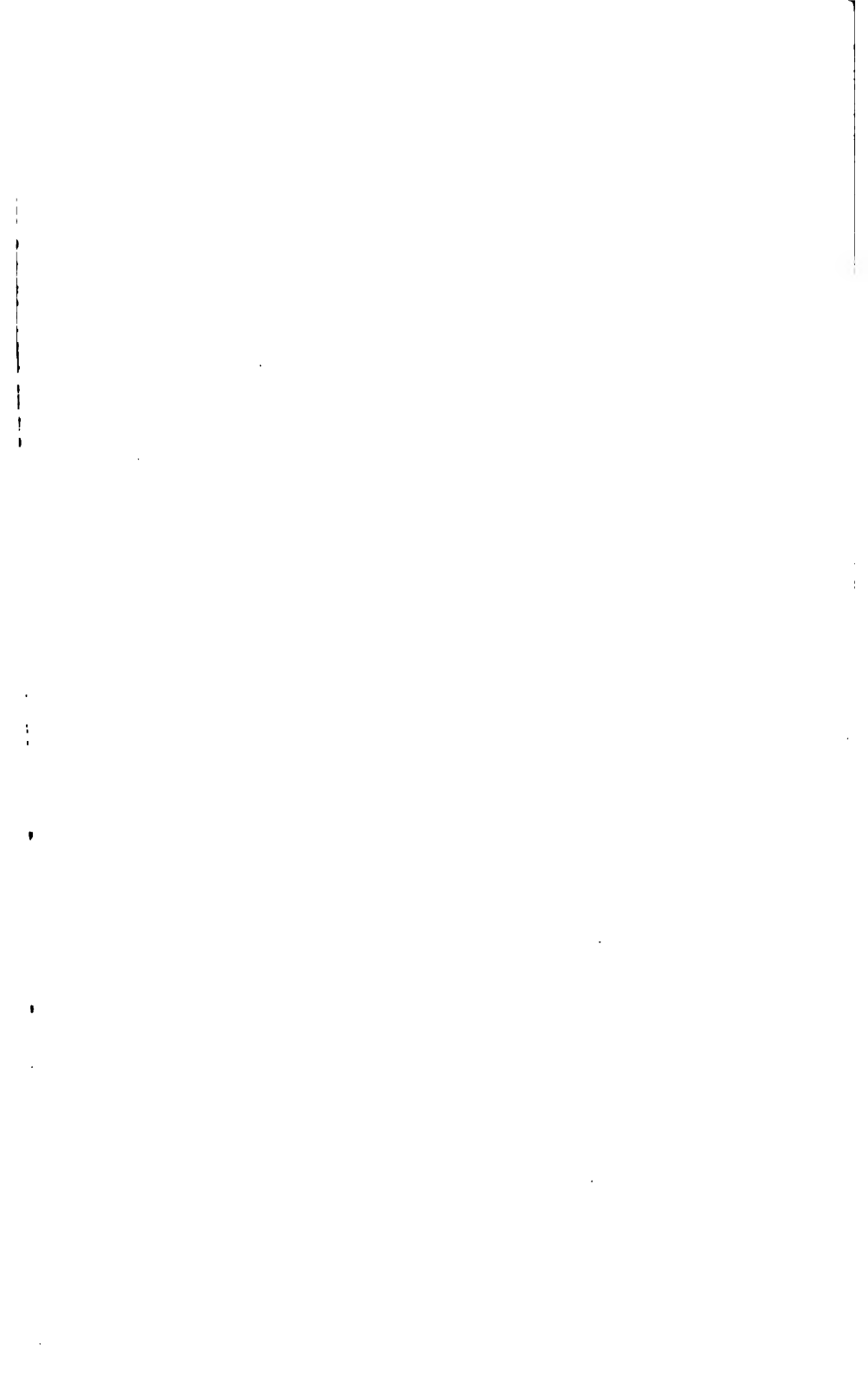
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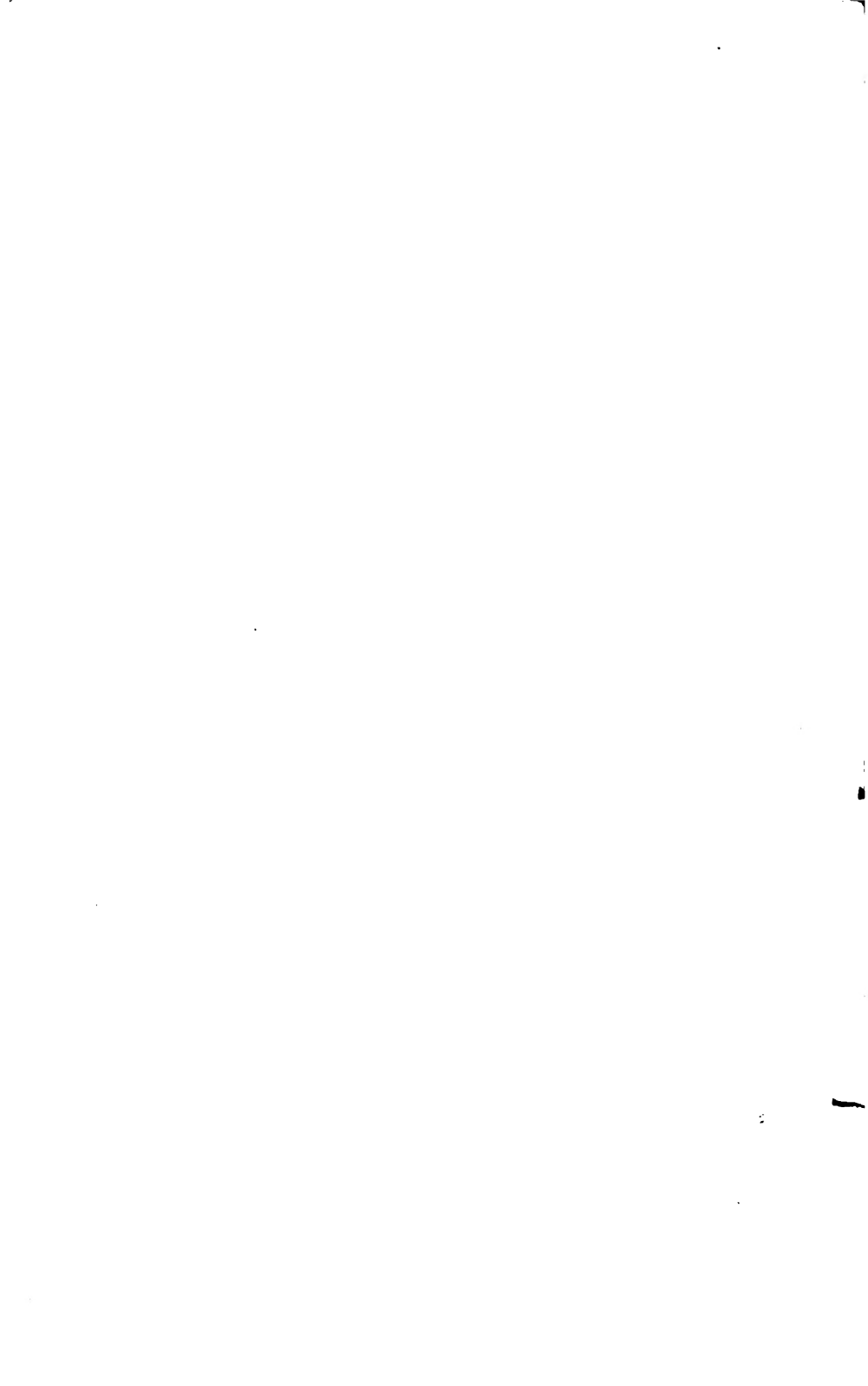
Page 395, line 7 from top, *for* "was their belief," *read* "ought to have been their belief."

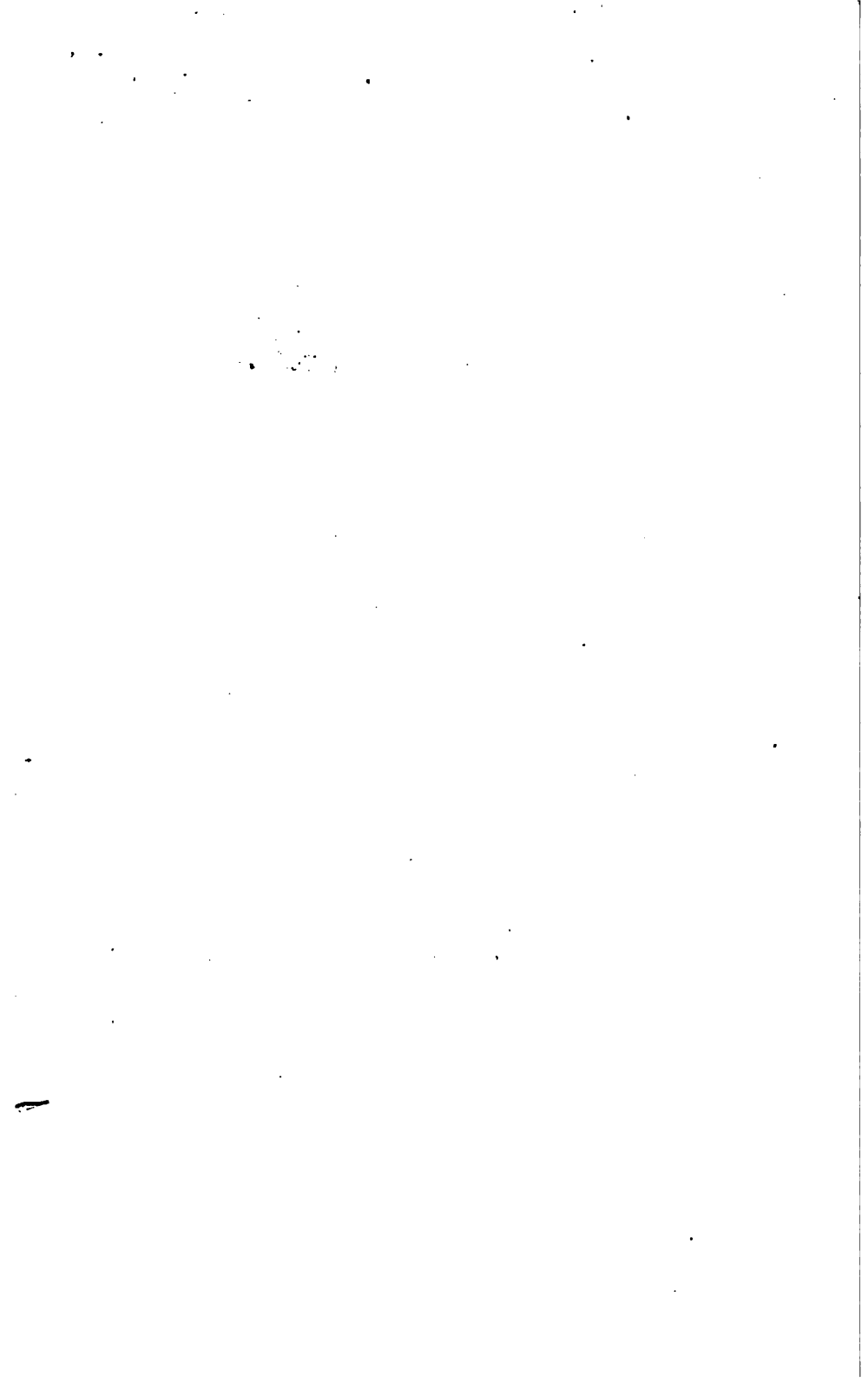
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